

**THE
PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS
SEVENTH SESSION**

29, 30 and 31 December, 1944

MADRAS UNIVERSITY

MADRAS

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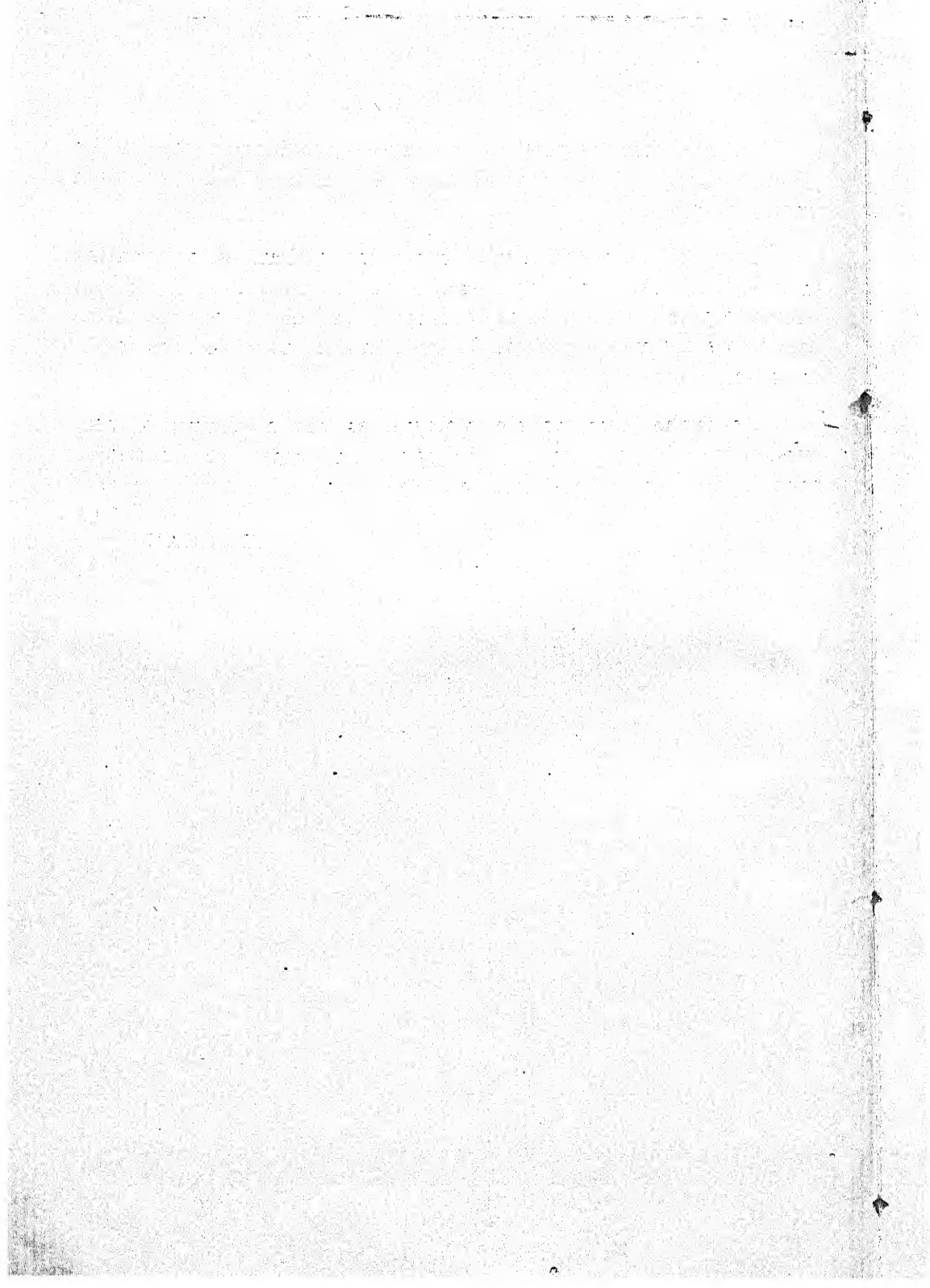
I regret that the publication of the proceedings of the Indian History Congress held in Madras in December 1944 has been unduly delayed.

I hope however those who know the difficulties of printing in these unusual times will excuse us, for in spite of our best efforts to place the printed proceedings in the hands of the members before the meeting of the Congress in December 1945, we failed to do so.

Nor is the Press entirely to blame, as the obtaining of permission for the special quota for paper and other circumstances beyond their control interfered with the prompt execution of work.

TARA CHAND
General Secretary.

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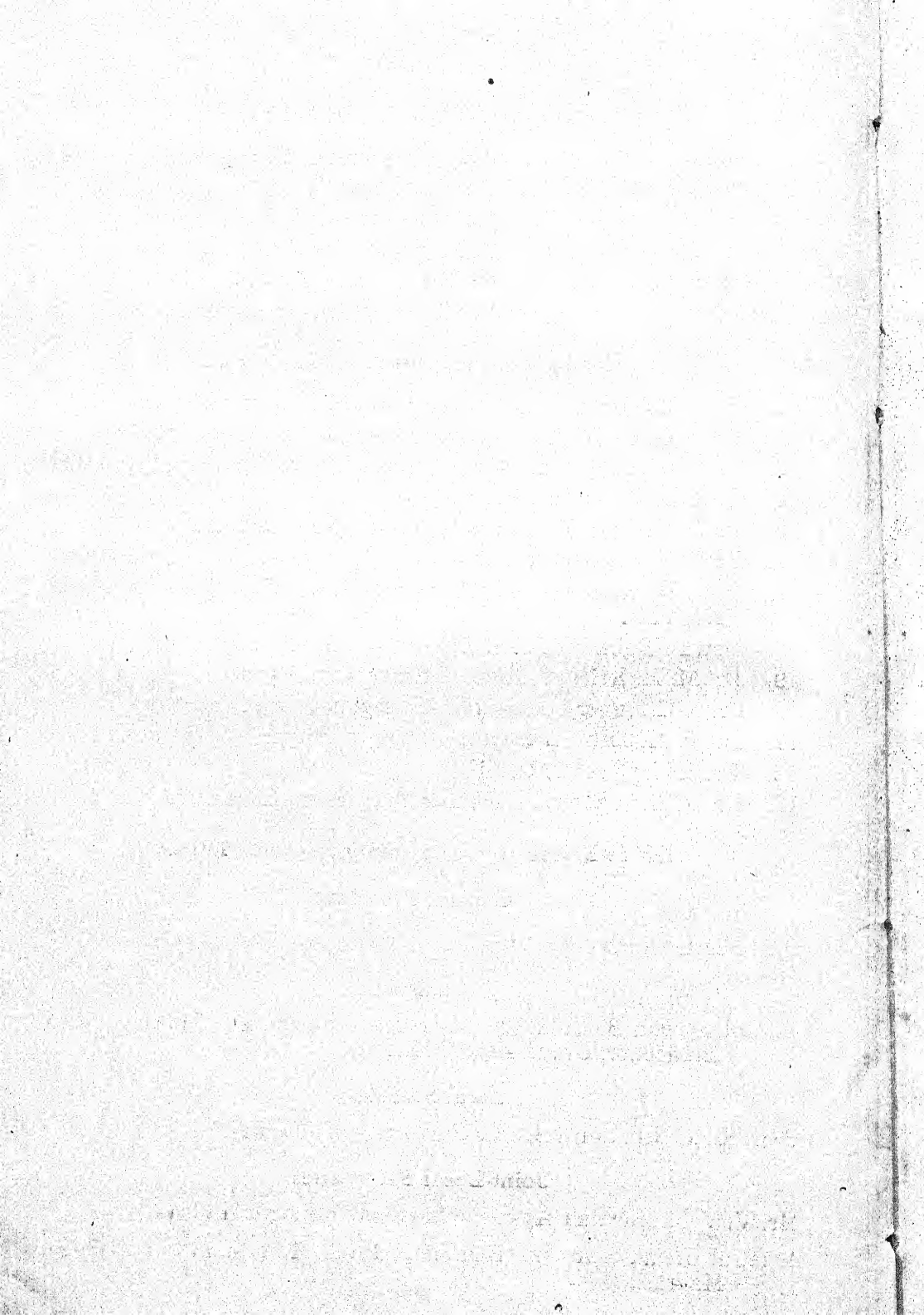
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WELCOME SPEECH

BY

DIWAN BAHADUR, DR. SIR A. LAKSHMANSWAMI MUDALIAR,
LT.-COL., Vice-Chancellor, University of Madras
Chairman, Reception Committee.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

On behalf of the University of Madras and the Reception Committee of the Seventh Session of the Indian History Congress, I have much pleasure in welcoming you to this City. We realise the great difficulty and the amount of inconvenience to which you should have been subjected in these days of difficult travel to come to one of the Southern-most cities of India, and our thanks therefore are more abundantly due to you for making it convenient to attend this session. We are indeed justly glad and proud that delegates have come from all parts of India, from the distant North-West Frontier, Kashmere and Nepal in the North, from Assam in the East and from Ceylon in the South. We welcome all of them and in particular we welcome Chen Han Cheng, the Chinese scholar, and the delegates from the various States, Universities and learned bodies; and we trust that their sojourn to the Capital of this Presidency will be interesting and also useful. We realise that you have to put up with many handicaps and that we are not in a position to give you all the amenities that we should have liked to ourselves, consequent upon the several restrictions imposed owing to conditions of War, and if therefore there be any defects in the arrangements that have been made and in the comforts to which you have been accustomed, I request you to kindly forgive us and take the will for the deed in these difficult days.

You are meeting at the close of a year which has witnessed some of the most titanic struggles the world has ever seen, and you are meeting at a time when, although the fortunes of the War have definitely turned in favour of those who are fighting the forces of aggression, much yet remains to be done before the final victory will be won and ever-lasting peace will reign over this world once

again. At such a time as this, the role of the historian is not merely important, but is one which has to be played with the greatest amount of care and forethought.

It is often said that *history repeats itself*, but if by that is meant that the follies of man are going to be repeated throughout the ages in the manner in which we have witnessed it within the last quarter of a century and more, one does hope that the truth of this saying was not as absolute as historians would probably like to make. I feel that if the role of the physician is to find out the disease in the individuals and to take preventive measures, the role of the historian should likewise be to study from the historical perspective the fundamental factors concerning the motive force of different nations, to subject nations to a psycho-analysis, often as individuals are subject to, and to realise that there is such a thing as national hysteria as there is individual hysteria and then to deduce what should be the corrective that ought to be administered to prevent a repetition of the terrible tragedies we are witnessing and to ensure the safety of the world at large, and the prospect of humanity surviving extinction.

The forces of aggression which are let loose try to gain an impetus by a false study of history and a false sense of the value of things in their true and historical perspective. Speaking as a lay man, I would beg of historians to realise the great responsibility that lies on their shoulders in depicting the history of nations, the history of their achievements and successes and their many disasters. History, which is but a story of true life of generations past, would still lose none of its essential virtues if the historians were to be a little more considerate and a little less critical of supposed faults of individuals or of nations, trying to see the good in things as much as, if not more than the evil of regrettable historical events in the past, and so to depict history that while it encourages a spirit of respect and reverence in one's own land and one's own history does not provoke those tendentious inclinations and repercussions which eventually lead to the cult of hatred of this or that particular nation or group. The world is full of instances where passion has captivated not merely individuals but whole nations, and it should be the role of the historian of the future to so postulate his historical perspective and account that the fundamental value of progress, unity and the welfare of humanity should always be stressed.

You will forgive me for this short account, which is not to be taken in any sense as a sermon to be preached to all; as specialists, historians, like others, may nor altogether be averse to hearing the lay man's point of view. Speaking of our own country, I see that there are many who are anxious to re-write the history of India and in some cases they are openly asserting that it should be written from this point of view or that point of view. I am glad that an organisation such as yours has taken up this question, and I feel sure that you will, with your great ability, experience and tact, produce a history that will tend to unify us all, that will not set the apple of discord once more amidst the people of this land, and that will go a long way to clear the misunderstandings and to promote good-will and harmony among the people of my country.

I wish your deliberations every success, and we lay people will look forward with pleasure to the progress that you make from year to year.

7. It is our good fortune that we have been able to persuade the Adviser to His Excellency the Governor, in charge of Education, Mr. T. Austin, to declare this Congress open. Those of us who have had the privilege of knowing him personally, coming into contact with him in the many administrative spheres of responsibility which are his, can vouchsafe to the deep interest he has taken in all problems pertaining to education and the advancement of learning in this Province. In addition, he is a keen student of history, particularly interested in Ancient History and Archaeology. We deem it a great privilege that he has consented to declare this conference open, and I wish to convey to him our most grateful thanks for the ready manner in which he has acceded to our request. I have great pleasure in requesting Mr. Austin to declare the Congress open.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

BY

MR. T. AUSTIN,

Advisor to the Governor, Madras.

I consider it an honour to have been invited to open this Annual Session of the Indian History Congress. It is a matter of great pleasure to us in Madras that the Congress accepted the invitation of the University of Madras to meet here. I hope I am not wrong in stating that there is still scope for historical research in this Province : there must be much to interest historians in our public archives. to the collection, publication and preservation of which the Government of Madras have attached great importance. We have, in our custody a long unbroken series of records from 1670 down to the present,—records which depict in detail not only the political but also the social, economic and administrative history of large portions of South India. They portray not only the gradual growth of Madras from a small commercial Factory into what it is now but the conditions prevailing from time to time in the French and Dutch territories, in Hyderabad, Mysore and other neighbouring Indian States. Of particular importance and interest is what is revealed of the years following on the formation of this Province in 1801.

During the next 50 years there were radical and systematic reforms in all branches of administration, the lines of which, even today, still boldly stand out. We owe to this period the Ryotwari System, the Collector-Magistracy, the organised system of police, almost the entire hierarchy of courts and a large body of civil and criminal laws. We owe to this period social reforms like the abolition of slave trade and domestic slavery, sati and human sacrifices ; law reforms and prison reforms ; the beginnings of the reclamation of criminal tribes like Yenadis, Chensoos, Yerulars and the like. Nor is this all. This period saw the establishment of the University, of Arts, Engineering and Medical Colleges, of Teachers' Training Centres, and of district and local schools. This is one epoch—and the—advances made in the years following are all described in our records.

Their value for the study of these and many more similar subjects is undoubted, for it is quite wrong to state

that official archives in general can give only a one-sided picture and that, too, not always an accurate one. They are complementary to private collections, especially the writings of contemporaries, which have a great value of their own—subject, of course, to the status and integrity of the writer—in that they reflect some section of public opinion or give first hand information about passing events. But the official records contain the views or versions not of one but of many—for instance, of local officials, of the heads of departments and of the government—which when read together should reveal a subject in all its aspects, and in its true colours. In fact, the sense of responsibility with which they were, and are being made, invests them *prima facie* with a stamp of truthfulness which is enhanced by the fact of continuous official custody—a custody which should make it impossible for anyone, at any time, to tamper with them.

The primary reason why the archives are preserved with care, here as elsewhere, is to serve the needs of administrators. It is only natural therefore that their administrative value was recognised by the Madras Government from very early times. But their historical value was also recognised by the Government more than a hundred years ago, at a time when research based there on was still in its infancy in Europe and when the value of such research was only dimly recognised by historians in India. In 1837, when for want of accommodation it was felt absolutely necessary to weed out the valueless documents, the Government issued strict instructions to Mr. George Garrow, who was specially appointed for the work, to see that no records of any historical interest were destroyed. The Government of the time also encouraged historical research by permitting all genuine scholars to consult them freely. And accordingly, to mention only a few instances, Wilks, the historian of Mysore, Tolboys Wheeler, the author of *Madras in Olden Times*, Wilson, the historian of the Madras Army, and Vibart, the author of the *Military History of the Madras Engineers*, collected from them a great deal of information for their works. The Government themselves, as far back as 1858, inaugurated historical studies by ordering the compilation of District Manuals based primarily on district records. More recently, the Government felt that the interests of both the historians and the administrators demanded three essential reforms—centralisation, mending and preservation, and publication. To secure these objects there was

established in 1909 a separate Record Office under the supervision of a wholetime Curator, who was trained in England. This office now contains all the records of the Government up to 1940, all those of the Board of Revenue up to 1936 and all the important records of the Collectorates up to 1857. It has been decided to call up in the near future, the Collectorate records up to 1900. This centralisation has undoubtedly assisted research and persons wishing to consult these records are given every facility.

Mending and preservation too have contributed not a little to assist historical research, and to prolong the life of old documents. Since 1921, when a mending section was formed, all the manuscript volumes of the years 1670 to 1800 and some manuscript volumes of subsequent years also, in all amounting to well over 5,000 volumes, have been repaired, reconditioned with chiffon and rebound. Also, more than a million sheets of loose documents, which were folded and brittle, have been flattened and repaired and put into Manilla docketts.

The publication programmes have contributed both to preserve permanently in print the contents of old archives and to make these contents known to scholars all over the world. There is a regular programme of publication and the result has been the preparation and issue of more than 400 volumes of publications in extenso of all the records of 1670 to 1750 and a large number of miscellaneous works—such as 2 Handbooks to archives, some Calendars, the Diaries of Ananda Ranga Pillai, the Baramahal Records, some Dutch and Danish Records and several guides to the District Records. This programme of publication on a large scale is still proceeding.

I feel sure that our archives contain a sufficient wealth of material to be of value to historians and to enable those who study them impartially, to present a true picture of the age that they cover. Unfortunately, for the time being, in order that they may be preserved from damage, all important records have been removed into the interior, where, however, they are still accessible to students, and the programmes that assist research are still being carried on. I feel that we shall be able to have them back in Madras before very long. I conclude by extending to our visitors a hearty welcome to Madras. I have much pleasure declaring the Congress open.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

BY

DR. S. N. SEN, M.A., PH.D., B.LITT.,

Director of Archives, Government of India, New Delhi.

My grateful thanks for the great honour you have done me. These are no insincere words of conventional formality. Since its inception at Poona, ten years ago, our Congress has grown from strength to strength. It is today the forum of historians in India and its presidentship is a distinction of which all but saints and supermen may rightly feel proud. If I do not refer to my shortcomings and lack of worth, it is not because I am unconscious of them, but because the success of the Congress depends more upon the collective wisdom and goodwill of the members than upon the lead that its temporary executive head may give.

It is quite in the fitness of things that we should meet at Madras. Madras is a modern city and cannot claim the antiquity of Taxila or Benares. It has not so far attained the dignity of an imperial metropolis, but modern Indian history has been made here. It was from Madras that Clive and Watson sailed to recover Fort William and in the sequel laid the foundation of the British Indian empire. Madras played a prominent part in the British expansion in Malaya and the Far East and in the conquest of Burma. Nor is that all. It was here that Elihu Yale earned his fortune and Thomas Pitt made his pile. A famous seat of learning in the other hemisphere bears Yale's name and the Pitt diamond doubtless ensured for the owner's family that comfortable sense of security which must have encouraged the "great commoner" to seek a political career. The two Pitts, elder and younger, were in a sense a special gift of this city to Great Britain. In a humbler, but not less useful, sphere Bell carried on his early experiments in education here and then laid his mature experience at the service of the mother country. Did the representatives of a decadent dynasty and an effete empire foresee the future glory of the fishing hamlet and the potential greatness of the humble grantees when they selected cadjans made of costly gold instead of customary copper for inscribing their charter on?

If Madras did so much to make history, her contribution to its reconstruction is no less important. Here worked

Robert Orme and Colin Mackenzie, W. Taylor and J. Talboys Wheeler, R. Bruce Foote and H. D. Love, S.M. Natesa Sastri and T. A. Gopinath Rao, V. Venkayya and H. Krishna Shastri, V. Kanakasabhai Pillai and L. D. Swami Kannu Pillai, M. Rangacharya and S. Kuppaswami Sastri. Happily their race still endures. The University of Madras was the first to perceive the wisdom of founding a research chair of Indian history unencumbered with the tiresome burden of routine college teaching. The first incumbent, Dewan Bahadur S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar earned for his *alma mater* a unique place of honour among the universities of the empire. The standard set by him is being worthily maintained by his distinguished successor, Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, whose erudition and industry have not only illuminated the obscure periods of Chola ascendancy but thrown fresh light on Indian activities in the long forgotten colonies of the Far East. His learned colleagues Dr. N. Venkata Ramanayya, Mr. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar and Dr. S. M. H. Nainar have distinguished themselves in their respective spheres of research. To the University of Madras belongs the credit of contributing to the sacred cause of Indology the only Indian investigator of the other sex, Minakshi, whose untimely death left Indian scholarship so much the poorer. The younger universities have not lagged behind and followed the lead of the elder sister with unflagging zeal. The distinguished band of scholars whom the princely munificence of Raja Sir Annamalai Chettiar attracted to the holy city of Chidambaram has invested it with a sanctity of another sort. Rao Bahadur C. S. Srinivasachari and Mr. R. Sathyanatha Aiyar have devoted their time and energy to the unravelling of the history of the Nayak dynasties of the south and their efforts are being ably reinforced by younger scholars trained by them. Just as in the scheme of nature the infinitely great and the infinitely small have their assigned places, so for the proper understanding of our past it is necessary to pursue the doom of mighty empires in the fortunes of the resultant principalities. In the Andhra University Mr. Gurty Venket Rao is patiently delving into the vanished glories of Vijayanagara, while the indefatigable members of Andhra Research Society are throwing their searchlight on all phases of the history and culture of their region. Madras has given two presidents to the Congress and before long we may have to turn to this province once again for a competent guide and wise leader.

The preparation of a scientific history of India has

been the special care and sole concern of the Congress for the past three years. You will be glad to learn that it is making good progress. Scholars all over India have readily responded to our appeal for co-operation. The Ruling Princes have liberally contributed to our funds. His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad leads the princely patrons with a generous donation of 50,000 Rupees. The Central Government, the universities and the enlightened citizens of India have lent their ungrudging support to the project and it is hoped that during the next twelve months at least three volumes will be ready for the press. Of the estimated cost more than a quarter has been raised and the donations have been absolutely unconditional. The donors were content to finance the publication without claiming any say in its compilation and editing. This is as it should be. The Congress aims at an objective and impartial study of the past in which the results of the latest researches will be embodied by the learned sons and daughters of India, not because it feels shy of outsiders or apprehends that the achievements of our ancestors will not bear critical scrutiny, but because Indian scholars have an obligation to their motherland which still remains unfulfilled.

The success of the scheme is well assured. There is no dearth of men and money, there is no lack of goodwill and there is plenty of faith and confidence. Yet I cannot but confess to a certain amount of misgiving now that the preliminaries are almost complete. After all, historians are human beings and heirs to the common frailties of their kind. They are susceptible, be it unconsciously, to the influence of their environment and it is not at all easy to rise above the prevailing prejudices of the times. Many careful scholars were in the past caught in the snares of romanticism and idealised the noble savage, a creation of their own imagination. Ours is an age of deliberate propaganda and unfortunately history has not seldom lent itself to propagandist interpretation. Alison's *History of Europe* is a text-book of toryism, Macaulay's *History of England* was deliberately intended to glorify the Whigs and Treitschke was an avowed advocate of blood and steel. Even the remote past may be coloured by the sympathies and antipathies of the writer. Grote's *History of Greece* bears unmistakable traces of the author's political predilections, though the distance of time and space was in favour of a dispassionate survey of political events and an accurate assessment of political values.

Genuine patriotism will not flinch from truth, however unpalatable; but this noble virtue may sometimes degenerate into chauvinism. I do not for a moment suggest that this is a failing peculiar to this age and this country, but it will be idle to overlook its potency for good and evil. History has proved conclusively that there is no specially favoured race. The ancient Hebrews claimed to be the chosen people of God, they roam the world today a homeless people; the ancient Greeks spurned the rest of humanity as uncultured barbarians, it has been their lot to be subjugated and ruled by the so-called savages they despised. But the theory of *Herrenvolk* still holds the field and it is not the Germans alone who subscribe to it. Cecil Rhodes would paint Africa red because he honestly believed in the destiny of the British, as a people after God's own heart. Indians cannot today indulge in racial arrogance. If the Aryan conqueror had any contempt for the primitive peoples he has sorely paid for his insolence, if his Muslim successor scorned the *kafir* he is now sharing with him a common bondage. But a dependent race smarting under the humiliations of the present is apt to idealise the past. A true historian must avoid the twin pitfalls of political partisanship and racial prejudice. The conflicts and controversies of our times are hardly conducive to a dispassionate examination of the main factors of history.

Apart from psychological shortcomings inherent in human nature which he must guard against, the historian finds himself confronted today with fresh impediments imposed from outside. If he is to fulfil his mission, he must be permitted to pursue his studies in an atmosphere of freedom. The nineteenth century liberalism conceded to individual citizens freedom of thought and free expression of opinion. The twentieth century has witnessed the rise of totalitarian states that claim the right of regulating the entire life and thought of their peoples. Regimentation of opinion has inevitably followed. An objective study of the past cannot be successfully attempted when inconvenient truth is not tolerated. It may be argued that we in India are more fortunately situated and can carry on our work free from the surveillance of the state. Political creeds, however, often prove contagious and spread far and wide despite *cordons sanitaires*. The spectacular insurgence of the fascist powers and the temporary eclipse of the democratic states turned the head of ambitious politicians and misled for a time even well-meaning patriots. Fascist principles therefore found willing converts in many parts

of the world. One of the lessons of fascism was that extra-legal methods of implementing a policy of intolerance may be as effective as those sanctioned by law and subtle ways of persecution may be invented to put an uncompromising intellectual *hors de combat*. The symptoms of the new disease were perceptible in some of the Indian provinces long before the present war when the official text-book committees took upon themselves the task of censoring the work of professional historians. With meticulous care they laid down the measure of approval and disapproval that might be extended to policies and practices of the past. The result would have been comic, if it were not pathetic. The committees forgot that school children are not without intelligence and have their own way of correlating cause and effect. They did not pause to consider whether the best interests of the country can be served if an entire generation is nurtured in an atmosphere of half-truths.

We might have ignored the unwise and uninformed interference of these departmental committees if prominent politicians in and out of office had not of late joined the hunt. History and politics belong to entirely different planes, but honourable co-operation between politicians and historians is not impossible or unpracticable without a subservient alliance, for they both profess to have a common end in view, the service of the motherland. Just as the industrialist benefits from the discoveries of the scientist, so a politician may with profit draw upon the historian's store of knowledge in his campaign against the social, political and economic evils of the day. But to try to harness history to the chariot, wheels of politics is a senseless sacrilege, for history written to order is propagandist literature and subjective studies must necessarily be one-sided. The task of history is to discover truth and truth cannot offend or injure a good cause.

The politician may safely rely on the patriotism and good sense of the historian, but he must not forget that the historian is by profession and training an investigator. It is his business to reconstruct and where necessary, to reinterpret the past. His judgment is unbridled except by logic, but his imagination is fettered by the available sources. Beyond the extant evidence he cannot go. He does not start with an *a priori* theory, but forms his conclusions after an exhaustive scrutiny of every source of information. History has no sermon to preach, no philippic to deliver and no moral to point. It finds no special pleasure in wrecking

reputation or breaking traditions. But the historian cannot undertake to do the politician's bidding because they widely differ in their method and outlook. The politician necessarily limits his activities and attention to the present and he aims to serve his country through his party. He must therefore win the support of the masses for his party programme. Catching slogans and clever propaganda are his main weapons and he is not expected to be fair to the other side. He often appeals to the heart rather than to the head of his audience; and if it serves his purpose better, he does not disdain to rouse the baser passions of the populace. The historian cannot possibly ignore his own times, but he leaves contemporary events as being outside the sphere of his enquiry. He does not write for his own generation alone, but addresses himself to the unborn posterity as well. Popular slogans and special pleadings have no use for him, for he seeks more to convince the thinking few than to secure the approval of the unthinking masses. He cannot therefore overlook inconvenient facts, as the validity of his thesis does not depend on majority votes. His enquiry is not limited to his country alone and he surveys the past from a wider and truer perspective. He has to judge each period by its own standard and it is not his business to import modern meanings into the defunct institutions of a bygone age. He can safely afford to steer clear of the prevailing passions as he has no party affiliations to stand by.

The politician need not therefore ascribe any unworthy motive to the student of history if he fails to see eye to eye with him. If the historian gives publicity to an inconvenient fact, if he fails to indulge in sweeping generalisations, if he refrains from painting the past in gold and rose, it is not because he loves his country less but because he loves truth better. If he occasionally discovers a weak spot in the politician's armour it is less to harm than to warn and protect him. No malady can be properly treated unless it is correctly diagnosed. The historian attempts to record the symptoms and to trace their origin to the best of his ability, he cannot help if his account is not to the politician's taste.

Unfortunately the barb of political calumny has of late been further poisoned by communal passion. It should not be forgotten that it was an Englishman who first justified Siraj-ud-Daula's grievances against the East India Company and exonerated him from any responsibility for the Black Hole tragedy, it was a Hindu who first questioned

the authenticity of the story of the deliberate murder of Sher Afghan Khan at the instance of Jahangir and it was a Muslim who came to the defence of Shivaji. Historical investigators are by their training free from communal bias. It is not for them to question the validity of religious doctrines and dogmas though they cannot possibly avoid examining the reaction of religion on social and political movements. History does not seek to "prove a directing will leading mankind from point to point or an immanent force driving him towards a goal". It is neither theist nor atheist, and limits its interest to mundane affairs of the human kind. Nor is its judgment likely to be influenced by an isolated incident. To a historian it is immaterial whether Shivaji or Afzal Khan struck the first blow. Public opinion in those days did not look askance at such political murders and readily applauded a successful coup irrespective of its morality. It will be unreasonable to expect a high standard of conduct on the part of each and every one of our illustrious ancestors. Hindu and Muslim potentates alike had their shortcomings and lapses as they doubtless had the compensating virtues. The founders of great empires could not possibly have been vicious poltroons, but though we may sympathise with the less fortunate of their successors we cannot possibly ignore the weakness and impolicy that cost them their thrones. Will it carry conviction if Baji Rao II is painted as a redoubtable hero and Alauddin Khalji as an angel of mercy? It is needless to add that if everything had been well with the people and their leaders, India could not have lost her independence. Past failures must be probed into and accounted for before we can ensure future success and this task may best be left to them who can patiently examine the authenticated facts without being influenced by party politics or preconceived prejudices. Each one to his own business is generally a good precept.

It is not pleasant to refer to annoying interferences with our work or unmerited aspersions on our motive and method, but when our bark is about to be launched we must take note of the shoals, sandbanks and submerged rocks that lie ahead. Even Scylla and Charybdis can be safely negotiated once they are properly surveyed and correctly located on the chart. When the risks of the route are known a safe voyage to the port may be reasonably expected.

My immediate predecessor, himself a distinguished archæologist, described archæology as "a handmaid of

history". I claim it for a valued ally. In other countries archæology is mainly, if not solely, concerned with pre-history, but in India its contribution to the study of ancient and medieval periods excels anything else in importance and interest. It not only supplies a sure corrective to legends and myths but endows the legendary past with a historical basis where there is any. The great Maurya emperor Asoka might have still remained a mythical monster of cruelty, reclaimed for humanity by the evangelical zeal of the Buddhist monks, but for Prinsep's ingenious reading of the unknown script of the rock and pillar inscriptions. How long will the seals and cylinders of Mohenjo Daro wait for their Champollion and Prinsep?

The spade of the archæologists has unearthed the long-forgotten story of cultural fusion at Taxila and the Director-General of Archæology is to be congratulated on his new venture of founding a school of archæology at that ancient seat of learning. So many old sites still remain to be excavated that the young scholars will have ample work to do when they leave their camp at Taxila. India needs today more trained scholars to reveal the glory that lies buried under the accumulated debris of her vanished cities and deserted towns.

To the Archæological Survey we are indebted for many illuminating monographs on ancient monuments. The Department has rendered invaluable service to the cause of Indian history by making available to the lay students the texts and translations of valuable historical inscriptions. Apart from the epigraphs published in the Departmental journal those relating to the Mauryan and Gupta ages have been embodied in two volumes of the famous *Corpus* edited by Hultzsch and Fleet, while a third comprises the Kharosthi inscriptions edited by Sten Konow. Though much has been accomplished, I hope it will be admitted that more remains to be done and I am sure the co-operation of the Congress and the scholars associated with it will always be available to the Department in its future undertakings. May I suggest that while we have several excellent volumes on Muslim monuments a corpus of Muslim inscriptions has been long overdue?

Archæology and archives are the twin pillars on which the foundation of scientific history must rest. The value of an historical record depends not on the language in which it is written but on its date and origin. The state papers derive their special importance from the fact of their official

custody, providing as it does a sure guarantee for the authenticity of their date and authorship. It is now an axiom of scientific historiography that true reconstruction of the past can be made only on the basis of strictly contemporary sources. But autobiographies and memoirs stand on a different category from official records. They are invariably written with a view to vindicating the author's own policy and conduct and cannot but be coloured by his predilections and preferences. Official records on the other hand are not meant for immediate publication and usually offer a more frank and straightforward statement of policy and facts. It will however be going too far to suggest that no official record needs corroboration or scrutiny. Those relating to payment of salary and wages obviously belong by their very nature to a different class from a forecast of crops, for instance. The value of an official account of a controversial topic on the other hand entirely depends on that of its sources and the nature of the evidence used, for rumours cannot gain in reliability merely from the medium of their transmission. The administration after all is run by ordinary men and women. The papers relating to the everyday work of the government may be of a colourless routine character but when an important question of policy is under consideration and a masterful person seeks to convert his colleagues to his own way of thinking it is just likely that relevant facts and figures will be marshalled in a manner favourable to a particular conclusion, though ordinarily they might have been capable of a different interpretation. Purposeful presentation may not infrequently result in misrepresentation, and improper emphasis may conceivably twist a plain fact out of recognition. Bismarck's Ems Telegram was doubtless an official document.

The same facts again may be viewed from entirely different angles. Writers of political history therefore find it necessary to extend their investigations to archives of all the states concerned before they can give their verdict on any political controversy. I am by no means underrating the value of the most important of our sources. Scientific history will continue in future, as it does today, to seek its raw materials in the state archives, but it is important to remember that all records are not equally unimpeachable and it is prudent to corroborate whenever possible the evidence of one document with that of another from the same or a different source.

Rely as we must mainly on official sources of history, can we safely ignore contemporary non-official sources? If a day-to-day journal or diary is kept by a well-informed person interested in the political goings-on of his times, it may throw new light on or supplement the matter-of-fact official documents. But political memoirs written from memory must be subjected to the strictest scrutiny if they are compiled at a date subsequent to the events themselves. Of more importance is the private correspondence of prominent members of the Government and the opposition leaders. Unfortunately such non-official sources are extremely meagre in India and nothing or very little has been so far done to bring them to light. It is high time that a systematic effort should be made for the publication and study of these sources.

Old newspaper files have of late engaged the attention of some diligent students. Reflecting as they are expected to do the public opinion on the burning topics of the day, the newspapers might offer a sure index to the popular reaction to a given measure, but the editorial comments may often share the political bias of a particular party. The news columns sometimes supply important chronological data and the advertisements may furnish interesting materials for social and economic history. A collection of newspaper cuttings may, however, give only a myopic view of things, vague and unconvincing.

The state archives form the rightful heritage of the citizen, but until lately access to the central and provincial records was severely restricted. Only a privileged few were permitted more as a favour than as a right, to examine official records for purposes of purely historical investigation. The Government of India, however, have very wisely thrown open their records to the *bona fide* research scholars and the provincial administrations have readily followed the lead of the centre. But many of the Indian States have not as yet perceived the wisdom of this liberal concession. We do not for a moment minimise the risk of reopening undesirable controversies and reviving dormant claims, but a *bona fide* student may be expected to be on his guard and not to misuse any facility the States may grant. We may also appeal to the scions of the historic families of India to take better care of their family papers and make them available for purposes of research. Great men of the past are national assets and their reputation is not the exclusive concern of their family alone

and the care of such souvenirs as autograph or holograph letters, wearing apparels, arms and armour should be vested in the nation.

The archivist has been so long a self-effacing servant of the state, content to carry on his routine work of preservation and supplying departmental requisition, the time has come when he should play his rightful role as the helpmate of the historian along with the archæologist. Conservative English opinion in the pre-war days held that preservation was the only function of the archivist, publication was no business of his. This view has of late undergone a radical change and the archivist is deliberately claiming to be treated as the "honoured cousin of the historian". There have been few archives publications in India but a salutary precedent was created by the late Sir George Forrest when he published his well-known *Selections from State papers*. His pioneer work suffers from one serious defect. Important passages and parts unfavourable to his conclusion have sometimes been inadvertently left out. None the less a good beginning was made and Hill subsequently brought out three volumes of records under the title of *Bengal in 1756-57*, which form the model of historical scholarship and editing.

In recent years many states and provinces have discarded the old policy of exclusion and published voluminous selections from their archives. Unfortunately very few of these publications have approached the high standard set by Hill. If the present age suffers from a spirit of partisan propaganda, it is no less characterised by its predilection for speed. Speed connotes hurry and haste and haste causes carelessness in which editors of historical records can least afford to indulge. A few years back a series of about 40 volumes of vernacular records was published under the auspices of a provincial Government. The editor finished his task with phenomenal expedition and the printing and get-up of the series left nothing to be desired. But the entire series suffers from inaccuracies and inadequacies of all sorts and has been scathingly condemned by a competent scholar as "a pitfall and snare". An expert familiar with the script and general character of these records may easily spot the wrong reading, the inaccurate chronology and the faulty translation; the inadequate introduction may not prove a handicap to them, but for one competent scholar at least a dozen neophytes will be handling these volumes and their needs and requirements

should not be left out of account when the original sources are edited. It is much better to leave the archives unpublished and refer the beginner to the manuscript sources than to present him with an indifferently edited source book bearing on the title page a name calculated to inspire unquestioning confidence.

We have a right to expect from the editor of an archives publication faultless textual reproduction of the records, an introduction explaining their background and supplementing and correcting, if necessary, the information they convey from extraneous evidence of equal or superior value, copious notes about persons, places, institutions and events referred to in the texts. Documents selected for publication should not be mutilated in any way, all omissions, emendations and doubtful readings should be clearly indicated and alternative readings, wherever possible, should be supplied. In a poor country like India the question of cost and labour cannot be dismissed as of no consequence. A student will certainly prefer one volume of 500 pages to fifty of ten, for in cost he is spared the price of 40 covers and in labour the trouble of referring to the index forty-nine times for a single proper name. Records publications without the necessary notes and introduction are only of a limited use except to experts and there are only a few of them. The future of Indian historical research lies with the younger generation and the needs of the future citizens cannot be treated in a cavalier fashion.

If some of our archives publications have suffered from hurry and haste our universities have proved themselves the strongholds of stagnation. So far we have not in any of our universities a well articulated scheme of teaching history and historical methods. All subjects are usually taught in isolation and a student is permitted to take up history like other subjects at any stage of his college course. It is possible in some universities to secure the highest degree in history without reading the whole of the history of India, while the history of neighbouring countries like Iran and Afghanistan, Burma and Ceylon, Siam and Tibet seldom, if ever, finds a place in the curriculum.

History essays a comprehensive survey of the evolution of human civilisation and the entire field of human activities forms its domain. The ideal investigator should have therefore adequate intellectual equipment to cope with this

tremendous task. Man is obviously a creature of his environments and it is generally recognised that geography makes history. The present civilisation is deeply imbedded in the pre-historic culture and many traits of human nature are inherited as well as acquired. In the proper understanding of man's history a knowledge of pre-history is essentially necessary. History cannot indulge in prophecies because in the strict sense history does not repeat itself. History cannot postulate that all things will be equal, for different persons respond differently to identical impulses and their reactions to the same influence widely vary. 1870 brought a Gambetta to the forefront, but 1940 placed a Petain in power. Again the contrariness of human conduct has become the conundrum of history. A historian finds nothing surprising when he is told that the Taj was built when Galileo was burnt, for cruelty and creative art are by no means incompatible and even piety has been known to find expression in deeds obviously inhuman. A student of history may therefore find psychology of some use in assessing the moral values of the past. In certain cases he may have to call abnormal psychology into his service. Marx may have overstated his case when he said that the introduction of railways was mainly responsible for a social and industrial revolution in India, but in these days of economic nationalism the close relation between the economic organisation and political constitution of a country will not be seriously questioned. A trading company impelled mainly by motives of profit ended by changing the political complexion of India. Another chartered company played in more recent times a similar part in South Africa. The efficacy of philanthropy plus five per cent has been successfully advocated by one of the makers of modern history. Moreover history has long renounced the office and status of court chronicle. It has transferred its attention from the crown to the commonalty. The man in the street is more concerned with his bread and butter than with high politics.

An Honours school of history therefore must be closely correlated with the study of geography, anthropology, philosophy and economics. A research student moreover will have to be familiar with the languages of his sources and obsolete scripts in certain cases. In the scientific examination of evidence a knowledge of the science of sciences—Logic—is imperatively called for. A student will have to start with the history of his own country and then

extend his studies from the neighbouring lands to the remotest parts of the world, because history cannot be studied in water-tight compartments and human civilisation did not spring, fully armed like Minerva, from a single root. A minute examination of a coral reef will reveal the carcasses of millions of polyps, and to the evolution of our society and civilisation untold generations representing all ages, all races, all classes and all climes contributed their quota. Man struggled hard with nature before he was in a position to dominate the rest of the animal world. The story of that struggle cannot be recovered in a day. A host of devoted investigators must dedicate themselves to that task and the universities must be prepared to equip these intellectual argonauts for their voyage of discovery.

The reconstruction of the past is fraught with many difficulties. An expert after years of laborious explorations may bring the scattered strands of evidence together only to find that something is still missing and he cannot weave an intelligible pattern. He cannot place his conclusions beyond the region of doubt, for historical facts are not verifiable. His findings may not find popular favour, for they are not always to popular liking. He stands for elusive truth and truth offers no comfort to the distressed, no solace to the afflicted, no hope to the down and out. Yet generations of men and women have worshipped at the altar of this exacting muse, for a great cause demands singular devotion and what can be nobler than pursuit of knowledge for its own sake? But the study of history is not without its material and moral advantage. A nation, like an individual, can gain from the accumulated experiences of the past and history records the past experiences of the entire human kind. Can India dispense with the service of history and historians today? If the historian is to give his best the country must provide him with the necessary material resources and a congenial moral atmosphere. All Indians, irrespective of their caste and creed, race and religion, party and politics, must unite in a common effort to reconstruct that past on which the present is based and the future must be founded. To this sacred task the youth must bring his energy, the old his experience, the rich his wealth, the learned his knowledge, every one his devotion.

MESSAGES

(Extracts)

H. E. Sir Arthur Hope, Governor of Madras

I have great pleasure in sending a message for the opening today of the Seventh Session of History Congress.

The world has too often forgotten that history can contribute much to the happiness by helping nations to draw accurate conclusions from events and so to avoid making the same mistake.

I hope that this Session of the Congress will be a profitable one and I have much pleasure in sending wishes for its success.

His Excellency the Governor of Central Provinces

Wishes the session every success.

Hon'ble B. K. Chaudhary, New Delhi.

"I wish I could be present but I am very sorry the programme has been drawn up and I am in Madras during the Congress meets. I wish the Congress success."

Mr. John Sargent, Secretary to the Government

"I should have been present on this occasion. My friend and I should like to have been present and I should like to have been there in honour. Unfortunately I have to reconstruct the leave Delhi this time to the President."

the United Provinces

successful
work

extend his studies from the neighbouring lands to the remotest parts of the world, because history cannot be studied in water-tight compartments and human civilisation did not spring, fully armed like Minerva, from a single root. A minute examination of a coral reef will reveal the carcasses of millions of polyps, and to the evolution of our society and civilisation untold generations representing all ages, all races, all classes and all climes contributed their quota. Man struggled hard with nature before he was in a position to dominate the rest of the animal world. The story of that struggle cannot be recovered in a day. A host of devoted investigators must dedicate themselves to that task and the universities must be prepared to equip these intellectual argonauts for their voyage of discovery.

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His Excellency the Governor of Central Provinces & Berar.

Wishes the session every success.

Hon'ble Sir Jogendra Singh, New Delhi.

"I wish I could attend it, but I am very sorry that my programme has already been drawn up and I will not be in Madras during the days the Congress meets. I however wish the Congress every success."

Mr. John Sargent, Educational Advisor to the Government of India

"I should particularly like to have been present on this occasion as I see that my friend and colleague, Dr. S. N. Sen, will be president and I should like to have been there, if only to do him honour. Unfortunately, however, urgent business in regard to reconstruction will make it quite impossible for me to leave Delhi this month. I hope you will convey my best wishes to the President and members of the Congress."

Mr. Panna Lal, I. C. S., Advisor to the United Provinces Government.

"I wish the Congress a very successful session and further advancement in the excellent work, which it has been doing all these years."

The Rt. Hon'ble Dr. M. R. Jayakar, Bombay

"I send you my best wishes for its success."

Iranian Consulate General in India

"I wish it a success."

Syt. Sampurnanand, M.L.A., Benares.

"I have no doubt the Session will be a success. I know the Congress is bringing out a Comprehensive History of India. We want such a book badly. Students of Indian History stand in need of a volume which will embody the results of all the latest researches and make an objective presentation of the facts, neither tampering with truth to serve the ends of alien rulers nor twisting it in the interests of a spurious nationalism. It should not be illegitimate for a fair historian to keep before himself those factors which have made India a unity all down the ages through all its bewildering diversity. I hope it will be possible to place before the world something that will have the stamp and authority of all the various scholars and schools of thought represented by the various institutions. A simultaneous publication in Hindi, and at an early date in provincial languages also, is much to be desired."

Master Tara Singh, Amritsar.

"Sorry, unable attend seventh session Indian History Congress. Have every sympathy with Congress in noble undertaking."

Sir Seraymal Bapna, Prime Minister, Alwar.

"I have, however, great pleasure to send you my good wishes for a successful session of the Congress. I am highly pleased to note that the Congress has undertaken the preparation of a Comprehensive History of India and that good progress is being made with the work. I am sure under such able guidance the work, when completed, will occupy a unique place in Indian Historical literature. I wish you brilliant success in the undertaking."

**Mr. Ghulam Mohammad, C.I.E., Finance Member,
Hyderabad, Deccan.**

"The effort of the Indian History Congress to prepare and publish a comprehensive History of India is highly commendable not so much because it would add to the existing stock of Indian histories written in the tradition of the old school, but because it is proposed to deal with every aspect, political, social, economic and cultural, of the history and development of the people of this country. For too long has emphasis been laid on the chronological recitation of events and the lives and achievements of kings and princes instead of attempting to grapple with the upward movement of life among the masses. With a few notable exceptions, this course has been invariably indulged in and histories have been written with a definite purpose in view, detrimental to our national development. Modern trends in historical thought have pushed into the foreground an ever growing realisation of the importance of social and cultural movements in a nation's evolution, and it is refreshing to see that due mainly to the efforts of the Indian History Congress an attempt is being made to realise this ideal in the writing of our history."

The Chief Minister, Rampur State

"The Indian History Congress has been doing very valuable work and I am sure that its 7th session will also be as successful as the previous ones. No country can make progress unless its people know its history. This is especially true in the case of a country like India which has got a very ancient history and of which its people are justly proud. The Indian History Congress has undertaken a very important work in preparing and publishing a comprehensive history of India in 12 volumes. These publications will, I am sure, give our country-men a true picture of what India has been and to what heights it can rise if the trends of history are studied in their true perspective and are made a source of inspiration for the present and the coming generations."

Mr. Ram Ratan Gupta, M. L. A. (Central)

"You have my whole hearted support and sympathy for the good cause for which this Congress has been insti-

tuted and is functioning. I would wish every Indian to take a keen interest in its activities."

Sir Abdul Qadir, Bahawalpur

"I am sure that the session will be a great success under the auspices of the Madras University and under the distinguished presidentship of Dr. S. N. Sen. I send the History Congress my best wishes and congratulate it on the success it has already achieved and the encouragement it has received from the Government of H. E. H., The Nizam of Hyderabad and other Indian States and from many universities."

Sir Maharaj Singh, Lucknow

"The publication, therefore, of the Comprehensive History of this country is awaited with interest. This will stimulate keenness and enthusiasm for a branch of history too often neglected by us. I wish all success to the Congress."

The Vice-Chancellor, Agra University

"Good wishes for the success of the Congress."

Raja Oudh Narain Bisarya, Prime Minister, Bhopal

"I should however be grateful if you would kindly convey to the Congress my warmest message of good will and best wishes for the success of its enterprise. A comprehensive history of India is a great desideratum and I have no doubt that the scholars, who have undertaken the writing of its chapters, will be able to achieve the object in view, and that the History they will place at the disposal of the reading public will be a model of Indian scholarship."

Mr. W. R. Puranik, Vice-Chancellor, Nagpur University, Nagpur

"The comprehensive History of India which is being published by it next year will, I am sure, be a solid contribution to the fame of Indian scholarship, both in and outside its borders.

I wish the Seventh Session of the Indian Historical Congress a great success."

Dr. Amaranatha Jha, Vice-Chancellor, Allahabad University.

"It is gratifying to find that the organisation is gathering strength and influence rapidly. The project of the History of India is a monumental one and it is the earnest wish and prayer of every scholar that it may soon be published. I convey to the Congress the best wishes of the Allahabad University for continued success."

T. Vijayaraghavacharya, Diwan, Udaipur, Rajputana.

"I write to wish every success to the current year's session which is being held at the presidency of my old friend, Dr. S. N. Sen, who at the moment is in Udaipur as Secretary of the Indian Historical Records Commission which is meeting here. The Indian History Congress is doing useful work from the national point of view and I desire to convey my wishes for a successful session."

Dr. M. S. Mehta, Dewan, Banswara State.

"I am deeply interested in the great work which the Indian History Congress has undertaken. The result of this noble effort will be welcomed all over the country.

"I sincerely wish the Session a full measure of success at Madras and do hope that its deliberations will be of great value to Historical research and the advancement of historical learning."

Nawab Ali Yawar Jung, Deccan History Association, Hyderabad.

"I am desired by the Managing Committee of the recently formed Deccan History Association to send you the best wishes of the Association for a very successful session and to state that the Indian History Congress will always have the good-will and co-operation of the Association."

Mr. K. M. Munshi

"I wish Congress every success. Regret inability to attend. Professors Posalker and Gyam representing Bhavan. Are you returning this way?"

**Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan, High Commissioner for India
in South Africa**

"I wish the session of History Congress every success. Its position in the world of historical scholarship is now assured."

Nagindas T. Master, Mayor, Bombay.

"I regret my inability to attend personally, but shall feel obliged if you will kindly convey to those assembled at the session my best wishes for its success as well as for the progress of the Congress. From the information supplied in your letter under reference I was much pleased to find the good progress which your Congress has made in promoting the research and scientific study of the history of our country and I wish every success to your endeavours in that direction.

"Again wishing complete success to your deliberations."

SECTION I

ANCIENT INDIA UPTO 711 A. D.

President :—**PANDIT MADHO SWARUP VATS,**
Superintendent, Archæological Survey of India,
Agra.

Secretary :—**PROF. T. BALAKRISHNA NAYAR,**
Professor of History, Presidency College, Madras.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am grateful to the Committee of the Indian History Congress for asking me to preside over the deliberations of Section I of Ancient Indian History (upto 711 A.D.). South India being the earliest seat of Indian Culture, it would have been more appropriate if this honour had been conferred on a South-Indian scholar. However, with your co-operation, I shall try to discharge my duties to the best of my ability.

At the outset it is my painful duty to record the grievous loss to Indian History caused by the death of several distinguished Indologists among whom are included the honoured names of H. Luders, J. Ph. Vogel, Sir A. Berriedale Keith and Dr. E. J. H. Mackay each of whom has rendered valuable service to the annals of our country.

One of the most important problems awaiting solution and one which can be illumined by archæological exploration in India is how to bridge the wide gap which still exists between the prehistoric culture as revealed to us by the epoch-making discoveries in the Indus valley of the 3rd and 4th millenia B. C and the historical monuments of India. New light can be thrown on our earliest literature and tradition if systematic work is done on the lines indicated below.

It is well known that, at least from the Neolithic Age the great river valleys of South and South-West Asia and North Africa were populated most, for in them the climate was favourable, food and pasturage plentiful and means of irrigation and communication easy. Thus peoples living on the banks of the Nile, the Euphrates, the Karun, the Helmund and the Indus may be supposed to have had similar chances of development simultaneously each in their own way. While, therefore, independent development in these regions may be found to be more or less identical in several directions, it was but natural that in many respects their individuality should be no less marked. The important discoveries made at Harappā and Mohenjo-daro reveal to us in the fourth and third millenia before Christ a full-fledged civilisation already age-old and stereotyped on Indian soil with thousands of years of human endeavour behind it. Here, as in the rest of contemporary Western Asia, the peoples are in the Chalcolithic Age—an age in which arms and utensils of stone continue to be used side by side with those of copper or bronze. Owing to the fact that the mounds at Harappā attracted attention as far back as 1826 and to certain Intermediate and Early strata there being older than the strata so far excavated at Mohenjo-daro some scholars are inclined to call this civilization by the name of Harappā culture in preference to the term Indus Culture. This is but a distinctive name as opposed to a geographical expression. Similar culture has been found widespread by Sir Aurel Stein¹ in Balūchistan,

1. Archæological Survey of India, Memoirs, Nos. 37 and 43.

not to talk of countries further afield; and in India itself, beyond the confines of the Indus Valley, it has been traced by me at Kotla Nihang Khan² near Rupar in the Ambala District of the Punjab between the Sutlej and the Jamna *doab*, and at Rangpur³ in the Limbdi State of Kathiawad. How far this civilization will be traced over the rest of India it is premature to say. We know at least this much that the people possessed a culture by no means incipient. In the words of Sir John Marshall.

"Their Society is organized in cities; their wealth derived mainly from agriculture and trade, which appears to have extended far and wide in all directions. They cultivate wheat and barley as well as the date palm. They have domesticated the humped zebu, buffalo, and short-horned bull, besides the sheep, pig, dog, elephant, and camel; but the cat and probably the horse are unknown to them. For transport they have wheeled vehicles, to which oxen doubtless were yoked. They are skilful metal workers, with a plentiful supply of gold, silver, and copper. Lead, too, and tin are in use, but the latter only as an alloy in the making of bronze. With spinning and weaving they are thoroughly conversant. Their weapons of war and of the chase are the bow and arrow, spear, axe, dagger, and mace. The sword they have not yet evolved; nor is there any evidence of defensive body armour. Among their other implements, hatchets, sickles, saws, chisels, and razors are made of both copper and bronze, knives and celts sometimes of these metals, sometimes of chert or other hard stones. For the crushing of grain they have the muller and saddle-quern but not the circular grindstone. Their domestic vessels are commonly of earthenware turned on the wheel and not infrequently painted with encaustic designs; more rarely they are of copper, bronze, or silver. The ornaments of the rich are made of the precious metals or of copper, sometimes overlaid with gold, of faience, ivory, carnelian, and other stones; for the poor, they are usually of shell or terra-cotta. Figurines and toys, for which there is a wide vogue, are of terra-cotta, and shell and faience are freely used, as they are in Sumer and the West generally, not only for personal ornaments but for inlay work and other purposes. With the invention of

2. Archæological Survey of India Report.

3. A. S. R. for 1934-35, pp. 34-38, Pls. XII-XV.

writing the Indus peoples are also familiar, and employ for this purpose a form of script which, though peculiar to India, is evidently analogous to other contemporary scripts of Western Asia and the Near East."⁴

The late Mr. N. G. Majumdar of the Archeological Survey of India carried out explorations in Sindh during 1929-30, 1930-31 and 1939-40 and discovered over twenty Chalcolithic sites, mostly on the right bank of the Indus and in particular in the hilly regions between the Indus and the Khirthar range. This enabled him to classify the Sind potteries and to determine the sequence of sites and the different phases of culture found in them partly on stratigraphical evidence and partly on a comparative study of the wares and their decoration. The earliest pottery *viz.*, the polychrome thin pale ware with geometric patterns was first found at Amri below the thick ware of black-on-red pottery typical of Mohenjo-daro. Similar pottery was subsequently found at Chauro, Damb Butthi, Lohri, Ghazi Shah and elsewhere in Sindh and corresponds to the Kulli and Mehri pottery in shapes, ware and paintings. The Amri-Kulli-Mehri pottery may have been the prototype of the Nal wares in which the polychrome technique and the geometric tendency of patterns is further developed. Against this the thickware of Mohenjo-daro, also found at Chanuh-daro and Ali Murad, was usually painted with combined geometric, animal and plant motifs and rarely with the former alone. The third sequence of painted pottery with decoration in black or chocolate on a light red or buff slip having in some cases reddish-brown band at the neck was found on Manchar lake sites, principally from Trihni. On this the common motifs are plants and flowers, sometimes much stylised. Analogous ware has been found from the upper pre-historic levels of Jhukar and Lohumjo-daro. The last and the fourth group, a black ware incised with geometric patterns, was found at Jhangar, near Lake Manchar and this is comparable to the pottery of some of the early Iron Age sites in the Madras Presidency.⁵

Later than the Mohenjo-daro types of pottery found in the city site of Harappa is the Cemetery H pottery

4. Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization, Vol. I, pp. V and VI.

5. Archaeological Survey of India, Memoir No. 48, and Sir John Cumming's *Revealing India's Past*, pp. 103-06.

which I have provisionally assigned to a period between circa 2000 B. C. and 2500 B. C. Two strata of burials have come to light here: the upper one of post-exposure burials inhumed in pots and the lower one, which follows with a short interval of space, of earth-burials consigned to graves by digging pits in the ground. Pots of the upper stratum are of various shapes, but the more common forms are round, ellipsoid or carinated and their height ranges from $9\frac{1}{2}$ to $23\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The found ones are either plain or painted, the latter being also flanged round the neck and, like the ellipsoid jars, had sometimes a ring-base. The plain jars have their lower portion roughened by a finger-tip or finger-groove pattern. Until 1934, altogether 135 burial pots were found: 37 contained bones of adults—young or old, 21 of children, 6 whose age is doubtful and 16 of babies and infants, while 55 were without bones and filled only with percolated earth. The quantity of bones in the jars differs very widely. From the data so far unearthed, it may be stated with reasonable certainty that bodies of adults and grown-up children were almost invariably exposed to birds and beasts of prey, and after a short period, the exact duration of which there is no means of determining at present, such bones as remained were collected and deposited in pots or burial urns. Usually, the skull or its fragments, leg and arm-bones, part of the vertebral column, pelvis, shoulder-blade, some other long bones with a few comparatively of the smaller bones formed the entire collection of a dead body. As the lighter and fleshy bones could be easily carried away by birds and beasts, the quantity left necessarily varied under different circumstances. As a rule, one jar was meant only for the bones of a single individual, but an exception is furnished by a jar which contained three skulls. Casual duplication of small bones occurs in several other pots also. Infants or babies were not exposed. The contents of 16 jars, which contained their remains, furnished clear evidence that babies were wrapped up, almost in embryonic position, in a piece of cloth and laid to rest in the urn.

Earth-burials were either entire or fractional and were disposed in various directions, but in the eastern section of the cemetery their prevailing direction was from north-east to south-west. Generally, dead bodies were laid to rest fully stretched; but in some cases also with legs inflexed. With most burials, but not invariably, some grave furniture in the shape of funeral pottery was placed

with the dead person and, with one notable exception, no jewellery was found on the person of a dead body.

Compared with household pottery from the city site, the clay of the burial wares is of fine grain, better levigated and puddled, a little softer, and therefore a trifle more plastic. Most of the finer necropolitan pottery is of deep red colour with a bright slip on which painting in black becomes automatically more pronounced. Both as regards shapes and paintings this pottery is totally different from the secular wares found in the mounds. Their paintings show distinct preference for animal forms, such as the peacock, deer, bull, goat, kites and fishes, as well as for plants, trees, stars, leaves, etc. There are several interesting paintings of a mythological character on burial-pots of Stratum 1. Thus on one jar, which is decorated at the shoulder with three flying peacocks alternating with stars, is seen placed horizontally in the body of each peacock a therianthrope figure probably representing the *śūkshma-śarīra* or ethereal body of the dead being carried to heaven.⁶ From this, and also from the frequent recurrence of the peacock motif often with horns—on other burial-pots, it is evident that this bird was regarded with peculiar sanctity in connection with the cult of the dead. On another jar, the painting is still more elaborate. It consists of two similar groups of figures showing a bovine animal—probably a bull—with long incurving horns on either side of a beaked, human figure who has secured them by the neck with ropes held in hands and under the feet, and who also has a bow and arrow in his left hand.⁷ This creature is human but for the beak and wavy lines rising from his head. In the left hand representation the animal on the left is being attacked by a hound, which has caught its tail in his mouth. It will also be noticed that the hind quarters of this animal are shown in outline only, while in the right hand one they are blocked in. Behind the hound are two horned peacocks in flight. Between these two representations is a goat of inordinately large size whose horns are bedecked with eight trident-like devices like those which are seen between the horns of the bulls in the right hand scene and whose hind quarters, like those of the left hand bull, are also shown in outline only. It may be pointed out here

6. Madho Sarup Vats, Excavations at Harappa. Vol. II, Pl. LXII, 2.

7. *Rigveda*, X, 18, 9, refers to the bow and arrow being placed with the dead man.

that the tail of the bull is already bitten off by the hound in the left hand scene. That this elaborate painting, occurring as it does on a burial-pot, is meant to portray what was believed to happen to the dead person there can hardly be any doubt. It appears to me that the hound in the left hand scene, may, like the two hounds of Yama, be the hound of Hades and that the right hand scene, where the cattle are now decked with trident crests, depicts them in the 'Abode of Bliss,' after they have passed through the intermediate Hades. The goat between the two scenes was also a sort of 'pathfinder' and a deified intermediary, an inference which may be drawn both from its large size and the crests on its horns. I suggest that the bulls anticipated the sacred Aryan cows, and that the left hand one which is without the entrails, is perhaps to be identified with the prototype of the *Anustarani*, and the right hand one with that of the *Vaitarni* cow. The hound, as already remarked, is reminiscent of Yama's dogs.⁸ In connection with the outlined hind-quarters of the goat it is interesting to point out that in Rigveda, X, 16, a funeral hymn addressed to Agni (Fire), the deity at the time of cremating a dead body, is thus exhorted in verse 1 :—

"Burn him not up, nor quite consume him, Agni; let not his body or skin be scattered.

"O Jātavedas, when thou hast matured him, then send him on his way unto the Fathers."⁹

Again in verse 4 of the same hymn Agni is asked in the following words to consume only the goat that was slaughtered and laid limb by limb on the corpse :—

"Thy portion is the goat: with heat consume him, let thy fierce flame, thy glowing splendour, burn him.

"With thine auspicious forms, O Jātavedas, bear this man to the region of the pious."

In the scenes portrayed on this jar the only indication of the slaughter of the goat as well as of the prototype of the *Anustarani* cow is afforded by the absence of the entrails, but in view of the verses quoted above there is no doubt that the sacrifice of these animals was intended

8. Madho Sarup Vats, Excavations at Harappa, Vol. I, pp. 207-08 and Vol. II, 1(a) and 1(b).

9. R. T. H. Griffiths, Translation of the Rigveda,

to protect the dead person from the fire, whose fury was to be exhausted on the limbs of the goat and presumably also of the cow. Moreover, according to the R̥gveda, the duty of Agni (Jatavedas) was to mature the dead man and to send him to the region of the pious, or the Fathers, as stated in verses 1 and 4 of the hymn quoted above.

As pointed out above, the paintings can hardly fail to recall to mind the parallelism, with some of the rites, ritual, and beliefs contained in hymns 14, 16, and 18 of the Xth Maṇḍala of the R̥gveda, but as here the paintings are connected with post-exposure fractional burials and not with cremation, the comparison cannot be carried further. Nevertheless, the similarity of beliefs, as far as it goes, is very striking. It is, however, not intended to suggest more than a comparison, for the connections or affinities between the Vedic Āryans and the cultures connected with the Harappa burials are not yet quite clear. There are several interesting paintings on other jars too, but it is not possible for me to notice them in the space at my disposal here.

In general the earth-burials of Stratum II, so far as the method of inhumation is concerned, are comparable to those of Nal and Masyan, and the complete burials also to those of Shahi-tump. Nevertheless, it may be stated that at Harappa the fractional earth-burials are neither exceptional as they are at Masyan, nor of such frequent occurrence as at Nal. The evidence so far gained points to a preponderance of complete burials. The paintings and shapes of burial pottery from Nal and Shahi-tump are entirely different from those of the Harappa cemetery. On the other hand, the charred bones of lambs, goats, etc., which Aurel Stein found in the Balachi graves, were paralleled in several earth-burials at Harappa by the sacrifice of sheep or goat, which in one case was laid alongside the dead body, and in several others its members were found lying between the grave furniture and the dead person.

There is general agreement as to the sequence of cultural strata in Northern and Southern India. The discoveries of ancient implements seem to prove that in the north the copper age intervened between the Stone and Iron Age but that in the South there was no intermediate stage between the latter two, implements of stone being followed directly by those of iron. Even in the north the "Chalcolithic Age" must gradually have passed into the Iron

Age of which there are a number of sites in South India notably in the gravely mounds of the Tinnevely district along the course of the Tamraparni river. They are probably associated with Dravidians or proto-Dravidians who inhabited the country at the time of the Aryan invasion. Of these, the best known and the most extensive Iron Age Cemetery is at Adichanallūr. First noticed in 1876 by Dr. Jagor who collected a number of things from it for the Berlin Museum, it was excavated by A. Rea of the Archæological Survey of India between 1899 and 1905 when he exposed a number of prehistoric burials and in 1903-04 also by Louis Lapicque of Paris who propounded the theory that the remains in it belonged to some proto-Dravidian race. Rea has published accounts of his excavations at Adichanallur and Perumbair which is in the Chingleput district.¹⁰ The former site covers an area of 114 acres and showed that for inhumation pits were excavated in the solid rock or in the adjoining hard soil for depositing burial urns which were found in rows. Large urns, about three feet in diameter contained whole burials, while the smaller urns contained only a selection of bones with or without the accompaniment of other articles of which small pottery vessels with characteristic red and black polish on them constituted the bulk. Vessels of food and drink were found inside the larger urns but outside the others. "Among other interesting finds were iron implements such as swords, daggers, spearheads, etc., gold and bronze diadems, bronze bowls, hangers, cups, strainers, and animal figures such as the buffalo, also cornelian heads and miscellaneous ornaments of cut wire. A special interest attaches to the animal representations in radiating rows, supported on metal frames. The most significant figure is the buffalo, which still plays an important part in the religious ritual of the Todas of the Nilgiri hills."¹¹ Representations of the buffalo in terracotta were found in a number of cairns and barrows opened in the Nilgiris by J. W. Brecks in the early seventies of the last century. A number of Iron Age sites were also discovered in 1936 by Rao Bahadur Krishnamacharlu in the Ramnad and Tinnevely districts of Madras in the upper reaches of the Tamraparni river and its tributaries near the Travancore

10. A. S. R. 1902-3, p. 104; 1904-5, p. 41, and 1908-9, p. 92; and Catalogue of Prehistoric Antiquities from Adichanallūr and Perumbair, 1915.

11. Sir John Cumming's, *Revealing India's Past*, p. 114.

border. "A big urn of the thick and red variety measuring about 3 feet in height and 8 feet in circumference at the bulge excavated by him at Valiyampottai in the Tenkasi *taluka* of the Tinnevely district was found to contain in the central portion a few bone fragments which were identified "as (1) part of the lower end of the shaft of a human femur and (2) two fragments of the shaft of a human radius." Dr. Thurston thought that at Ādichanallur only a selection of human bones was interred. The discoveries made by me at Harappa conclusively prove that the pot-burials of Stratum I in the Cemetery H were the result of post-exposure burials. It appears that the same practice was followed at Ādichanallur and other places in the South especially as in them, too, there is no evidence of cremation.¹²

Chalcolithic urn burials of Harappa in the north have their counterparts in the Iron Age sites in South India. In any country methods of disposal of the dead would change but little, the more so in a conservative country like India. Thus whereas it is most desirable to establish the sequence and, if possible, to trace the connections between the Chalcolithic burials of the north with Iron Age burials of South India the fact that a continuity of such customs is possible right into the historical times should always be remembered and put us on our guard against jumping to any rash conclusions. All the more caution is therefore needed in studying the comparative chronology and interrelation of the numerous stone circles and cairns which are found widely scattered in the Nilgiris, Malabar, Chingleput, Coimbatore and Kurnool districts of the Madras Presidency, and in the Megalithic remains and burials which have been reported from South India, Hyderabad and other parts of the Deccan, as well as in the Chhota Nagpur plateau from Palamau to Dalbhum near Tatanagar, Durgapur on the Damodar river in the Burdwan district and Central India, Central Provinces, Mirzapur district of U. P. and elsewhere. But the value of these materials is greatly diminished by the fact that there is none among them to which a definite date can be ascribed. So much so that, even apart from the palæolithic remains, in a majority of cases the date of their manufacture cannot be affirmed within a few centuries.

12. A. S. R. for 1936-37, p. 67.

Throughout North India copper implements occur over a wide range from Baluchistan in the west to Hooghly in the east. Among them may be mentioned those from Bijnor, Cawnpore and Fatehgarh in the United Provinces and Gungeria in the Balaghat district of the Central Provinces which contained bare and shouldered celts, harpoons, spear-heads both plain and barbed, axe-heads, swords, and an object suggestive of human shape. The most important old world hoard of implements came from Gungeria which comprised no less than 424 specimens of almost pure metal, weighing in all 829 pounds, besides 102 ornamental laminæ of silver. "Such a collection, comprising as it did a variety of implements intended for manifold domestic and other purposes, affords evidence enough, as Dr. Smith has remarked, that their manufacture was being conducted in India on an extensive scale; while the distinctive types that had been evolved and are represented both in this and in other finds, connote a development that must already have extended over a long period, though at the same time the barbed spear heads and harpoons and flat celts, manifestly, copied from neolithic prototypes bespeak a relatively high antiquity.¹³ It must be added here that implements, etc., of copper and bronze found at Harappa and Mohenjodaro are much more primitive looking than those recovered from the sites referred to above in the United and Central Provinces. The only thing in this connection that may call for an explanation is that these obviously later sites should have furnished, with but one exception¹⁴ which may have been imported, almost pure copper. This may be due to these hoards being manufactured from copper extracted from quarries other than those which were drawn upon by the Indus people who are not known to have possessed tin as a separate metal which, along with arsenic, was used as an alloy for hardening their tools.

Some of the aborigines, are directly descended from the Neolithic races and this phase of civilization was preserved in some parts of the country until mediæval and probably more recent times. To those races are also to be ascribed a class of chipped trap implements from Bundelkhand and the pygmy flints that occur in myriads among the off-shoots of the Vindhya. A large number of rock-

13. Cambridge History of India, Vol. 1, p. 615.

14. *Ibid.*, page 614.

paintings and some carvings are found in several parts of India localized mostly in the Vindhya and Kaimur ranges, notably in the Southern parts of the Mirzapur district of U. P., the Pachmarhi hills and Hoshangabad in the Central Provinces and at Singhanpur in the Raigarh State of the Eastern States Agency. Writing about them in the Cambridge History of India, Sir John Marshall says :

"Some of the caves in which the latter (chipped trap implements and pygmy flints) have been found are adorned with rude drawings in ruddle or hæmatite, and from the outlines of the primitive weapons depicted in them it has been thought that the drawings were executed during the neolithic period, but though the conjecture is plausible enough and is borne out, let it be said, by the discovery of rubbed specimens of red hæmatite and palettes for grinding down the material at various neolithic sites in the Deccan, it is by no means certain that these drawings go back to so remote an age. This observation applies still more forcibly to the megalithic tombs, which occur in vast numbers in the central and southern parts of the Peninsula, and to the accumulations of prehistoric scoria, often of considerable size, which are known to antiquarians as 'cinder-mounds,' as well as to the so-called 'cup-marks' or small hollowed depressions in the rocks, which have been interpreted by some investigators as a forgotten system of writing."

Therefore a systematic survey of the ancient sites in Rajputana, the Punjab, the United Provinces and the rest of Northern India is indispensably necessary if the gap between the Chalcolithic Culture of the North and the historical monuments of India is to be filled and a reliable sequence established for the various phases of what is vaguely termed pre-historic. Only by systematic exploration of the earliest sites, which might be revealed by such a survey in the great river valleys, can the sequence of cultural strata be established and when that yardstick is found it may be possible to trace links between isolated sites or cultural establishments in fixing the chronology of which blunders might be made in the present state of our knowledge. Again, it is thus only that we may ever hope to discover the monuments, such as may exist, of the great epic age and of the age of the Rigveda, the literary records of which have left a permanent impress on the course and development of Indian History. For the Indian

Peninsula, a similar survey is equally necessary. It is here that the ancient most palæolithic and neolithic cultures can be traced and the interrelation of the Chalcolithic and Iron Age cultures can be determined.

A close study of the Indian punch-marked coins reveals that whereas a number of marks on them correspond to the figures and signs on the Harappa and Mohenjodaro seals there are certain other marks which have obvious similarities with letters of the Brahmi alphabet. With the finds of further hoards of punch-marked coins from stratified sites and the coordination of signs on them with the Indus Valley Script on the one hand and their Brahmi descendants on the other, the researches may one day provide the key not only to the sequence of the cultural strata of the proto-historic period but also to the decipherment of the Indus Valley Script which has baffled the attempts of Indologists so far. Valuable material on punch-marked coins has already been published by Durga Prasad, John Allan and Walsh and the possibility of fruitful results in this direction ought to spur us on to further effort.

The services that epigraphy has rendered to the political, religious and social history of India are too well known. The inscriptions are found widespread over the whole of India on metals, stone and various other substances. Among those of metal, the most numerous are on copper sheets which purport to be "donative charters issued by Kings, feudatory chieftains, provincial governors or any high officials who had the authority to alienate state lands and to assign allotments from the state revenues. They were, in fact, title-deeds, and passed into private custody as soon as they were issued." Usually, they are replete with genealogical information of the donor and donee. A reconstruction of the ancient geography of India, such as is known at present, has been due in no small measure to the Epigraphical researches made so far and the identification of new place names with the help of the topographical data associated with them is likely to make our knowledge of the subject progressively more and more comprehensive. Useful work in this direction can be taken up by the research departments in the Universities. Moreover, a clue to the course of the migrations of ancient cultures can be furnished by researches based on actual field work. Here I cannot do better than to refer to the researches carried on for about forty years

by the late Sir Aurel Stein whose brilliant work is worthy of emulation.

The Gupta Period has been called the golden age of ancient India. It has left a permanent impress on the political, cultural, scientific, religious, art and building activities of India and brought about a powerful revival of Hinduism which had begun to assert itself immediately after the palmy days of Buddhism during the reign of the great Mauryan Emperor Āśoka. The effect of this on the history of culture survived by about a century and a half the political supremacy of the Guptas which did not last beyond the 5th century A. D. In paintings as in sculpture the art of this period is characterised by a balance and judicious restraint in composition, perfection of technique and boldness of execution which have scarcely been excelled. The art treasures of Ajanta and Bagh, Badami and Sittanavasal, etc. and sculptures—which have been found widely distributed over the whole of India and are rightly prized for their idealised expression—have elicited their due meed of praise from connoisseurs. Architecturally also, this period marks the beginning of the two styles of temple architecture in India, *viz.*, the “Nagara” and the “Draviḍa” which were to develop into the great Indo-Aryan *śikhara*s of the north and *vimāna*s of the south. These two styles are found side by side in the Durga and Ladkhan temples at Aiholi in the south, while the *śikhara* of the Deogarh and Bhitargaon temples is found to occur with the flat roof of the Sanchi, Tigawa, Nachna Kuthara and other temples in Northern India. Gradually, during the mediæval period, these two styles became distinctive of the north and south. Of the early *śikhara* type the only lithic example extant in Northern India is the Daśavatara temple at Deogarh which may be dated to the beginning of the 6th century A. D. Though the upper part of its *śikhara* has long disappeared I was fortunate in discerning recently over the outer vertical band of its elaborate door-frame the replicas which I take to represent the profile of this or another similar contemporary shrine. This temple appears to have been a straight-edged pyramid built in receding tiers, the large projection in the centre of each side, which accommodates a broad but deeply recessed niche enclosed by pilasters, being carried up the spire on which the principal decorative element is the chaitya-window motif. The profile of the *śikhara* on the door jamb also shows *amalakas* at the corners and the

top. Here, then, is an already well-defined type of *sikhara* of the Gupta Period, which with time grew taller, pyramidal, curvilinear, more perfected and elaborate. For reasons, which I need not detail here, I do not agree with Cunningham that because a few pillars were found on the basement there was originally a pillared portico on each of the four sides over the platform or with R. D. Banerji that the whole platform was covered over with a flat roof. The sanctum, as remarked by Cunningham, occupied the centre of the nine squares into which the terrace over the basement was divided. Excavation of the plinth carried out by Daya Ram Sahni revealed at each corner the existence of a small square shrine so that together with the central cella the Daśavatāra temple constitutes the earliest example in northern India of the *pañcharatna* type. The basement was decorated by at least two series of sculptured panels of which the smaller one was superposed over the larger one—two panels of the latter being still *in situ*. To give a cursory idea of this important and beautiful temple I shall now give a very brief outline of it.

The plinth, to which access is gained by a flight of steps rising from the centre of each side, measures 55 ft. 6 inches square and has at each corner a miniature shrine 11 ft. square, of which only the traces are now left. On every side the resulting two sections on the plinth were relieved in the middle by a projection which accommodated longer panels carved at the side facets also by breaking through the third and fourth moulded courses. The plinth is very much ruined though obviously it must have risen to the level of the doorstep of the shrine which is about nine feet above the level of the moonstones at the bottom of the flights of steps. Over this, the parapet would have risen to another two feet. The cella (*garbhagriha*) is a plain square (18'6" × 18'6") facing west relieved by an exquisitely carved doorway on the east and a broad and deep panelled niche enclosed by projecting pilasters in the centre of each side. The entablature above the level of the doorway and niches shows a simple frieze of arched window pattern over which projected all-round on cantilever beams, four on each side, a deep *chhajja* which effectively shaded the reliefs on the doorway and panels on the remaining sides without causing any obstruction to the view. The probable form the *sikhara* took has already been explained above.

The door-frame (11'2" × 10'9") consists of four facets

running all round, each facet showing at the bottom a standing figure. Beginning with the innermost facet the first one is a haloed male figure followed on each side by two female figures. At the outer ends of the frame is a standing pot-bellied dwarf (*Kichaka*) upholding with both hands a squat pot of typical Gupta design from which emerges a graceful band covered with foliage and flowers. At the level of the lintel this band sweeps back 10" in order to accommodate the figures of Ganga on the proper right and Yamuna on the left, each canopied by an umbrella and standing on their respective vehicles. This position for the river goddesses at the sides of the lintel is also found in other early Gupta temples. Set out in the centre of the lintel is Vishnu seated on Ananta and usually this deity is the same to whom the shrine is dedicated. Circumambulating from left to right we come to the panelled niches the subjects of which rank among the masterpieces of Indian sculpture. The panel on the north depicts the episode of *Gajendra-moksha*, that on the east the great penance of Nara and Narāyaṇa and on the south Anantaśāyī Vishnu.

As I have stated above, the plinth was adorned by two series of carved panels which depict scenes from the Ramayana and Mahabharata. The Ramayana panels include Ahalya-uddhara; Vana-gamana; the visit of Rama, Lakshmana and Sita to the hermitage of the sage Agastya; the cutting of the nose and ear of Surpanakha; the combat of Bali and Sugriva; the garlanding of Sugriva by Lakshmana; the visit of Lakshmana to Sugriva etc.; and Hanuman rushing with herbs to revive Lakshmana. Among the few scenes from the Mahabharata are the birth of Krishna; Nanda and Yaśoda fondling Bala-deva and Krishna; and the Sakata-lila. A much mutilated panel still in position depicts Vamanavatara. What other *avatarās* of Vishnu were found on the temple plinth it is impossible to say now.

The ruin of this great temple is so complete that a good deal of work is required to make a conjectural restoration on paper of the temple as a whole. That alone can impart some idea not only of its form but also of its former grandeur. To this task I propose to address myself.

In conclusion, I would earnestly appeal to scholars, in their respective spheres of study, to do all that is possible to bridge the gulf which still exists between the earliest

historic monuments of India and the long period preceding them until we come to the discovery of the Harappa Culture. Some of the obvious ways of doing so that have suggested themselves to me have been outlined above and I am sure that, while we are grappling with this important and many sided problem, light will come from other directions also. Once we start building up the chronological sequences, in the elucidation of which stratigraphical evidence and comparative study of cultural data are bound to play an important part, it may be hoped that the picture of what is now vaguely termed pre-historic will gradually begin to unfold itself. The task, however, is by no means small or easy: it requires all the effort and earnestness we are capable of. Let it be added further that fuller light is required to illumine the dark pages of the historic period as well, for instance the interval between the Sisunagas and the Mauryas and the tangled political conditions which confronted the later Mauryas and Sungas throughout the 2nd and 1st centuries B. C. Even later, such important relics as those of the Gupta Period would demand a greater and more intensive study. Large scale excavation of early historic sites, where systematic work is likely to repay, is therefore a great desideratum.

ROYAL POWER IN ANCIENT INDIA

BY

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The object of this paper is to elucidate two matters relating to the power and prerogative of the king in ancient India which have formed the subjects of some recent discussions, and which appear to require a little further elucidation. The first relates to the nature and extent of the validity of the royal edict; this has been dealt with by Rao Bahadur K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar in his *Rajadharma*, and after him by Dr. U. N. Ghoshal. The second touches the apparently endless debate on whether ancient Indian king was the owner of the soil of the state or not—a subject on which Dr. Ghoshal joined issue with the late Dr. Jayaswal in a paper that has been included in his recent publication: '*The Beginnings of Indian Historiography and other essays*'. I have no new texts to produce on either of these subjects, but I see reason to interpret the known texts differently from these distinguished scholars, and I shall endeavor to state my position (and theirs) as briefly as possible.

I

It is common knowledge that the Hindu king had little or no legislative power as we understand it in modern politics; he was more law-guardian than law-maker, and any orders issued by him had to have a due regard to the principles of common equity (Dharma) and defer to local customs and usages. One writer Kātyāyana, goes so far as to say that a royal order which did not satisfy these tests was not a properly made rule. He says this in a verse which has become the plaything of ignorant scribes and baffled editors who have fallen victims to them and which in its correct form should, I think, read as follows:

nyāya-śāstrā'-(a)virodhena deśa-dr̥ṣṭes-tathaiva ca
yam-dharmam sthāpayed-rājā nyāyāyā tad-rājāsāsanam

Both in the reading and interpretation of this verse there is no difference between Professor Rangaswami Aiyangar and myself.¹

But then, to this position upheld by the generality of writers on Hindu polity, there is an important exception, and that is the view put forward by Kautilya in his *Arthashastra*. I have no desire to open the question of the date and authorship of this work

1. *Rajadharma*, p. 133.

here, but would only say that I regard it in the main as the production of the celebrated Chancellor of Chandragupta Maurya. I consider, further, that the position taken up by Kauṭilya for the first time in India on the place of the royal edict in the Indian state is better accounted for on this supposition than on any other.

Kauṭilya holds that royal edict (rājaśāsana) has an independent validity of its own; not only is it valid by itself because of its very character of being an order of the king, and without having to undergo or satisfy any tests regarding its conformity to *nyāya*, usage, and so on, but its validity is of such superior and over-riding character that all other sources of law and right go under when they come into conflict with it. Here is Kauṭilya's text setting out the law of the matter :²

dharmāśca vyavahāraśca caritram rājaśāsanam
vivadārthaścatuspādaḥ paścimaḥ pūrvabādhakaḥ
atra satye sthito dharmāḥ vyavahārastu śakṣiṣu
caritram samgrahe pumsām rājñām ajñā tu śāsanam

which may be rendered thus: *Dharma*, contract, custom and royal decree are the four legs of Law (determinants of litigation). Of these each later item is of superior validity to its predecessor. *Dharma* is rooted in truth; contract in witnesses; custom in the tradition of the people; and the decree in the command of kings'. Nothing can be clearer, as an absolute exaltation of the king's power, legislative as well as executive, above all other sources of law.

And Kauṭilya does not stop here. He goes further and lays it down that whenever the Śāstra is in conflict with any specific rule of reason finding expression in a royal decree the latter shall prevail, and the reason he assigns is startlingly modern—the text must be corrupt.³ It is noteworthy that the phrase *dharmanyāya* employed by Kauṭilya in this context was understood by Dr. Shama Sastri as meaning the king's law; I think that is the most natural way of understanding this phrase in the context. The verse reads :

Śāstram vipratipadyeta dharma-nyāyena kenacit
nyāyastatra pramāṇam syāt tatra pātho hi naśyati

2. Bk. III. Ch. (1).

3. Contra *Rajadharma* p. 82 where the passage is somehow understood as being in consonance with the doctrine of 'infallibility of the common source' of both the Arthasastra and Dharmasastra. I am aware of the other interpretations of the last quarter of the verse—*tatra patho hi nasyati*, but I think the correct meaning is what I have stated above.

i.e. where the *śāstra* is found to conflict with a rule of reason, there reason shall prevail, for the text indeed may be corrupt (*lit.* perishes). In the face of these statements of Kauṭilya exalting royal authority and reason above the canonical books and their precepts Yājñavalkya, who is often found versifying the text of the *Arthasāstra* seems to have felt the need to mark his emphatic dissent from Kauṭilya on this matter, and he roundly asserts :

arthasāstrāt-tu balavad iharmasāstram iti sthitih

And he was not far wrong ; the general trend of Indian political thought was to exalt the code above the king and bind the king's discretion with its precepts. But Kauṭilya is the exception, and a very significant exception. Only one subsequent writer ventured to follow him in the view he took of the place of the royal edict in the constitution of the state ; that was the author of the *Smṛti* now going under the name of Nārada who held along with Kauṭilya, that among the four determinants of a subject in dispute, the royal decree had the highest validity and overruled everything else.

For Kauṭilya's sentence : *pascimāḥ pūrvabādhakāḥ*, Nārada substitutes : *uttarāḥ pūrvabādhakāḥ* without any change in the meaning. Prof. Rangaswami Aiyengar however renders Nārada's words by 'what precedes over-rides what follow', a rendering which by the way, he attached once to the words of Kauṭilya in the same context ; and Dr. U. N. Ghoshal has cited him with approval.⁴ Prof. Rangaswami thus imagines a conflict on this matter between Kauṭilya and Nārada which does not exist, and writes a long note on it.

It should not be supposed that Kauṭilya threw *dharma* overboard and advocated an unrestrained autocracy on the part of the monarch. He was too well rooted in Hindu tradition and had too little faith in the unaided intelligence of even the ablest monarch to have followed that course. In the midst of the discussion from which our extracts come, Kauṭilya affirms :

rājāḥ svadharmāḥ svargāya prajā dharmena rakshituh, *i.e.* the king who fulfils his peculiar duties and protects his subjects in accordance with *dharmic* ways attains heaven. The king's obligation to keep to the path of virtue is thus asserted clearly ; and his orders therefore embodied the rules of reason and justice as commonly understood of men, and were thus *dharma nyāyas* ; their high importance, and overriding validity in cases of conflict with other determinants of right is hinted at first in one verse which repeats the four determinants in the same order as before

4. See *Rajadharma*, p. 133 ; *Some aspects of Ancient Indian Polity* p. 170 ; and Ghoshal. *The Beginnings* p. 141 and n 8

but puts them on the wider ground of general administration, instead of conforming them to litigation (*vivadārtha*) :

anūsāsaddhi dharmeṇa vyvahāreṇa samsthayā
nyayena ca caturthena caturantām mahim jayet

Here *samtha* and *nyāya* stand for *Caritra* and *rājasāsana* respectively ; then follows a verse on cases of conflict in which *artha* is to be subordinated to *dharma*, and lastly the verse already cited on the higher validity of a reasonable law of the king when it is in conflict with *sāstras* (canon). It is clear therefore that while Kauṭilya keeps to tradition, he introduces a new element the effect of which is to attach to royal edicts a degree of importance they had never before possessed.

Now how are we to explain this exaltation of royal power by Kauṭilya which clearly runs against the main current of Indian tradition and in the end makes no tangible impression on Indian political thought as reflected in the subsequent literature on polity ? The explanation must be sought in the general historical conditions of the age of Kauṭilya. It was an age of great monarchies, and the great Hellenistic kingdoms particularly Syria and Egypt, were perfecting the traditions and institutions of royal absolutism they inherited from the Persian empire of the Achaemenids. And in these states we find the same exaltation of the royal edict above all other forms of law and convention, and the growth of a new and uniform civil law promoted by the active exercise of royal authority either directly in royal decrees or indirectly by the decisions and awards of the king's officers acting in his name. The position is well summed up for all the Hellenistic kingdoms in these words by Rostovtzeff :⁵ 'This variety of juridical systems was dominated by the royal legislation and jurisdiction. It is evident that a royal law, order, or regulation if it conflicted with other laws, was always regarded as over-riding them, and that the royal verdict in law suits was final. The same may be true of the decisions of certain royal officials, who often rendered justice in the name of the king concurrently with the regular courts. It is clear that the royal authority was actively exerted in the sphere of civil law'. The Mauryan state was in active contact with its western neighbours, and the probability is great that the developments that were taking place under the Seleucids and Ptolemies were not altogether unknown to Kauṭilya who stated in so many words that he wrote his treatise for the use of his monarch basing it not only on all the extant *sāstras* on the subject of polity but after having collected the contemporary practice of different states (*prayogan upalabhya ca*)⁶

5. *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic world*, pp. 1067-68.

6. Bk. II Ch. 10, verse at the end.

On the question of royal ownership of all land in the state the *locus classicus* regarding Indian tradition is of course the well known comment of Śābarasvāmin on Jaimini VI—7. But Megasthenes and modern Anglo-Indian Jurisprudence hold the opposite view that all land is the property of the king (State), and that the cultivators are only tenants, not owners. Students of this question have fallen under the influence of this idea and traced it even in texts which are susceptible of another interpretation in conformity with Indian tradition. I shall leave aside the question as regards modern India as it is involved in rights acquired by conquest, and confine myself to the ancient Hindu theory on the subject. I shall examine the texts discussed by Dr. Ghoshal first, and then seek to explain how Megasthenes' view of the subject may be accounted for. Dr. Ghoshal's discussion⁷ takes the form of a polemic against Jayaswal's contentions put forward in his work on *Hindu Polity*, and I find myself more in agreement with Dr. Ghoshal in his critique of Jayaswal's interpretations, and with this observation I take leave of the polemical part of this study, and turn to consider the true import of the texts cited in that paper with a view to determine how far they are opposed to the *mīmāṃsā* doctrine laid down by Śābarasvāmin that the king does not differ from any other man as regards proprietary rights in the soil, except that he is entitled as king to a share, usually a sixth part, of the produce from it.

The first text is from Manu on treasure troves and mines enjoining a half-share to the king in either case on the ground that the king offers protection to the land and is its overlord—*ardhabhag-rakṣaṇādrāja bhūmeradhipatir hi saḥ*. The main point at issue here is the import of the expression *adhi-pati*, lord or sovereign; and despite the high authority of Bühler who sees in this 'a distant recognition of the principle that the ownership of all land is vested in the king', I venture to question this statement. There is much difference between an overlordship (*adhi-patya*) which confers a right of regulation and control, and proprietorship with absolute rights of disposal of the property; the *mīmāṃsā* position admits the former for the king in land, but not the latter, and I do not think Manu's statement means anything more. It says that the main reason for the royal share lies in the protection he affords; and Medhātithi discusses the nature of this protection in the case of treasure-troves and minerals. He raises the issue that the king can hardly be said to protect these as no one knows what is hidden underground, and answers it by saying that he guards it from being seized by a stronger person and thus affords real protection. And the general overlordship of the king

7. *Op. cit.* pp. 158-66.

over the land seems to be affirmed more to justify the larger share of this hidden wealth when it comes to light, than falls to the king in the case of produce raised by the exertions of the owners of the land. Manu's text can be understood in a sense that does not imply the royal ownership of all land, and I think that is the correct way to understand it.

Likewise in the verse cited by Bhaṭṭasvāmin in his commentary on Kauṭilya II 24.

rāja bhumeḥ patir-drṣṭaḥ śāstrajñairudakasya ca

tābhayam-anyattu yad-dravyam tatra svāmyam kuṭumbinām

Here it seems to me that the general control over land and water (*patitva*) that vests in the king as the head of the state is contrasted with the full proprietorship of other property vesting in their owners (*svāmyam*). The utmost that this passage can be taken to imply is that land and water were subject to the eminent domain of the head of the state and could not ever become the absolute property of his subjects in the sense in which other things can. And Bhaṭṭasvāmin cites this verse to justify the water rates laid down by Kauṭilya. It is still a far cry to the royal ownership of all land in the state

The verses cited from the *Mansollasa* are a late echo of the early *arthasastras* which vest the king with a monopoly in mines, and the second verse is a loose justification of the monopoly as part of the divine order in the universe. It reads:

dhanānām-iśvaro rāja hrahmaṇā parikalpitaḥ

bhūgatānām viśeṣeṇa yato'sau vibudhādhipaḥ

This is not sober political theory, but an extravagance of the nature of *arthavada*:

Lastly the extract from Mitra Miśra who cites two verses from Kātyāyana and comments on them does not seem to put the matter in any different light. Here Dr. Ghoshal has been guided by the high authority of Mahamahopādhyāya P. V. Kane who writes: 'The idea underlying these verses seems to be the king is the owner of all lands in the state...The actual cultivators of the soil have only a qualified ownership of the soil'. The last sentence is to my mind the correct position; the hesitant tone of the first sentence is more than justified, though Kane's doubts are ignored by Ghoshal; in fact if the last sentence is correct, the king could not be 'owner of all lands', but at best only, like cultivators, 'a partial owner'. As a matter of fact both Kātyāyana and Mitra Miśra do not assert anything more than the overlordship of the king in the land of the State, and as the whole passage is a closely reasoned statement of the position, I shall reproduce the text and offer my translation:

'bhūsvāmi tu smṛto rāja nānyadravyasya sarvadā

tatphalasya hi śadbhāgam prapnuyaṇ-nānyathaiva tu

bhūtanam tannivasitvāt svāmitvam tena kirttitam
tatkriyābaliṣadbhāgam śubhaśubhanimittajam' iti

Asyārthaḥ rājā bhuvāḥ svāmī amṛtaḥ anyadravyasya bhūmi-sambaddha dravyasya na svāmī anyathā bhūmiśvāmyabhāve bhūtanam prāṇinam tannivasitvāt bhūnivasitvāt svāmitvam rajna iti śeṣaḥ ityataḥ tatkriyābaliṣadbhāgam prāpnuyāt".

"Kātyāyana (has :) 'the king is declared the lord of the land, and not of any other wealth, as otherwise he would not get the sixth part of its fruits. As beings inhabit the land, the lordship (of the king) has been declared; hence he shall get a sixth part of the results of their work as tax, subject to exigencies good and bad'. This means: the king is declared lord of the land. Of the other wealth related to the land he is not lord. *Anyatha* means in the absence of the lordship of the land. *Bhūtanam* means: of beings. *Tannivasitvāt* means because they dwell on land. *Svāmitvam*, that is, of the king (understood). Hence he shall get as *bali* (tax) a sixth part of (the results of) their work'.

Bühler and Kane are great names; but I am unable to help thinking that they have been influenced by current notions in their interpretation of Manu and Mitra Miśra. When it is possible to interpret them in line with the *mīmamsa* tradition, and I think I have shown that this can be done, I believe that it is proper so to interpret them and in no other way. If my view is correct, the contradiction among authorities that Dr. Ghoshal discovered ceases to exist, and there stands revealed the continuity of tradition that is to be expected in so vital a question of constitutional law from a race of writers who were no mean masters of juristic argument.

To turn finally to Megasthenes. His statement as reproduced by Diodorus is clear and definite⁸: 'The husbandmen pay a land-tribute to the king, because all India is the property of the crown, and no private person is permitted to own land'. In saying this Megasthenes was clearly mistaken; but his mistake was most natural in his circumstances. He was a Hellenistic diplomat who had held other offices before he was deputed to Pataliputra and was presumably thoroughly familiar with the administrative systems of Egypt, Syria and other Hellenistic states. In them the State was the absolute property of the king. To cite Rostovtzeff again⁹: 'Absolute rule meant, alike from the Egyptian and from the Macedonian point of view the ownership of the State, of its soil and subsoil, and ultimately of the products of the soil and the subsoil. The state was the 'house' (*oikos*) of the king,

8. *Mc. Crindle, Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 42,

9. *Op. cit.* p. 269.

and its territory his estate. So the king managed the State as a plain Macedonian or Greek would manage his own household'. Now this view was never accepted in India, and there is no statement in Kauṭilya that even remotely resembles it, as has been admitted by close students of the *Arthasastra*, who like, Stein and Breloer, have studied it from different points of view.

At the same time the *Arthasastra* adumbrates a vast scheme of detailed control of the agrarian operations in the whole state including the marketing of produce, undertaken by a well organized bureaucracy comprising a vast host of officials, great and small. There are many sections in the *adhyakṣapracara*, the unique contribution of Kauṭilya to *Arthasastra*, which bear out this statement, and it is not at all unlikely that they derived their inspiration from the contemporary practice (*prayoga*) prevalent in states outside India. And if the actual machinery of administration was anything like what is envisaged in the great work of Kauṭilya, and I presume that there was a close correspondence between the great Chancellor's theory and practice, Megasthenes who spent some time in Pāṭaliputra and surely travelled along the whole length of the royal road from the frontier to the capital, must have been struck by the remarkable similarity between what he saw in India and what he knew of other lands; the Mauryan state stretched its right of eminent domain to its utmost limits and behaved as if it owned the land, and Megasthenes made the inference that was most natural in the circumstances.

But in reality, India knew nothing of the State ownership of its soil until she passed under the rule of foreigners who based their claims on the rights of conquerors.

Observations by Mr. P. V. Kane

I. As regards the king's ownership of land. It has to be remembered that Jaimini's sūtra in Chap. VI occurs in connection with the viśvapt sacrifice wherein the sacrificer was to make a gift of all his property. Jaimini says that a man cannot even in viśvapt make a gift of his senior other relatives, because they are not owned by him, nor can he make a gift of a śūdra who only serves him as it is the duty of a śūdra today. As regards a king Jaimini makes the statement that he cannot make a gift of the whole country or land, as it is common to all beings and not to the king alone. This sūtra is referred to by Nilakantha in his *vyavahāra mayukha* and the author gives it as his opinion that a being cannot make a gift of land cultivated by husbandmen, but only of what belongs to him being the right to recover $\frac{1}{4}$ as tax. When Kātyāyana speaks of the king being the lord of the earth (Bhūsvami) and that persons have a qualified ownership because they reside in the land, we have to interpret these words in such

a way as to harmonize with the *Purva Mimamsa*, since the principle of interpretation is *ekavākyatā* (as far as possible) and not contradiction. So the king was absolute owner of all uncultivated land and of land surrendered by cultivators. He could not oust the cultivators and his only right therein was that of receiving $\frac{1}{2}$ or $\frac{1}{4}$ share of produce as the case may be.

II. On the verses of Kauṭilya and Narada as to Vyavahāra having four padas, each later one of which was stronger than each preceeding one.

Here both the words 'uttarah' and paśumah mean the same thing *viz.*, 'latter or last' and Prof. Rangaswami Aiyangar was wrong in interpreting the two as laying down two different propositions. In this verse the word vyavahāra in the 2nd line means 'lawsuit or judicial proceeding' while vyavahāra in the first half only means evidence of witnesses and the like. Dharma means 'admission of plaintiff's claim or confession' and also 'ordeal'. If a man asked for an order and his opponent claimed ordinary trial by the evidence of witnesses or documents, then ordeal could not be resorted to and so vyavahāra set aside the procedure of Dharma. 'Caritra' means 'usages written down in the king's record' and 'inference'. Suppose a man was charged with adultery with an abhira woman. He would be convicted by the process of vyavahāra. But if he produces from the king's record a passage that adultery with a bhira women is not punishable he will escape conviction. Here 'Caritra' sets aside 'vyavahāra'. Where there is no evidence, no ordeal is possible on and usages the king has to decide as best as he can. That is *rajaśāsana*. There is also another sense. The king may want to change immoral customs of the aubiras. He may issue an edict to that effect. That would make *rajaśāsana* set aside *caritra*. So the king had a certain power of legislation, but in the view of most writers he could not legislate so as to override *sāstra*, but he could legislate as regards immoral customs or for the safety of the kingdom.

EVOLUTION OF CAVE ARCHITECTURE IN INDIA AND CEYLON

BY

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The cave is one of the probable lines along which religious architecture developed in India and Ceylon. In the historical process of its development one may trace the different forms of

its combination, amalgamation or co-ordination, conscious or unconscious, with other lines of development.

The English words cave, cavern and cavity, all meaning a hollow place in the earth, a den, are derivable from the Latin *cavus* meaning a hollow, corresponding to which we have the Aśokan term *kubha* for a cave. The *Rgveda* applies the name of *Kubhā* (Greek *Kophes*, *Kophen*) to the river Kabul, probably for the reason that it hollowed out its course through several Himalayan mountains, hills and rocks. The Sanskrit and Pali word *guha* is just a phonetic variation of *Kubha*.

The Sanskrit lexicon, *Amarakośa* (V. 15) lists *devakhata-vila* (a natural cavity in a rock) and *gahvara* (a hollow, hole) as synonyms of *guha*. Two cognate words are *dari* (a grotto, crevice) and *kandara* (a cleft, split, fissure, cavern) wrought by the action of water (ibid., V. 14). In the Upaniṣads and the Dhammapada the word *guha* stands for the heart, better, the cavity of the heart, Cf. *guhacara* (*Muṇḍaka Up.*) meaning 'moving in secret, in the heart', *guhasaya* (Dhp.) meaning 'lying in the heart'. In the *Mahabharata* (III. 16118) the word *guhamukha* implies 'wide-mouthed, open-mouthed', while in the *Vayu Purāṇa* (xxii. 164) *Guhavasini*, i.e., 'The dweller of a cave', is met with as the name of a *muni* or silent contemplative. Etymologically *guha* is a hiding place, derived from $\sqrt{\text{guha}}$ (to hide).

In Pali literature, the word *guha* is employed almost as equivalent to *kandara* meaning 'a grotto', while *giri-guha* stands for "a mountain cleft, a rift, a gorge, always in the formation *pabbata, kandara guha*". The *kandara* is "a cave, grotto, generally on the slope or at the foot of a mountain" *Vinaya*, ii, 76, 146). Thus *guha* and *kandara* are also associated with *pabbhara* (Sk. *pragbhara*, *Divyavadana*, p. 80) in coming 'a decline, incline, slope'. The word *kandara* is taken sometimes to mean a great passage-like hollow between two mountains or rocks.¹

In the Prakrit inscriptions, whether found in India and Ceylon, the word *leṇa* is generally employed in the sense of a mountain cave or rocky retreat, shelter or cell. In Pali, too, *leṇa* or *lena* (Sk. *layana*) is used as a synonym of *guha*. This, too, is to be derived from the root $\sqrt{\text{leṇa}}$ (to hide). In the *Vinaya Pitaka* (II. 146), however, the word *leṇa* is applied "as collective name for five kinds of hermitages, viz., *vihara, addhayoga, pasada, hammiya*, and *guha*."

Until the natural caves, caverns, crevices or grottoes were touched by human hand or the cave-like dwellings were made entirely by human skill in rocks or boulders, we cannot think of the beginning and development of any cave architecture. We

obtain a few interesting hints from Pali literature as to the manner in which human hand began to work to that end. These go to indicate that in making a cave dwelling (*lena*) "opportunity for sitting or lying (was) made by digging (a cave) in a mountain or rock or by erecting a wall where the cave is insufficient (so as to make the rest of it habitable)."¹

With regard to the famous Indasāla guhā which was a natural cave in the Vēdiyaka mountain (modern Giriyak hill), we are told in the *Sakka-paṇḥa Suttanta* that "at the time when the Blessed One stepped into it, the cave which was uneven became even, which was narrow became wide, which was dark became lighted, as if by the supernormal powers of the gods."² According to Buddhaghosa who had evidently before him the picture of the cave touched by human hand, "it had been enclosed by walls fitted with doors and windows, done up into a cave dwelling with the finest *chunam* plaster, and adorned with garland-and-creeper designs before it was given to the Blessed One."³

The ancient *lenas* in Ceylon are just found to be either rough-hewn slanting rock under a slope (*pabbhara*), slightly chiselled leaving the edge untouched so as to prevent the rain-water from trickling down. Even at Polunnāruva and Sigiriya, where the snake-hood-like inner side of the slope or projection of a rock side is spacious enough, the same device was adopted. There is hardly any cave architecture to be noticed in Ceylon, worth the name. The only exception to the general rule is the rock-cut (*giri*) *vihāra*, which, too, is too crude from the architectural point of view to bear comparison with the Indian examples of cave-dwellings and cave-architecture.

The Indasāla-guhā is represented in one of the Bharhut medallions as a mountain cave with a rocky floor and an open mouthed and arched or bullock-cart-roofed room or hall. It is polished inside. The indasāla tree serving as the cognizance of the cave is shown above it. 'Two monkeys are seen sitting on cubical rocks, facing each other, while two bears peep out through the holes beneath the piled up rocks.' Thus the rocky surroundings of the cave are indicated.⁴ The Indasāla and two other caves

1. *Vibhanga-atthakatha*, p. 366 : *pabba'a n khaṇitva pabbharassa appa-honakathane kuddam utthapetva katasenasanam*. Cf. *vinaya* I, p. 206, *pabbharam sochapetva lenam kattukamo*.

2. *Digha*, II, pp. 269-270 : *Tena kho pana samayena Indasāla guha visamayanti sama sampadi, sambadhayanti urunda sampadi, andhakara-guhayam aloko udapadi. Yatha tam devanam mahanubhavana*.

3. *Sumangala-vilasini*, III ; *Barua*, *Barhut*, II, p. 56.

4. *Cunningham*, *Stupa of Bharhut*, Pl. XXVII. 4, pp. 88-89 ; *Barua*, *Barhut*, II, p. 55, III, Scene 56.

depicted on the Bodhgaya stone-railing show similarly an open-mouthed and arched-corridor-shaped room or hall.¹ The distinctive feature of the Indasāla-guhā and another cave is that each is enclosed by a Buddhist railing.

1. *Barabar and Nagarjuni Caves*: The *kubhas* (rock-cut caves) in the Barabar and Nagarjuni hills in South Bihar are situated at a distance of about 16 miles north of the town of Gayā, and were all dedicated to the Ājivikas. These hills consist of two narrow parallel ridges, the rock being granite. The caves, collectively known as Satgharā, are divided into two groups, the four of the Barabar group being the most ancient. Out of the four caves of this group, two were excavated in the 12th and two, including the one left unfinished in the 19th year of Aśoka's reign. These rock-cut ascetic dwellings marked indeed the beginning of cave architecture in India. The walls of their outer chamber are dressed and polished, thus bearing the distinctive trait of Aśokan art, while the inside of their inner chamber is very rough. Their entrance is finished and they undoubtedly afford the earliest example of the rock-cut *caitya* halls. The name of the first cave, called Nigoha-kubhā (Nyagrodha cave), resembles that of the Indasāla-guhā in that it also had a tree at its entrance for its cognizance.

The Gopikā cave which is more than 40 ft. long and 19 ft. wide is the most important of the Nagarjuni group, all the three caves of which were caused to be excavated by Daśaratha, a successor of Aśoka. The vaulted roof of the Gopikā cave has a rise of 4 ft., both ends being semi-circular. None of the seven caves bears any sculpture or decorative motif.

2. *Udayagiri and Khandagiri Caves*: Next in the order of chronology stand the Jaina *leṇas* (cave retreats) that were caused to be excavated by Khāravela, his chief queen, and other royal personages and officers in rocks of the twin hills of Udayagiri and Khandagiri hills (Kumārī-Kumāra-parvata), situated at a distance of about five miles to the north-west of Bhūvaneśvar in the Puri district. Similar caves, although of much inferior workmanship, are traceable also at Bhūvaneśvar. The Orissan caves were by far the work of the Jainas, the evidence of whose faith lies in their inscribed records, as also in the mediæval cult statues of the Tirthankaras in two of the caves in the Khandagiri hill. The *Caitya* halls are conspicuous by their absence in these caves. One may trace altogether 35 excavations, the most remarkable of them being the Ananta Gumphā on Khandagiri, and the Raṇigumphā, Gaṇeśa gumphā and the Jaya-vijaya caves on the Udayagiri hill. The Hathi gumphā, caused to be excavated by Khāravela himself, is a natural cavern enlarged by artificial

1. Barua, *Goya and Buddhagaya*, II, Figs. 55, 75, 73 (a).

cutting, on the hanging brow of which is the well-known epigraph of Khāravela. The modern name Hathi gumphā (Elephant Cave) is given to it obviously for the reason that it looks in its general appearance like an elephant seated on its forelegs, although in an inside view it is but a wide-mouthed slanting slope (pabbhāra) of a big boulder. On its left side in front stands the two-storeyed Mañcapuri cave, the upper storey, caused to be excavated by Khāravela's chief queen, is now-a-days called Vaikuṇṭha, and the corresponding lower storey, caused to be excavated by king Kudepa, is given the name of Paṭalapuri. The lower storey has a pillared verandah with chambers hollowed out at the back and at one end. Similar in design and dimension is the upper storey. There is a frieze on the ground-floor verandah, some of the reliefs in which resemble the Bhārhut workmanship. On the right side of the verandah of the upper storey shows a pent roof serving the purpose of a shelf. As described in some of the inscriptions, a complete *leṇa* consisted of *pasada*, i.e., a verandah or facade, pillared or not, *koṭha*, i.e., chamber or chambers, hollowed out at the back and at one end, and *jiya (jya)*, i.e., a pent roof. The lower storey has at its left wing two caves, caused to be excavated by prince Vaḍukha. The courtyard is enclosed by the rock and a wall in front. Round about the Hāthi gumphā are a few small caves, one of which is now known by the name of Vyāghra gumphā (Tiger Cave), inasmuch as it looks like the face of a tiger with its distended jaws, one is called Sarpa gumphā on account of a snake hood carved on its upper edge, and two are called Ajagara gumphā and Bheka gumphā for similar reasons. On the slope of Udayagiri and at a short distance from the Mañcapuri cave is to be seen a single-storied and building-like cave called Choṭa Hāthi gumphā evidently for the reason that it has in its courtyard two small figures of elephants. The Ananta gumphā of the Khandagiri group is a single-storeyed cave planned on the model of the Mañcapuri cave. The ornamental arches in the doorways of this cave have in them various reliefs like the standing figure of Gajalakṣmī, a four-horse chariot of the Sun-god with the crescent moon and stars in the field (a representation which is somewhat later than the motif on the Bodhgayā railing)¹ railed in tree with figures to the right and left, carrying offerings in their hands or posed in an attitude of prayer, etc., flying Gandharvas, flock of birds or animals, tripple-hooded snakes, garlands intertwined, etc., adding to the variety and richness of the reliefs of the arch fronts. The Rāṇi gumphā belonging to Udayagiri is indeed the most elaborately decorated of all the orissan caves. Like the Mañcapuri and Jaya-vijaya caves, it has two storeys, each of which is provided with a verandah, the lower having three cells behind, and the upper, four cells. There are irregular chambers in the

1. Barua, *Gaya and Buddhagaya*, II, p. 88 and *Old Brahmi Inscriptions in the Udayagiri and Khandagiri Caves*, p. 296.

right and left wings of the verandahs. In both storeys, the facades are decorated with pilasters and highly ornate friezes illustrating some Jaina episodes not yet identified. The first panel in the left wing of the upper storey depicts an interesting musical scene of persons carrying offerings. These friezes may historically be regarded as precursors of the frescoes decorating the caves of Ajanta, Bāgh and Sigiriya.

3. *Nasik Caves*: Almost to the same period of artistic activity belong the Buddhist caves of Nāsik that are also called *paṇḍulēṇas*. They are situated about 300 ft. above the road level and are easily accessible. They were excavated for the Bhadrāyānikas, a Hinayāna sect of the Buddhists. There were altogether 23 excavations. The earliest is the Caitya cave, dating from the Christian era. There are four vihāras; much damage has been done by bad weather. The cave No. 1 is an unfinished vihāra. The cave No. 2 is an excavation with many additions by later Mahāyānists. There is a verandah having two wooden pillars. The cave No. 3 is a big vihāra with many cells and a hall 41 ft. wide and 46 ft. deep. The entrance is sculptured in a style similar to that of Sāñci gate. Over the gateway the bodhi-tree, the dagoba, the wheel and dvārapāla are distinctly visible. The cave was excavated by one of the Andhra kings, Sātakarṇi Gautamīputra. The verandah has 6 octagonal columns without bases. The upper part of the frieze is richly carved with a strong course under a richly carved rail similar to those at Amarāvati. The cave No. 10 is a vihāra and contains an inscription of the family of Nahapāna who reigned at Ujjayini before 120 A. D. The pillars of the verandah contained bell-shaped Persian capitals. The cave No. 17 has a hall measuring 23 ft. wide and 32 ft. deep. The verandah is somewhat peculiar which is reached by half a dozen steps in front between the two central octagonal pillars. On the back wall is a standing figure of the Buddha. On the right side there are four cells. The cave was the work of Indrāgnidatta, son of Dharmadeva, a native of the Sauvira country. The cave No. 17, the interior of which is very simple, is of a much later date. The ornamentation on the left side of a doorway is almost similar to the northern gateway of Sāñci. The cave No. 19 is a vihāra cave. On either side of the shrine door stands a gigantic dvārapāla with a female attendant. In the shrine too there is a colossal image of Buddha seated on a lotus (*padmasana*). There are some dilapidated and half finished chambers. The cave No. 23 contains a sculpture of Buddha attended by Padmapāṇi and Vajrapāṇi. Besides there are images of the Buddha both in the *Dharmacakramudra* and *Dhyana-mudra*.

4. *Karli and Bhaja Caves*: The Karli and Bhāja are the two well known Buddhist cave temples in the Borghata hills between Bombay and Poona dated about the beginning of the

Christian era. The Karli caves are situated about 2 miles to the north of the Bombay-Poona road. The inscriptions in the caves contain the names of Nahapāna and Usavadāta. King Dhṛtapāla supposed to be Devabhūti of the Sunga dynasty is mentioned in the two inscriptions. The pillars of this cave are quite perpendicular. At the entrance of this cave stands a pillar surmounted by four lions with gaping mouths and facing four quarters. The four lions represent the lion's roar with which the disciples of the Buddha were called upon to proclaim that all the four best types of saints were to be found in Buddhism. On the right side stands the Siva temple, and close to it there is a second pillar surmounted by a *cakra* or wheel. The Buddha is here attended by Podmapāni and most probably Mañjuśrī seated on the *sihasana* with his feet on the lotus. The entrance consists of three doorways under a gallery. There are 15 pillars and their bases consist of the water pot of Lakṣmi. The pillars are all symmetrical and the net-work is perfect. From architectural standpoint all these caves are of a high order. The Caitya in caves one and two is a three storied vihāra. The top storey has a verandah with four pillars. On the left side in the top-storey there is a raised platform. The doors are well fitted. The cave No. 3 which is situated to the north of the cave No. 4 is a two storied vihāra. The cave No. 4 which is a plain vihāra is situated to the south of the Caitya. From an inscription it appears that it was given by Harapharana in the reign of the Andhra king Gautamiputra Pulumāyi.

The caves of Bhāja that are situated about 2½ miles south of the Bombay-Poona road, are easily accessible. The cave No. 1 is a natural tavern and the next caves are all plain vihāras. The cave No. 6 is a vihāra which is very much dilapidated. There is a caitya which is one of the finest specimens of cave architecture. Buddhist emblems are distinctly traceable in four of the pillars. The roof is arched. There are decorated arches in front and double railings and many small vihāras.

5. *Bagh Caves*: The village of Bāgh is 40 miles west of Dhar in Malwa. A group of Buddhist caves, apparently dating from the Gupta period, is found near the village of Bāgh. These are exclusively monastic caves, among which are a few of imposing dimensions. They have been hewn out of the rocky slope of a hillside which rises on the north from the valley of the Narmadā. The images of Buddha found here and there in these caves are evidently of a later age. The architecture is not of the same type as that of Nasik caves. The cave No. 2 known as Paṇḍabonkigumphā is well preserved. It is a square vihāra with cells on three sides and a stūpa inside a shrine at the back. The antechamber has two twelve-sided pillars in front and its walls are adorned with sculptures. There is a standing image of Buddha

with two attendants. The cave No. 3, called Hathikhāṇā is a vihāra. The cave probably consisted originally of two distinct halls without connecting cells. The cave No. 4, called Rangmahal, is the finest specimen of architecture. Here is a portico more than 220 ft. long supported by 22 pillars. The shrine at the back containing the dagoba has no sculptural decoration. The cave No. 5 is rectangular. Its roofs are supported by two rows of columns, each of which stands on a common plinth. The caves Nos. 6 and 7 are badly dilapidated. According to Vogel,¹ the mural paintings at Bāgh, for instance, the stately-procession of horsemen and elephant-riders, bear a striking resemblance in style to the later frescoes of Ajantā and are almost of the same age.

6. *Ajanta Cave Temple* : The paintings on the walls of the caves at Ajantā represent quite a good number of scenes from the life of the Buddha. The two big caves at Ajantā are situated 60 miles north-west of Aurangabad and about 35 miles south of Bhusaval on the G. I. P. Rly. The twenty-six exclusively Buddhist caves of Ajantā have been cut, carved and painted at different times. The seven caves that form the centre of the entire group are of the primitive type, while the rest display a wealth of ornament in sharp contrast to the simplicity of older days. According to V. A. Smith, the bulk of the Ajantā paintings must be assigned to the sixth century A. D., i.e., the time of the great Chalukya kings. The earliest caves which are numbered 9 and 10 may be dated at the first and second century B. C. Caitya and Vihāra are the two types of caves to be found. Most of the colossal images of Buddha in the inner cells of the viharas are found in the preaching attitude. The frescoes (*lepyacitras*) form a distinctive feature of cave architecture. Decorative painting and ceiling decorations are note-worthy. The Jataka scenes e.g., Sutasoma, Sarabha, Matsa, conversion of Nanda, visit of Asita to the Buddha, temptation of the Buddha by Māra and so on are well depicted. The sculptured reliefs in the cave No. 26 show an assembly of males and females with swords, clubs, etc., trying to create fear in the mind of the Bodhisattva. This scene is also found in the sculptures of 'Borobudur' in Java. Burgess rightly concludes that most of the faces found here are beautifully cut while the elephants are well drawn. Some of the well-known emblems representing symbolism in Indian art like *samsaracakra* etc., are noticeable. All these caves, we may well infer, present a vivid picture of the feelings and aspirations of the Buddhists. Figures of birds, monkeys, wild tribes, Bheels, etc. are all depicted in these caves. Rivers, seas fishes, rocky shores, sankhas and such other designs have been freely incorporated. The use of animals and animistic totems, scenes and objects drawn from the works of nature have, as Burgess shows, been a characteristic

1. Cf. *Buddhist Art in India, Ceylon and Java*, p. 63.

feature of Buddhist art. At Ajanta and Ellora we find them beautifully embellishing works of art. The grace and majesty of the figure of Buddha have attracted universal appreciation. Palaces and buildings are represented by a flat roof over the heads of the figures supported by slender pillars. The dressing is attractive. Men of higher status use little clothing and various kinds of jewellery, for example, armlets, necklaces, fillets, etc. while men of lower rank do not use ornaments. Monks are clothed in their usual attire. Ladies of distinction wear ornaments of various kinds. On one of the walls of the cave No. 2, we find a representation of the episode of the Bodhisattva's resolve to be reborn in the continent of Jambudvīpa in the country of Magadha and of Māyā, the queen of Śuddhodana, the head of the Śakyas, for the good of afflicted humanity. Queen Māyā's dream and conception is depicted in the caves Nos. 2 and 16. Her advent to Lumbini garden and Nativity, the traditional sala tree Mahaprajāpati and Indra are all portrayed in the cave No. 2, where we can also find the picture of the Bodhisattva's taking his first seven steps and a representation of his Śravastī miracle, repeated in the cave No. 1. But the largest number of representations from the life of the Master is to be found in the Cave No. 16, which has on its walls the story of the reading of the horoscope by the sage Asita, the episode in the school depicting Siddhārtha taking lessons from his teacher Viśvāmitra. One of the interesting scenes not usually met with elsewhere is that of the first meditation. Once the Prince Siddhārtha was taken by his father to see a ploughing match. The sight of the tired oxen bleeding from their necks and the men toiling in the mid-day sun, pierced the heart of the Prince who retired for a while and became unconscious under a Jambu tree. When detected by attendants, he was found lost in a state of trance. The four drives in the city of Kapilavastu and the sight of the four well-known images of a sick man, an old man, a dead man and a monk, which eventually led him to renounce the world, his first visit to Rājagṛha and meeting with Bimbisāra, the offering of food by Sujāta, the offering of Trapusa and Bhallika, the temptation by the host of Māra, the questions of Śāriputra and the conversion of Nanda,—are all depicted on the walls of this memorable cave. The Cave No. 17 depicts the scenes of the subjugation of the furious elephant Nālagiri and of the landing of Vijaya in Ceylon which we believe to be erroneous. The paintings between the ribs of the aisles in the cave No. 10 seem to be of a later date. The cave No. 16 is a vihāra of great importance from the standpoint of architecture. The flight of steps with a carved balustrade leading towards a verandah and the pillars with capitals of elegantly sculptured strut figures of girls, the threshold of the shrines recalling the ancient 'torana' (vault) in the cave No. 20, are interesting for a study of the gradual evolution of socio-religious architecture in India. The portico in front of the shrine closely resembles a

maṇḍapa or pavilion. The fauna and flora of early Indian art have their wealth of illustrations. The group of worshippers in the cave No. I supplies evidence of an art unfettered. Soldiers are armed with halberds, pears, bows and arrows. A high turban with a knob in front is worn by males. A broad heavy neck-chain seems to be prominent. All these remind us of the style of early sculptures found at Sāñci and Muttra.

7. *Sigiriya Cave*: The frescoes in the Sigiriya cave that closely resemble the painting on the walls of Ajantā belong to an early date. According to V. A. Smith, these frescoes were made during the last quarter of the fifth century A.D., that is, during the reign of Kaśyapa I (A.D. 479 to 497), king of Ceylon.

We find here a procession of noble ladies carrying flowers being attended by female servants. The figures are depicted as an assembly of women going on a visit to a neighbouring Buddhist temple, evidently the Pidurangala Buddhist shrine, for offering religious worship. The figures are fully clothed from the waist downwards in coloured Kambaiyas and above the waist in short-sleeved jackets. The noble ladies are painted in pale yellow or orange while their female attendants are distinguished by a greenish complexion. All the women are decked with a profusion of ornaments. All these female figures, which are twenty-one in number, terminate below in a cloud-like mass. Hence the upper portion of the body is alone visible. According to Bell, the irregular form of the cramped rock space available did not permit the artist's effort to portray the legs without unseemly distortion. Hence they are shown as rising from the cloud. According to Vincent Smith the suggestion that the cloud indicates the divine character of the personages is untenable.¹

8. *Ellora Cave Temple*: The caves of Ellora are located in the north-west of Nizam's territory, about 16 miles from Aurangabad and ten miles to the north-west of Daulatabad. They cover an area which extends from north to south over a mile and a quarter. We find here some of the most important caves of Buddhist origin, for example, '*Bhikkhugrhas*' or '*Dumaleṇas*'. Three different religions are represented here: the southern group comprising fourteen caves is Buddhist, the middle one belongs to Brahmanism, the northern-most to Jainism. The Buddhist group contains only one real temple, a large caitya hall, which is known by the name of the cave of Viśvakarma the divine architect. It is a large caitya-temple of the same type as the two halls of Ajantā (Nos. 19 and 26). It represents a highly developed stage which Vogel assigns to circa 700 A. D. Some of these Buddhist

1. V. A. Smith, *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, pp. 296-98.

caves contain distinct signs of later Mahayana sect. The cave No. 2 has in it galleries full of images of the Buddha seated on a lotus in a preaching attitude. The colossal images of the Buddha seated on a *sihasana* is also found here. In these caves the Buddha is seen in the '*Dharmacakra mudra*' or in the attitude of preaching. Images of the Buddha and Buddhist sages are found hither and thither on the walls of these caves. The cave No. 3 is a vihāra cave containing 12 cells for monks. The cave No. 4 is in ruins. At the left or north end of this cave there is a prominent figure of Padmapāni attended by two females. The cave No. 5 is of the type of a large vihāra and its roof is supported by a large number of pillars. The cave No. 6 contains an antechamber in front of the shrine filled with sculptures. The other caves are mostly Brahmanical and Jain. In cave No. 9 we find an image of the Buddha with various attendants. The cave No. 10 is a beautiful caitya cave with a large open court in front. The carvings are very beautiful. The facade is highly ornamental and consists of a verandah surmounted by a gallery leading to the inner gallery within the chapel.

The arched roof is carved in imitation of woodwork. The inner side of the gallery is divided into three compartments full of figures. A gigantic figure of the Buddha is carved in front of the dagoba. The caves Nos. 11 and 13 are very much alike in outer appearance. They consist of an open court entered through a comparatively narrow passage. They have cells in the walls and show signs of the Mahayana sect.

9. *Caves of Aurangabad*: According to Vogel, the caves of Aurangabad represent the final phase in the long development through which monastic cave temple architecture has passed. With the exception of one dilapidated Caitya-temple of a primitive type, these little known monastery caves are evidently synchronous in point of time with the latest caves of Ajanta. A striking feature of these later caves is the increasing prominence of the *Bodhisattvas*, who take their place beside the numberless Buddha images, for example, Avalokiteśvara as Rescuer from 'the Eight Fears'. It is interesting to note that at Ellora and Aurangabad we find many figures of female *Bodhisattvas* that are conspicuous by their absence at Ajanta.¹

10. *Elephanta caves*: In the harbour of Bombay about 6 miles north-east of the Apollo Bunder is the well-known island of Elephanta or Gharapuri. Elephanta was the name given by the Portuguese because they found a large stone elephant standing at the entrance to this cave. These caves show the influence of both Buddhism and Brahmanism. *Trimūrti* or Brahmanical Trinity has been carved on the wall of the main hall. One of the

1. Vogel, *Buddhist Art in India, Ceylon and Java*, p. 64.

caves contains a Buddhist caitya. There are three caves that are in ruins.

Observations by K. R. Venkatarama Aiyar

By way of briefly supplementing the learned paper of Mr. Law : Sangam literature (in Tamil) speaks of shades of trees and groves (*Kombalaya*), angles of hills, and natural caverns as places of worship before the temple architecture developed in the Tamil-nad. The natural caverns which were hamits of early tribes could always be recognized by the drip lines above them, cut on the rock or boulder above to keep off the rain water. It is rather curious that almost all the natural caverns in the Tamil country known to have been human hamits were places of Jawa warship and are referred to as *Aman* (Samana) *pallis* (bastis) in inscriptions, and near them are sites of extensive prehistoric burials. Artificial cave-temples came into vogue in the time of Mahendra Varman Pallava I who introduced this mode of temple architecture in the south.

AN ANCIENT DYNASTY OF KHANDESH

BY

PROF. V. V. MIRASHI, Nagpur

Nearly twenty-five years ago Dr. R. C. Majumdar edited two copper-plate grants which Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar had obtained, from a Brāhmaṇa in the Indore State¹. One of these, which was made by the *Maharaja* Svāmīdāsa in the year 67, registers the gift of a field in the village Dakṣiṇa-Valmika-Tallavāṭaka which lay in the Nagarikā-pathaka. The other, which was made by the *Maharaja* Bhulūṇḍa in the year 107, records the donation of a field on the boundary of a village the name of which was read by Dr. Majumdar as Rulladana, but appears correctly to be Ulladana.² Both these grants plainly belonged to the same dynasty, for they were both issued from the same place Valkha.³

1. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 286.

2. The letter is hook-shaped with the curve turned to the right. In *ru* the sign of the medial *u* would have been a curve turned downwards and added to the vertical of the southern form of *r*.

3. The reading in both the grants is *Valkha*, the final consonant *t* being incorrectly omitted as in several other cases in ancient grants. See, e. g., *Narattangavari-sthana Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, p. 171; *Nana-varddhana*, *ibid.*, Vol. XXVI.

Besides their characters, phraseology and mode of dating⁴ are the same. The dynasty has not been named in the grants and has not so far been known from any other source. It is however certain that it was a feudatory family, for both *Maharaja Svamidāsa* and *Maharaja Bhulūṇḍa* describe themselves as *Paramabhattacha-raka-pad-anudhyat* i.e., 'meditating on the feet of the Great Lord,' which indicates their feudatory status. Dr. Majumdar could not suggest any identification of Valkha which was apparently the capital of the dynasty. His identifications of Nagarika with the ancient city of Nāgara which lies 75 miles from the borders of the Indore State and of Tallavāṭaka either with Adalwār, 37 miles north-east from Nāgara or with Talaora, about 50 miles north-east from the same city, cannot be regarded as quite certain in the absence of definite information about the provenance of these grants.

Dr. Majumdar referred the dates of these grants to the Gupta era on palaeographic grounds, for, according to him, their characters resemble those of the Sāñchi inscription of Chandragupta II. Though the grants mention the year, month and fortnight, they do not give further details such as the week-day or the nakshatra and therefore their dates do not admit of verification. If Dr. Majumdar's view is accepted, Svamidāsa's grant would be one of the earliest dated records of the Gupta era. But there are certain difficulties in accepting this view. If Svamidāsa and Bhulūṇḍa were the feudatories of the Guptas, it looks strange that, unlike other feudatories,⁵ they do not name their suzerain. Besides, if these grants were originally found in the Indore State, we shall have to suppose that the rule of the Guptas was well-established in Malwa as early as G. E. 67 (A. D. 386), whereas we know that the Western Kshatrapas were supreme in Kathiawad and Malwa till A. D. 388 at least.⁶ The earliest certain Gupta date from Malwa is the year 82 of the Udayagiri cave inscription of the reign of Chandragupta II. It would therefore seem that these dates refer to some other era.

It is doubtful if these grants were originally found in the Indore State or, for the matter of that, anywhere to the north of the Narmada. From a statement recently published in the *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 52, we learn that these grants together with another (*viz.*, the so-called Indore grant of the Vākāṭaka Paravarasena II) were in the possession of Pandit Vamana Shastri

4. Both the grants are recorded in box-headed characters, the boxes at the top of letters being scooped out hollow. They use the word *varsha* in stead of the usual *samvatsara* to denote the year of registration. The formal part of the grants is also almost exactly the same.

5. See, for instance, the Udayagiri inscription, dated by 82, of a feudatory of Chandra Gupta II. *Gupta Inscriptions* pp. 21. ff.

Islampurkar, from whom they were obtained by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar. The Pandit was engaged in collecting manuscripts and historical records in different parts of the country.⁷ These two grants, like the grant of Pravarasena II, may therefore have been found outside the Indore State. Unfortunately their provenance has not been recorded, but there is one circumstance which provides a clue. It has not yet been noticed that these grants bear very close resemblance to a copper-plate grant found at Sirpur in the West Khandesh District of the Bombay Presidency.⁸ This latter grant is fragmentary, for a small piece of the copper-plate, about 1" broad, has been broken off the whole way down on the proper right side. The extant portion of the inscription shows that it registers a grant, by *Maharaja Rudradāsa*, of a field on the western boundary of the village *Vikaṭṭanaka* which adjoined another village (or field) named *Kolahattaka*. The grant is dated in the year 117 of an unspecified era.⁹ That it belongs to the same dynasty as the other two grants edited by Dr. Majumdar appears clear from the following common features:—

(1) The name of the *Maharaja Rudradāsa* who made the grant resembles that of the *Maharaja Svāmīdāsa* of one of the Indore grants. Again, like *Svāmīdāsa* and *Bhulūṇḍa*, *Rudradāsa* describes himself as *Parama-bhattaraka-pad-anudhyata*.

(2) The characters and phraseology of the Sirpur grant are strikingly similar to those of the Indore grants.

(3) The date also is similarly worded and the year is introduced with the word *varsh* as in the two Indore grants.

(4) The place of issue is not named in the extant portion of the Sirpur grant, but it must have been mentioned in the beginning of the first line, where two or three letters have now been lost owing to the breaking off of a piece of the plate on the proper right. It is noteworthy that two dots which followed the name of the place of issue as a sign of punctuation are still seen in the beginning of the first line as on the Indore plate of *Bhulūṇḍa*. The signature of *Maharaja Svāmīdāsa*, which must have occurred

6. The coins of *Rudrasimha*, the last of the Western Kshatrapas, are dated Saka 310 or 31x (A. D. 383 or 388 + X). See Rapson's *Coins of the Anahyās* etc., pp. 192 ff.

7. See his introduction to the *Navasahasankacharita* (Bombay Sanskrit Series).

8. Edited by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 98 ff.

9. Pandit Bhagwanlal read the date as 118, but was not certain about the era to which it refers. The last symbol denoting the year is exactly similar to that in the date of the *Abhona* plates of the *Kalachuri* *Śaṅkaragana*. See I, 34 of the facsimile facing p. 297, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX.

in the margin on the proper right as in the other two grants, is also lost.

These similarities leave no doubt that all the three grants belong to the same dynasty. The grant of Rudradāsa is known to have been found in the possession of one Motiram Patil of Sirpur¹⁰ and must in all probability have belonged to Khandesh. The so-called Indore grants also may likewise have been found somewhere in Khandesh. With this clue we can satisfactorily identify many of the places mentioned in the three grants. The capital Valkha from which at least two of these grants were issued, is probably identical with Vaghli, about 6 miles north by east of Chalisgaon in East Khandesh, on the Bombay Bhusawal line of the G. I. P. Railway. It is an old place as it contains some ancient temples and old Sanskrit inscriptions which have now become illegible.¹¹ Nagarikā, the head-quarters of the territorial division (*pathaka*) mentioned in the grant of Svāmidāsa may be identical with Nagar Devla about 10 miles north-east of Vaghli, which also contains an old 'Hemādpanti' temple of Mahādeva.¹² Tallavātaka may be Talwād khurd, about 15 miles north by west of Nagar Devla. Ulladana mentioned in the other Indore grant of Bhulūṇḍa, is probably identical with Udhli on the Tapti, about 9 miles east of Bhusawal, in East Khandesh.¹³ I have not been able to locate satisfactorily the places mentioned in the Sirpur plate, except Vikattāṇka which may be Vitnerā about 20 miles south by east of Sirpur. But the identification of the other localities leaves no doubt that the dynasty was ruling in Khandesh, probably from Vaghli in the neighbourhood of Chalisgaon.

We thus get the following three names of the kings of this dynasty :—

Maharaja Svāmidāsa (Year 67).

Maharaja Bhulūṇḍa (Year 107).

Maharaja Rudradāsa (Year 117).

As these grants do not mention any royal genealogy, the relation of these princes *inter se* is not known. As stated before, these princes acknowledged the suzerainty of some other power not specified in their grants. The dates of their grants must

10. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 98.

11. See *Khandesh District Gazetteer*, p. 478.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 457.

13. The description in the record that the field was granted together with the surrounding *kachchha* (bank) suits Udhli very well as it is situated on the bank of the Tapti.

therefore be referred to the era founded by this power. Now these dates can not be referred to the Gupta era, for no certain dates of that era have been found to the south of the Narmada except in the solitary instance of the Arang plates from Chhattisgaon.¹⁴ In any case, Gupta power had not penetrated to Khandesh as early as the end of the fourth century A.D.¹⁵ The use of the word *varsha* in connection with the dates may be taken to point to the Saka era; but that era is out of question here as the characters of the grants are far more developed as already noticed by Pandit Bhagwanlal and Dr. Majumdar. The only other era to which these dates can be referred is the so called Kalachuri-Chedi era which, as I have shown elsewhere¹⁶ was founded by the Ābhira king Īśvarasena in A. D. 249. Khandesh was the stronghold of the Ābhiras. Even now the Ābhiras or Ahirs predominate in that district. These princes who were evidently ruling in Khandesh were probably feudatories of the Ābhiras whose era they have used in their records. The years 67, 107 and 117 mentioned in their grants therefore correspond to A. D. 316-17, 356-57 and 366-67 respectively. Except for the date of the Nāsik cave inscription of the Ābhira Īśvarasena, these are the earliest dates of that era.¹⁷

No copper-plate inscriptions of the successors of Rudradāsa have been discovered, but in an inscription in cave XVII at Ajantā we find some similar names ending in dāsa which may therefore have belonged to the same dynasty. This inscription has lost a considerable portion on the left. It was first edited by Dr. Bhau Daji in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. VII, pp. 59 ff.; then by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indrajī in the *Inscriptions from the Cave Temples of Western India*, pp. 73 ff. and finally by Dr. Buhler in the *Archæological Survey of Western India*, Vol. IV, pp. 129 ff. Buhler's transcript is accompanied by a facsimile prepared from an inked estampage taken by Bhagwanlal, but it is considerably worked up by hand. A correct edition of the record together with a purely mechanical facsimile is still a desideratum. From an excellent estampage which I owe to the kindness of Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, Government Epigraphist

14. For the correct date of this record see my article in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXVI, pp. 227 ff.

15. The identification of Erandapalli mentioned in the Allahabad stone pillar inscription with Erandol in Khandesh proposed by Fleet is not now generally accepted.

16. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, Vol.

17. The use of *varsha* to signify the years of this era seems to be in imitation of the Saka era which was previously current in Maharashtra.

for India, I was able to correct some of Dr. Bühler's readings. The inscription mentions the following princes :—

1. (Name lost)
2. Dhṛitarāshṭra.
3. Harisāmba.
4. Saurisāmba.
5. Upendragupta.
6. Kācha I.
7. Bhikshudāsa.
8. Niladāsa.
9. Kācha II.
10. Kṛishṇadāsa.

11. (Name lost).

Ravisāmba.

The two sons of Kṛishṇadāsa are compared to Pradyumna and Sāmba. The name of the elder son is lost. That of the younger one ended in *Samba* and may have been Ravisāmba¹⁸ as read by Bhagwanlal and Bühler. The two brothers conquered Aśmaka and other countries and lived happily with increasing (fraternal) love and fame.¹⁹ After some time Ravisāmba died prematurely. His elder brother, being overwhelmed with sorrow and convinced of the transitoriness of the world,²⁰ began to lead a pious life. He waited upon saintly persons known for their learning, charity, compassion, and other virtues and imitated in his actions righteous kings. He bestowed munificent gifts on supplicants and adorned the whole world with his fame. He caused *stupas* and *viharas* to be erected and got the excellent monolith *mandap* together with the *chaity* of the Buddha to be excavated during the reign of the king Harishana. He provided

18. The first *akshara* does not appear exactly like *ra*.

19. In line 9 Bhagwanlal read *ekadhipatya-pratham-avataramdadhre dvitiyo Ravisamba-santjnam*, which Bühler changed into *ekadhipatyam pratham babhara* which conveys the meaning that the elder brother became Emperor. The correct reading, however is *dharadhipvakhya pratham babhara* which means that the elder brother succeeded to the throne.

20. In line 12 Dr. Bhau Daji had correctly read *anitya-samjna-sachivas-tatah param vyaviridhat-punya-maha-mahiruham* but took *anitya* to be the name of a minister. Bhagwanlal and Bühler read *Achimitya* and *-Achitya* respectively and took these to be the name of the minister. The correct reading is undoubtedly *antitya* and the sense evidently is that the prince was all the while conscious of the transitoriness of life.

it with a water-cistern and caused a noble *gandhakuti* to be executed to the west of it.

The foregoing account of the inscription in Ajaṇṭā cave XVII shows that the last of these kings was a contemporary and perhaps a feudatory of the Vakāṭaka king Harishēṇa, who flourished from *circa* A. D. 475 to A. D. 500.²¹ He was preceded by ten other princes. The first of these may therefore be placed in *circa* A. D. 275-300. Some of these princes may therefore have been contemporaries of Svāmīdāsa, Bhulūṇḍa and Rudradāsa, whose dates range from A. D. 316 to A. D. 366, but the latter names do not occur anywhere in the list of the Ajaṇṭā inscription. We can reconcile the known data by supposing either that these kings were collaterals of the princes mentioned in the Ajaṇṭā inscription or that they belonged to a different branch and ruled over a different part of the country.

These kings were at first the feudatories of the Ābhīras whose empire, judging from the use of their era seems to have extended from Koṅkaṇa in the west to Khandesh in the east and from the Narmadā in the north to the Kṛishṇā in the south. According to the Purāṇas ten Ābhīra kings ruled for 67 years. This however gives an incredibly small average of 6.7 years per reign. Perhaps the expression *sapta shashti satanaiha*, stating the period of Ābhīra rule, which occurs in a MS. of the *Vaṇyupurāṇa*,²² is a mistake for *sapta shashtim satan-ch-cha*.²³ If this is accepted, the Ābhīra rule may have lasted for 167 years. The unnamed Great Lords on whose feet Svāmīdāsa, Bhulūṇḍa and Rudradāsa meditated may thus have belonged to the Ābhīra dynasty. After the fall of the Ābhīras, these princes seem to have transferred their allegiance to the Vakāṭakas who were their powerful neighbours on the east. Harishēṇa, the last of the Vakāṭakas, is mentioned in the Ajaṇṭā inscription as the contemporary ruling king.

From the mention of Āsmaka in line 10 of the Ajaṇṭā inscription Pandit Bhagwanlal inferred that these kings were ruling over Āsmaka.²⁴ But the correct reading of the line is *m-Asmak-adikan desamscha tesham bhūbhuyā bhuyasa rarajatus-chandra-divakarav-iva*. 'The two (sons of Kṛishṇadāsa), having overcome Āsmaka and other countries, shone mostly like the sun and the moon.' Āsmaka was thus one of the countries raided by these

21. See *Vakataka Inscription in Cave XVI at Ajanta* (Hyderabad Arch. series) p. 9.

22. Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 46, n. 37.

23. For a similar expression, see *pancha-varsha-satan-ika* which Pargiter takes as 'probably meaning 105 years'. (*Ibid.*, p. 72, n. 15.)

24. *Inscriptions in the Cave-Temples etc.* p. 73; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 99.

princes; it was not their home-land. In fact Aśmaka was not the ancient name of Khandesh. From the *Suttanipata* we learn that the Aśmakas had a settlement on the Godāvari.²⁵ The Pāṇḍaraṅgapalli plates of about the same age as the Ajanta inscription state that Mānāṅka, the founder of the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty had conquered Vidarbha and Aśmaka, which appear to have been contiguous countries. As I have shown elsewhere,²⁶ Vidarbha in that inscription refers to the kingdom of the Vatsagulma branch of the Vākātakas. Aśmaka seems, therefore to have comprised the Aurangabad and perhaps the Ahmadnagar district. Ajanta or the Sātmāla range separated Aśmaka from Khandesh as it divided Vidarbha into Northern and Southern Vidarbha. Another Ajanta inscription in Cave XXVI which belongs to a slightly later date refers to a minister of the kings of Aśmaka in whose honour the cave was excavated.²⁷ The country of Aśmaka thus lay to the south of Ajanta and was different from Khāndesh which lay to the north of that place.

The ancient name of Khāndesh seems to have been Rishika. No satisfactory identification of this latter country has yet been suggested. Varāhamihira places Rishika in the southern division. In the *Ramayana*, Rishika is grouped with Vidarbha and Māhishaka among countries of the south which Sugriva asked monkeys to visit in search of Sita.²⁸ In the *Mahabharata* also, Rishika is coupled with Vidarbha.²⁹ Another verse of the *Mahabharata* connects Rishika with the Western Anūpa country.³⁰ Elsewhere the epic couples Rishika with Aśmaka while mentioning the countries conquered by Karṇa.³¹ In the *Dasakumara-charita* the ruler of Rishika is said to have been, like that of Aśmaka, a feudatory of the king of Vidarbha.³² The Nāsik cave inscription of Puṣumāvi mentions Asika (Sanskrit, Rishika) together with Asaka (Sanskrit, Aśmaka) among the countries which were under the rule of his father Gautamiputra Satakarni.³³ All these references plainly show that Rishika was contiguous to Aśmaka, Vidarbha and Anūpa (or Māhishaka). The only country which answers to this geographical position is Khandesh, for it is bounded on the east by Berar (ancient Vidarbha), on the north by the

25. *Suttanipata*, p. 977.

26. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, Vol. p.

27. See *Arch. Surv. of Western India*, Vol. IV, pp. 132 f.

28. *Ramayana* (Nirnayasagar ed), Kishkindha kanda, v, 10 *Mahabharata*, (Chitrasala Press ed.)

29. *Bhishmaparvan*, adhyaya 9, v. 64.

30. *Ibid.* Udyogaparvan, adhyaya 4, w. 18-19.

31. *Ibid.* Karnaparvan, adhyaya 8, v. 20.

32. *Dasakumāracharita*, (Bom-Sanskrit Series), p. 138.

33. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 60 ff.

Nemād District of the Central Provinces and parts of the Indore State (ancient Anūpa or Mahishaka)³⁴ and on the south by the Aurangabad District (ancient Aśmaka).

The rulers of Rishika, Vidarbha and Aśmaka were thus holding the country round Ajaṇṭā. All the three dynasties have left us precious monuments in the shape of some magnificent caves at Ajaṇṭā.

THE EARLY RĀSHṬRAKUTAS OF THE SIXTH CENTURY A. D.

BY

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In the Mysore Archæological Report for 1929, pages 197 to 210 while editing the Paṇḍurangapalli grant of Avidheya, I identified him as a Rāshṭrakūṭa prince and in my notes I discussed some points concerning the Early Rāshṭrakūṭas of the Mahārāshṭras, who ruled in about the sixth century A. D. Subsequently, I wrote a paper for the Mysore Session of the All-India Oriental Conference 1935 on the Rāshṭrakūṭas of the Mahārāshṭras. This article was published in the K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar Commemoration volume pages 55 to 63. In this article I examined the evidence available regarding the early Rāshṭrakūṭas of the 5th and 6th century A. D. and concluded that:—

1. In North Dakhan consisting of the present day Marāṭhi speaking areas and their neighbouring districts, a number of Rāshṭrakūṭa rulers held power between the end of Harishena Vakāṭaka, c 470 A. D. and the Ihoḷe inscription of Pulakeśin II of c 634 A. D.

2. During the earlier part of the period Prasanna of the Khariar seal founded a kingdom, which rose to be an empire extending from the borders of Bengal to Malva and from Malva to Paṇḍarpūr under this able son Māṇa or Māṇanka or Maṇamātra and the latter's son Devarāja. The two reigns probably extended approximately over two generations from about 575 or 580 A. D.

3. This Early Rāshṭrakūṭa Empire appears to have broken up into three independent kingdoms with Sarabhapura near Raipūr,

³⁴ Mahishaka was probably the country of which the capital was Mahishmati. It is well known that this city was also the capital of Anupa. See *Raghuvamsa*, canto VI, vv. 37 and 43.

Mānapura in South Mālwa and Nāsik or Ajanta as the capitals respectively of Jayarāja, Bhavishya and Avidheya.

4. While nothing definite is known about Jayarāja's successors and Avidheya's successors, Bhavishya's son was Abhimanyu who granted the Untikavātika plates in the presence of Jayasimha, Governor of Harivatsakotta.

5. Subsequent Rashtrakūta rulers like Indra, son of Kṛishna, mentioned in the Kauthem grant, Appāyika and Govinda of the Ihoḷe inscription and Nannarāja of the Multai plates appear to have been defeated and subordinated to the Chālukya Empire from the time of Jayasimha to that of Pulakeśin II.

6. Three at least of these Rashtrakūta kingdoms claiming to consist of ninety-nine thousand villages formed some kind of confederation and were overcome by Pulakeśin II who thus claimed the overlordship of three Mahārāshtrakas.

7. Thus stands revealed the story of the Rashtrakūta power rising into an empire c 500 A. D. and living a broken existence subsequently until at last its several parts were overwhelmed by the Chālukyas of Badāmi.

Dr. Altekar's Views.

Dr. A. S. Altekar whose book on the Rashtrakūtas and Their Times is so well known has contributed an article to the Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute for 1943 (pages 149 to 155) on the subject "Was there a Rashtrakūta Empire in the Sixth Century A. D.?" He holds the view that there was no big Rashtrakūta Empire extending over the whole of the Deccan during the sixth century A. D. for the following reasons:

- (a) The silence of the Ihoḷe inscription about the defeat of the Rashtrakūta king Indra by Jayasimha is conclusive proof that the statement made by the Kauthem grant is a myth invented by the later Chālukyas.
- (b) The existence of the Nala, Maurya, Kadamba and other powers in the Deccan at the time of Kirtivarman disproves the existence of a mighty Rashtrakūta Empire embracing the whole of Deccan.
- (c) Since the dynasties of Jayarāja and Avidheya do not describe themselves as Rashtrakūtas, there could not exist a Rashtrakūta Empire.
- (d) If there were any Rashtrakūta families by the middle of the 6th century A. D. they must have been petty local rulers.
- (e) Govinda of the Ihoḷe inscription cannot have been a Rashtrakūta.

(f) Dr. Krishna's chronological scheme is self-contradictory about the date assigned to Indra.

(g) The view that a Rāshtrakūṭa Empire existed in the 6th century A. D. is altogether untenable.

In the light of this criticism I have attempted to make a restudy of the records bearing on the subject including new pieces of evidence like the Bādami Fort inscription of Pulakeśin I which gives for his conquest of Bādami the definite date 541 A. D. While feeling thankful to Dr. Altekar for the contribution made by him towards the elucidation of the problem, I find that while I am in agreement with him about some minor points of criticism, I definitely differ from him in his main conclusions. I shall try to reply to the points raised by him hereunder. I have also carefully studied the relevant paragraphs in his work on 'The Rāshtrakūṭas and Their Times.'

I. About the area under the Early Rāshtrakūṭas, Dr. Altekar has refuted the idea of the Rāshtrakūṭa power extending over 'the whole of the Deccan' from 475 to 610 A. D. He is attacking not my statement but some imaginary statement; for, in my article, I have definitely stated that the area involved is North Dakhan or in other words 'the present Maratha country and the Central Provinces'. Āndhra, Karnāta, etc. do not appear to have been controlled by the Early Rāshtrakūṭas.

II. Dr. Altekar denies the existence of a single empire from 475 A. D. to 610 A. D. I have only stated that the empire existed for about two generations under Maṇanka and Devarāja and then broke up into three or more parts which were probably independent and perhaps cooperated as a confederation occasionally. Dr. Altekar has done injustice in attributing exaggerated statements to me and refuting them.

III. Now about the other details :

(a) Ravikīrti's silence in the Ihole inscription can never be conclusive proof that what it omits to state never took place. Such negative evidence should be used with great caution. The Ihole inscription is very detailed but not exhaustive even about the history of Pulakeśin II and surely not about his predecessors. Numerous instances can be cited like Kubjavishnuvardhana's viceroyalty at Vengi. Nor are the Kauthem grant and the other similar grants of the later Chālukyas utter lies and fictions of the imagination. They are genuine grants recording truth about contemporary events and tradition about the earlier periods. They are highly useful as corroborative evidence and for filling up gaps where there is no other evidence available. Their evidence about the Early Chālukyas of

Badami is generally a repetition of earlier inscriptions and should not be rejected unless it is opposed by something more contemporary and reliable.

- (b) The existence of the Nalas in Baster, Mauryas in Konkan, Kadambas in Karnata, Mankhans in Central India, Kelachuris in Malva and the Somavansis in Kosala yet leaves the Marāṭhi country unaccounted for and it is exactly here and in the neighbourhood that the three Mahārāshṭras appear to have existed.
- (c) Though Avidheya does not describe himself as a Rāshṭrakūṭa, the fact that he is described as a grandson of Mānanka who is identified as a Rāshṭrakēta in the Untikavātika plates is sufficient to establish that Avidheya is a Rāshṭrakūṭa. As for Jayarāja, if the identification suggested by Sten Konow and approved by Fleet and Dubreuil and myself is accepted, of Mānamātra with Mānanka and Sudevarāja with Devarāja, then Jayarāja may be identified as a Rāshṭrakūṭa. It is not necessary that every Early Rāshṭrakūṭa king should proclaim his family name. Perhaps it had not yet become so very famous as to be inevitably mentioned.
- (d) Dr. Altekar himself, in his Rāshṭrakūṭas and Their Times, page 11 ff. has agreed that there were Rāshṭrakūṭa kingdoms in the 6th century A. D. to the north of the Chālukya Empire. He now thinks that they were only petty local rulers. Whatever may have been the size of each kingdom, the Ihoḷe inscription has recorded the tradition that the well known Mahārāshṭrakas were three in number and they claimed 99,000 villages. When we consider that the whole of British India has to-day about two lakhs of villages, the three Mahārāshṭrakas claiming about half the number must have been a considerable territory even making allowance for exaggeration and for difference of counting.
- (e) Appayika and Govinda of the Ihoḷe inscription are not mentioned as Rāshṭrakūṭas. This fact may be due to the want of sufficient popularity and fame for the name Rāshṭrakūṭa. As stated above this family name was borne by all but is not mentioned by all. The identification of Appayika as a Rāshṭrakūṭa made by Bhandarkar and Fleet and others has been supported by me because of the fact that his territories extended to the north of the Bhima river which sometime ago was ruled over by Avidheya who has now been proved to be a grandson of Mānanka Rāshṭrakūṭa. He may

even have been a great grandson of Avidheya. I suggest that Krishna and Indra may have been two of the intervening generations. I accept Dr. Altekar's criticism that the gap between Indra's date and Appāyika's date is rather long and admits of the possibility of several intervening generations. In the genealogical table suggested by me on page 62 of my article, a misprint has occurred since the lowermost three vertical bars should have been really printed as dotted lines as shown in the manuscript. But about Govinda who appears to have surrendered to Pulakeśin II and became a subordinate of the Chalukya emperor, there is very good reason for us to identify him with Govindarāja, the grandfather of Nannarāja of the Tivarkhed and Multai plates. Dr. Altekar gives Govinda the approximate last date 610 A. D. which suits Govinda of the Ihole inscription very well enough. The territory involved namely Marāthi. Central Provinces and South Mālwa is identical. I suggest that the two Govindas might be identical and that Nannarāja might have been a grandson of Govinda who is said to have been defeated by Pulakeśin II in the Ihole inscription.

- (f) The chronological scheme suggested by me ten years ago needs a slight modification, though not a very serious one. The discovery of the Badami Fort inscription of Pulakeśin I with the definite date 541 A. D. pushes Jayasimha back by at least five years. As I have stated above between Abhimanyu and Govinda, and Avidheya and Appāyika several generations than one might have intervened. We know very little about this period. I give below a slightly revised genealogical table with the suggested dates.
- (g) Dr. Altekar has, I believe, overstated his position when he says the view "that the Rāshtrakūṭa Empire existed in the 6th century is altogether untenable". That there was a considerable Rāshtrakūṭa power under Manānka and Devarāja is undeniable. That there were several Rāshtrakūṭa kingdoms in the days of Avidheya Bhavishya, Abhimanyu, Karkarāja, Govinda, Svāmika and Nannarāja is also undeniable. That these rulers ruled between about 520 A. D. and 620 A. D. is also clear. That to the north of the Chalukya territory there was a large area of the so-called 99,000 villages having the name the three Mahārāshtrakas is also undeniable. That the Rāshtrakūṭa kings had everything to do with the Mahārāshtra area is highly probable.

Thus I conclude that between the extreme view voluntarily

attributed by Dr. Altekar to his opponent and the extreme view taken by Dr. Altekar in his conclusion, there is a considerable amount of truth which shows (1) that between the end of the Vakatakas and the rise of the Chalukyas, the Early Rashtrakuta were a great power in North Dakhan; (2) that between 470 and 520 A. D. there was a Rashtrakuta empire spreading over the modern Marathi country for a time (3) that it got broken up into the three Maharashtrakas which continued to exist for a century more until they were subordinated by the Chalukya power.

III. Prof. V. V. Mirashi's Views.

In the recently received issue of the Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute for 1944 pp. 36-50, Prof. V. V. Mirashi of Nagpur has contributed an article on the Rashtrakutas of Manapura in examination of the views advanced by myself, Dr. Altekar and others. He agrees with me in thinking that Avidheya of the Pandurangapalli plates and Bhavishya of the Untikavatika plates are both descended from Mananks and Devaraja and are Rashtrakutas. He also agrees that Nannaraja of Achalapura and his ancestors Swamika, Govinda and Durga were the descendants of Abhimanyu son of Bhavishya Rashtrakuta and thus with some short breaks in the middle one Rashtrakuta family had a continuous existence from Manaka about 375 A. D. to Nannaraja about 630 A. D. But his agreement with me is confined to these two important points.

Prof. Mirashi agrees with Dr. Altekar in thinking that there was no extensive Rashtrakuta Empire between 375 and 610 A. D. but the arguments he advances are quite different being based on a different reading of a few important geographical and other words differing from the readings published by me in the Mysore Archaeological Report for 1929. Since his views have been before me only for three days, I prefer to take some more time for their detailed examination before I pronounce any final opinion upon them. But I note down here the thoughts that strike me immediately so as to elicit further remarks from scholars assembled at the Indian History Congress before I make up my mind finally about them.

(1) Prof. Mirashi disagrees with the identification made by Dr. Sten Konow and supported by Fleet, Dubriel and myself that Manamatra and Sudevaraja of the Khariar plates are the same as Mananka and Devaraja of the untikavatika plates and consequently of the Pandurangapalli grant. It is possible that they may be different but it is highly probable that they are identical since the chief words Mana and Devaraja are identical and chronologically they belong to the same period following on the end of the Vakataka Empire.

(2) In the first line of the Pandurangapalli plates where I had read the words Vasudhadhipatiranga, Prof. Mirashi reads

Vasavadvivasakatsa and thinks that since there is no Anga there, there is no question of an empire extending to Bihar. In the second line he reads 'Srimat-Kuntalaram Prasasita' instead of 'Sri Satkunta dharaya prasasita' and thinks that Mananka was the lord of Kuntala. Further he tries to identify Manapura. Untikavatika and Peta-Pangaraka all near the Satara district. As things are Fleet's identification of these places with those in the Narmada valley and South Marwar appears to be more acceptable. The Untikavatika plates were also discovered near Hoshangabad. Thus to my mind instead of Mananka's dominions being confined to the neighbourhood of the Satara district, I think, they extended over southern and northern Maharashtra into Malwa and in all probability into the Sarabhapura or Chatisgarh area also. The readings 'Kuntala' suggested by Prof. Mirashi in the second line I reserve for future consideration, since there are some difficulties in accepting it though it makes better sense.

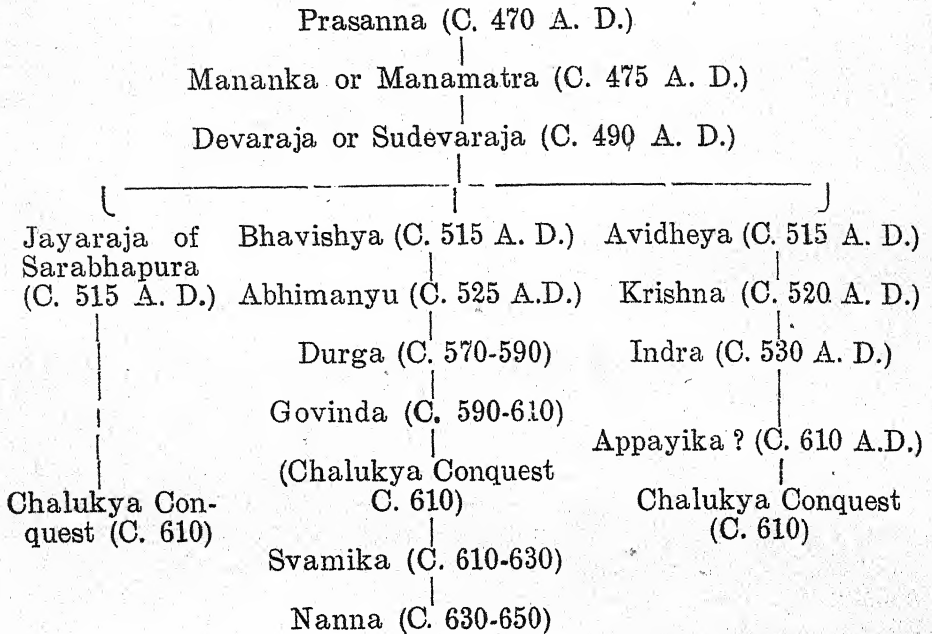
(3) Prof. Mirashi reads in line 17 'Anenadi kule kamyaka-Javala Vatika'. To my mind the reading 'Anevali' is clear and it is a place five miles south-east of Pandarpur. The identification of Pandurangapalli with Pandarpur is also definite and we need not search for it near Javali.

(4) Prof. Mirashi agrees with me in thinking that Govinda whom Pulakesin II defeated as mentioned in the Ihole inscription can be identified with Govindaraja, the grandfather of Nannaraja, to whom Dr. Altekar has suggested the date 590-610.

This is only a provisional note on the views advanced by Prof. Mirashi. I propose to examine them in detail and publish a paper on a restudy of the Early Rashtrakuta problem. Govinda to my mind was the Rashtrakuta ruler of Vidarbha comprising Berars and the neighbourhood. His territory was called a Maharashtra. Prof. Mirashi and I are agreed that it is one of the three Maharashtra conquered by Pulakesin II, a second one being south-western Maharashtra extending from Pandarpur and the Bhima river north-ward to Khandesh or the Ashmaka area. The problem is to find out where the third Maharashtra was. I suggest that it was the Chatisgarh area with Rayapur as its centre. This last suggestion is based on the probable identification of Mananka with Manamatra. Until other evidence turns up to subvert it, I think, we may in this respect agree to follow Konow's identification which has been supported by Fleet and Dubriel.

As I have already stated the Early Rashtrakuta Empire existed only for about fifty years from 475 and then it appears to have broken up into the three Maharashtra containing three important states and perhaps many smaller ones. The Rashtrakuta kings predominated in this area. Ultimately they were all gathered up under the banner of the Chalukyas.

I give below a table consisting of the suggested chronology and genealogy of the Early Rashtrakutas.

Genealogical table of the early Rashtrakutas*Observations by Prof. V. V. Mirashi.*

Prof. Mirashi pointed out that the theory of an extensive Rashtrakuta Empire in the 6th century A. D. is based on the identification of Mananka with Manamatra and of Devaraja with Sudevaraja, which is untenable. Manamatra and Sudevaraja ruled over Southern Koshala and not over any part of Maharashtra. He further pointed out that Mananka is described as the ruler of Kuntala which comprised the upper valley of the Krishna. The rulers of the Northern Maharashtra before the rise of the Chalukyas were the Kalachuris and not the Rashtrakutas. Prof. Mirashi then showed that these Early Rashtrakutas ruled over the country south of the Godavari and had their capital at Manapura which he identified with Man in the Satara District. They are referred to as lords of Kuntala in the inscriptions of the Vakatakas of the Central Provinces and Berar. This identification throws interesting light on the date and life of the famous Sanskrit poet Kalidasa who, according to tradition, was sent by his patron Vikramaditya as an ambassador to the court of a king of Kuntala. As these Rashtrakutas of Kuntala appear, on the evidence of palaeography, to have flourished in the fourth and fifth centuries A. D. Vikramaditya the patron of Kalidasa, could have been none other than Chandragupta II of the Gupta dynasty who is known to have assumed the title of Vikramaditya.

RUDRADEVA AND NAGADATTA OF THE ALLAHABAD PILLAR INSCRIPTION.

BY

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Several kings both of the Āryāvartta and the Dakshināpatha, who ruled contemporaneously with Samudragupta and came into conflict with the Gupta emperor, are known from the Allahābād pillar inscription. It is however a matter of regret that all of these contemporaries of Samudragupta cannot be satisfactorily identified. In the following lines, we propose to offer a few suggestions as regards the identification of two of them, *viz.*, Rudradeva and Nāgadatta, both of whom are described as ruling in the Āryāvartta, *i.e.*, India to the north of the Vindhya.

Rudradeva is the first name in the list of the Āryāvartta kings who are said to have been made victims of "violent extermination" (*prasabh-oddharaṇa*) by Samudragupta. He has been identified by some scholars with Rudrasena I of the Vākātaka dynasty. This identification has however been challenged by Prof. Raychaudhuri who points out that "the Vākātakas can hardly be regarded as rulers of Āryāvarta, and they were far from being uprooted in the time of Samudragupta" (*PHAI*, 4th edition, p. 448). Of course the second argument of Prof. Raychaudhuri may be regarded as depending rather too much on the language of the official *prasasti*. As a matter of fact, the language of Harishena, author of the Allahābād *prasasti*, would hardly be unjustifiable if Samudragupta was successful in subduing Rudradeva even for a short period of time or in annexing even a small portion of his dominions. But the first argument of the Professor appears to be really unassailable. The Vākātakas were principally rulers of Vidarbha or Berar in the Dakshināpatha and had their headquarters in that country. Even if therefore they held sway over a small territory to the north of the Vindhyas in addition to their Deccan possessions, it is not easy to believe that the Vākātaka king would be mentioned at the head of a list of Āryāvarta rulers prepared by a Gupta official.

It appears to me that Rudradeva of the Allahābād pillar inscription may be identified with the Śaka ruler Rudradāman II of Western India or more probably with his son Rudrasena III who is known to have issued coins as a Mahākshatrapa during the period 348-78 A. D. (Rapson, *catalogue*, intro., pp. 142, 157) and was certainly a contemporary of Samudragupta. Of course, it is not impossible to surmise that Samudragupta defeated Rudradāman II and placed on the throne one of the latter's sons,

Rudrasena III, in the manner advocated by the *Manusamhita* (VII, 202) :

sarveshan-tu viditu-aisham samasena chikirshitam,

sthapayet tatra tud-vamsyam kuryack-cha samayakriyam.

Rapson however long ago pointed out that the period between the dates Saka 273 (=351 A. D. and Saka 286) (=364 A. D.), which separates the earlier from the later coinage of Rudrasena III, "was probably made by some political disturbance during which the coinage ceased" (*op. cit.*, p. 145). In this connection, the numismatist drew our attention to the similar interval between the reigns of the Kshatrapa Yaśodāman II and the Mahākshatrapa Rudradāman II (father of Rudrasena III). It is not improbable that the political disturbance suggested by numismatic evidence was only the result of a crushing defeat that Samudragupta may have inflicted on Rudrasena III. Thus the Gupta emperor may have counted upon the Saka ruler as his feudatory and may have even annexed the eastern districts of the latter's dominions which probably comprised parts of Malwa, Rajputana and Kathiawar. The Sakas may have revived their struggle with the Guptas after Samudragupta's death or when the Gupta emperor had been old and infirm. Elsewhere I have tried to prove that Chandragupta II, son of Samudragupta, ascended the throne in 375-76 A. D. Those scholars, who believe that an elder son of Samudragupta named Rāmagupta ruled between the death of his father and the accession of his younger brother Chandragupta II, might suggest that the date of Samudragupta's death was not far removed from 364 A. D. which marks the beginning of the later series of Rudrasena's coins. They might further suggest that Rudrasena III utilised the advantage offered by Samudragupta's death and the weak reign of his immediate successor Rāmagupta who may have ruled for sometime in the period 364-78 A. D.

But I have elsewhere dealt with the difficulty in accepting the historicity of Rāmagupta. There no doubt seems to have been a popular legend (probably recorded) to which Bāṇa's *Harshacharita* refers and upon which Viśakhadatta's *Devichandragupta* drew. Like all *kavyas* with a historical background, however, Viśakhadatta's *drisya-kavya* doubtless contains a great deal of what is imaginary. The author of the remarkable dramas, *Devichandragupta* and *Mudrarakshasa*, is not mentioned in the list of celebrated writers known to Bāṇa in the introduction of the *Harshacharita*. This appears to suggest that Viśakhadatta flourished later than the early part of the 7th century A. D. when the *Harshacharita* was composed. Whatever however be the exact date of Viśakhadatta, it seems probable that later references to the Rāmagupta story in epigraphic and literary sources are borrowed from the *Devichandragupta*. But even if most of the details of the *Devichandragupta* story may be assigned to the realm of fancy and folklore, one may be doubtful whether the very important character

of Ramagupta in the drama was entirely a creation of Viśakhadatta's imagination. It must however be admitted that Ramagupta is not represented by coins and is conspicuous by his absence in Gupta epigraphy. Even if this fact can be explained away, it certainly leaves the case not quite free from doubt. In the present state of our knowledge therefore, although Ramagupta's place in the Gupta genealogy and history does not appear to be altogether absurd, it will be wiser to wait for definite evidence as regards his reign and existence.

Before leaving the problem of the identity of Rudradeva of the Allahābād pillar inscription with Saka Rudrasena III, we have possibly to discuss two other points. The first question is: who was the Sakāri Vikramāditya of Indian traditions? This person should no doubt be identified with Chandragupta II who finally crushed the Saka power of Western India and annexed the latter's dominions to the Gupta empire. It is however interesting to note that the actual struggle was probably begun by another Vikramāditya. Samudragupta is known from his coins to have assumed the titles Parākrama (= *Parakramarika*) and *Sri-Vikrama* (= *Sri-Vikramāditya*, cf. Allan, *Catalogue*, pp. 24-34 and 56; *JNSI*, V, p. 140). The first historical Vikramāditya is not therefore Chandragupta II as we have so long supposed, but his father Samudragupta. It must however be remembered that even though the central figure of the traditional Sakāri Vikramāditya is no other than Chandragupta II, that legendary king is not created out of a single personality, but has absorbed in himself the achievements of all the Vikramādityas of the Gupta dynasty and possibly also of some other early post Gupta monarchs assuming that dignified title. This is definitely suggested by the story of the munificence of Vikramāditya, father of Balāditya and contemporary of Vasubandhu, as known from the *Su-yu-ki* of Huen Tsang and Paramārtha's *Life of Vasubandhu*, as well as by that of the valour of Vikramāditya, son of Mahendrāditya and vanquisher of the Mlechchhas, as recorded in the *Kathasaritsagara*. The father of Balāditya (Narasinhagupta) seems to be Pūrugupta, while the son of Mahendrāditya (Kumārāgupta I) may be either Skandagupta or Pūrugupta. Kālidāsa may have lived at the court of any one of the early Gupta Vikramādityas.

It may be argued that the separate mention of Rudradeva and the Saka-murundas in the Allahābād pillar inscription renders the identification of Rudradeva with a Saka ruler unlikely. But double mention of some of the Āryāvarta kings, e.g., Achyuta, Nāgasena, etc., is to be noticed in this record. Moreover, there may have been other Saka principalities in the north-western part of India outside the realm of the Saka Mahākshatrapas of Western India.

Nāgadatta is another king of the Āryāvarta, mentioned in the Allahābād pillar inscription. He has however not yet been

identified, and no satisfactory identification of this ruler seems to be possible in the present state of our knowledge. I would however like to offer a suggestion for the consideration of scholars.

According to the Purāṇas early Gupta rule was confined to Prayāga (Allahābād) on the Ganges, Śāketa (Ayodhyā) and Magadha (South Bihar). Scholars have suggested that this description refers to the reign of Chandragupta I, father of Samudragupta. The Allahābād pillar inscription however mentions Samatāṭa (Tipperah region in south-eastern Bengal) and Kāmārūpa (Gauhati region in eastern Assam) as countries bordering on Samudragupta's empire. This would probably suggest that Samudragupta was responsible for the annexation of northern and south-western Bengal to the Gupta empire. It is therefore not unlikely that the names of these Bengal rulers should find a place in the list of Āryāvarta kings incorporated in the Allahābād *prasasti*. As a matter of fact king Chandravarman known from the above list has been identified with the king of Pushkaraṇā (Pokharāṇā on the Dāmodar river) of the same name who is known from the Susuniyā (Bankura Dist.) inscription. It is therefore very probable that southwest Bengal was conquered by Samudragupta from this ruler. Who could then be the king of northern Bengal? A king named Nāgadatta is mentioned in Harishena's list immediately before Chandravarman. Of course this fact may not indicate any geographical or political relation that may have existed between the two. But his surname *Datta* may suggest his relation with the celebrated viceregal family of the Dattas of Puṇḍravardhana capital, of North Bengal under the Guptas. It is well known that name-endings in a large number of cases were crystalised into surnames in Bengal as early as the age of the Imperial Guptas. It is also known that the Puṇḍravardhana-bhukti (province of North Bengal under the Gupta emperors) was being ruled by Chirātadatta, Bratmadatt and Jayadatta during the reigns of Kumāragupta I and Budhagupta. It may not be altogether impossible that Nāgadatta was a king of North Bengal and an ancestor of the Datta viceroys of Samudragupta's successors. He may have been defeated by Samudragupta and accepted the latter's suzerainty. The viceregal family of the Dattas was in power for a long time. In a record of 543 A. D., however, a prince of the Gupta family is found to be the viceroy of the Puṇḍravardhana-bhukti.*

*The author owes some suggestions to Prof. Raychaudhuri.

THE WORSHIP OF SAMBA AMONG THE EARLY PĀNCHARĀTRINS.

BY

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The early Pāncharātrins were ardent worshippers of the Vṛishṇi chief Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa, the reputed founder of the Bhakti cult centering round his name, and several prominent members of his family such as Saṃkarshana (his elder brother), Pradyumna (his son by Rukmiṇi), and Aniruddha (the son of Pradyumna). These were regarded in the developed Pāncharātra theology as the emanatory forms or Vyūhas of Vāsudeva who in his Para aspect was the highest object of Bhakti among the Bhāgavatas. He was the sole possessor of the six ideal Guṇas, viz., Jñāna, Bala, Virya, Aiśwarya, Sakti and Tejas, each of his three relations possessing two of these Guṇas in turn. Evidence of an archæological character helps us in ascertaining the fact that the worship of some, if not all, of these forms of the highest god Para Vāsudeva was in vogue in some parts of northern and central India in the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era.¹ But that the early Bhāgavata or Pāncharātra religion countenanced the worship of another relation of Vāsudeva Kṛishṇa can also be definitely proved with the help of literary and archæological data. This relation of Vāsudeva was none other than Samba, his son by Jāmbavatī, who, though reviled and held up to ridicule in certain comparatively late epic and Purāṇic passages, was undoubtedly an object of great veneration among the Pāncharātrins in the early formative period of their religious system. It is true that Samba did not find a place in the order of the Vyūhas, the belief in the sacred concept of which was one of the foremost doctrinal tenets of the earlier Pāncharātra and the later Sri-Vaiṣṇava religion; but there is little or no doubt now that he was worshipped along with his father Vāsudeva Kṛishṇa and three other principal relations of his mentioned above, as early as the first century of the Christian era. There is reason to believe that he was accorded on occasions a position no whit inferior to that of the other three in the early period and it is only in comparatively late times that he fell due to some reasons or other from this august position.

1. The Nagari inscriptions and the fragmentary capitals of the votive columns found at Besnagar and Pawaya fully prove that at least three of them, viz., Vasudeva, Saṃkarshana and Pradyumna, if not all, had their respective shrines; cf. Banerjea, *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, pp. 100-02, 114-15.

The Mora (7 miles west of Mathura) well inscription of the time of Mahākshatrapa Śoḍāsa who flourished in the first half of the first century A. D. gives us valuable information in the matter. This partially damaged inscription was first published by Cunningham, then edited by Vogel 'whose transcript was reprinted with a photo-lithograph of the inscription in its present state by Rama Prasad Chanda' who made an attempt to correct the reading of its second line which is its most important part from the present point of view.² Vogel read the line in question as *Bhagavata Vṛi(sh)ṇe(na) pañchaviraṇam pratima* and remarked afterwards, "in the second line it refers to images of the five heroes. The words are distinct in Cunningham's facsimile It seems quite plausible that these 'five heroes' were the five Pāṇḍava brothers whose exploits are extolled in the *Mahabharata*."³ Chanda found fault with the reading '*Bhagavata Vṛi(sh) ṇe(na)*' and suggesting *Bhagavato Vṛishṇeh* in its place interpreted this part of the record as referring to not only the images of the five Pāṇḍava brothers but also to that of Bhagavān Vṛishṇi, i.e. Kṛishṇa-Vāsudeva. Luders, however, after a careful study of the whole inscription gave us a far more acceptable reading of the same which is given below :

- (1) *Mahakshatrapasa Rajuvulasa Putrasa svami*
- (2) *Bhagavatam Vṛishnina(m) pañchaviranam pratima(h) sailadevagri*
- (3) *Ya(s)=To (sha)yah sailam srimad=griham=atulam=udadha samadhara*
- (4) *Archadesam sailam pañcha jvalata iva paramavapusha*

His translation of the above lines runs thus,—(1) Of the son of Mahākshatrapa Rajuvula, Svāmi.....(2) The images of the holy *pañchaviras* of the Vṛishṇis.....the stone shrine.....(3) who the magnificent matchless stonehouse of Toshā.....(*udadhasamadhara* being obscure is left untranslated).....(4) The five objects of adoration made of stone radiant, as it were, with highest beauty'. There is no doubt that the whole inscription records the setting up of five beautiful stone images representing the holy *pañchaviras* of the Vṛishṇis in a stone temple probably caused to be built by Toshā, very likely a lady of Iranian extraction. Luders rightly suggested that "*Pañcha viranam* hardly means simply 'of the five heroes' which at any rate in correct Sanskrit would be *pañchanam viranam*", and he was inclined to take the term as

2. Cunningham, *Arch. Surv. Reports*, Vol. XX (1885), p. 49, pl. v, No. 4. Vogel, *Cat. Arch. Mus. Mathura*, p. 184, No. Q. 1. Chanda, *Mem. Arch. Surv. of India*, No. 1 (1919), p. 22, pl. vi, No. 5, and *Mem. Arch. Surv. of India*, No. 5 (1920), pp. 166-67.

3. *Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv. of India*, 1911-12, pt. II, p. 127.

denoting a fixed group or body. But failing to fix the identity of the *pancha Vrishniviras* himself, he turned to Alsdorf for any light which might be thrown on the problem by the Jaina scriptures. Alsdorf explained the term as referring to the five Vrishni heroes, viz., Baladeva, Akrura, Anādhṛishṭi, Sāraṇa and Viduratha after collating several data from such Jaina texts as *Antagadasao*, *Nayadhammakahao*, *Harivaṃsapuraṇa*, *Trishasṭhisalaka-purusacharitra* etc.⁴ But it must be observed that none of the above texts expressly lays down that the five persons named above collectively stand for the *pancha Vrishniviras*, the first two texts simply alluding to a group of five great heroes with Baladeva as their head *Bala-devapamokkha panchamahavira*). Of the several other objections which can be raised against this identification of Alsdorf, two only need be mentioned here. Firstly, barring Baladeva in the list of five just mentioned, the other four, viz., Akrura, Anādhṛishṭi, Sāraṇa and Viduratha are comparatively little-known members of the Vrishni clan, and their association to one another was remote and indirect; it would be too much to expect that their images were enshrined in a stone temple along with that of Baladeva at such an early date.⁵ Secondly, there is no valid reason for our turning for explanation of the term in question to Jaina literature instead of Brahmanical texts which should throw proper light on it. The utmost help which is rendered to us by some of the Jaina works named above is that we know from them that their authors were aware of the five Mahāviras headed by Baladeva, but they had no knowledge about the identity of the four other constituents of the group.⁶ Now, the opening verses of the chapter 97 of the *Vayupurāṇa*, one of the early authoritative Brahmanical purāṇas, throw full light on this problem of identification. The Suta (reciter of the Purāṇa) while recounting to the assembled Rishis the names of the gods who were originally men says '*Samkarshano Vasudevah Pradyumna Samba eva cha Aniruddhascha pañchaite vaṃśavirāḥ prakīrtitāḥ*'. These five *manushyaprakṛiti devas*, viz., Saṃkarshaṇa, Vāsudeva, Pradyumna, Samba and Aniruddha are described by the author

4. For Luders' edition and translation of the inscription in question as well as Alsdorf's reasons for his suggestion see *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 194-98.

5. The *Vishnupurāṇa* tells us that Akrura, Anādhṛishṭi and Viduratha were the respective sons of Svapbalka, Sura and Bhajamana, little known members of the Vrishni clan, and Sarana was one of the lesser known sons of Vasudeva by Rohini, *Vishnupurāṇa*, Sec. IV, Chs. 14-5.

6. The Buddhist Ghata Jataka similarly gives a confused account of Vasudeva Krishna. It describes Vasudeva and his brothers as the son of Kamsa's sister Devagabbha and Upasagara, they were made over to a man called Andhakavenhu and his wife Nandagopa, an attendant of Devagabbha.

of the Purāṇa on previous authority (*prakirttiāh*) as the heroes of the dynasty, evidently the Vṛishṇi dynasty.⁷ It should be noted that here also Saṃkarshaṇa (Baladeva) leads (cf. the term *Baladevāpamokkha* of the Jaina texts noted above), and the names of the other four are mentioned in the correct dynastic order, *viz.*, Vāsudeva (Baladeva's younger brother), Pradyumna (Vāsudeva's elder son), Sāmba (Vāsudeva's younger son) and Aniruddha (the son of Pradyumna). An analysis of chapter 15, section iv, of the *Vishṇupurāṇa* also helps us to spot the names of these very five principal Vṛishṇi chiefs who were apotheosised. It has already been said that four of the above, Sāmba excepted, formed the Chaturvyūhas of the Bhāgavatas, and the worship of at least three of them *viz.*, Saṃkarshaṇa, Vāsudeva and Pradyumna, if not all, was prevalent in northern and central India in the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era. What is, however, of special interest for our present discussion is that both early epigraphic and literary data just discussed at some length definitely show that Sāmba was given an equally honoured place, not certainly in the order of the Chaturvyūhas, but in that of the Pañcha Vṛishṇiviras—the five *manushyaprakṛiti devas*, with Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa, Saṃkarshaṇa and others. A few more literary and archæological data can be collected, which would prove that the worship of Sāmba was in vogue among the early Bhāgavatas. A part of chapter 57 of the *Bṛihatsaṃhita*, which describes the images of several select divinities belonging to different cults lays down details for the construction of not only the image of Sāmba, but also that of his wife.⁸ The last few verses of chapter 85 of the *Vishṇudharmottara*, Book III, contain the rules for the making of images of various divinities associated with the Bhāgavata cult and Sāmba finds an honoured place among them.⁹

It is time for us now to see whether any early images of Sāmba have so far been discovered. Vogel noticed some fragments of images lying on the site of a round shrine at Mora where the inscription discussed above was found, and he observed, "that there might possibly be some connection between these fragmentary sculptures and the 'images of the five heroes' mentioned in

7 All the different editions of the *Yayū* have the same reading.

8. Images of Sāmba and Pradyumna are described after those of Vishnu, (Vasudeva), Baladeva and Ekanamsa, the sister of the last two. It is curious, however, that Aniruddha is not named in this context.

9. *Vishṇudharmottara*, III, ch. 85, vv. It is to be noted that though images of various deities associated with Vasudeva-Vishnu, such as Devaki, Yasoda, Ekanamsa, Baladeva, Rukmini, Satyabhama, Pradyumna, Aniruddha, Sāmba, the wives of the last two, Yuyudhana (Satyaki) and the Pancha Pandavas are described, there is no mention anywhere in the text of any one of the four other supposed constituents of the Panchaviras, *viz.*, Akura, Anadhrishti, Sarana and Viduratha,

the inscription.¹⁰ These consisted of two torsos of male images, the lower half of a female statuette and the pedestal of a standing image of which only the feet are now preserved. The four sculptures are now exhibits in the Mathura Museum, numbered E20-E23. Of these the two torsos (E51-E22) which stand for no foreigners but 'some Hindu personages' are of superior workmanship and being carved in the round, can not be assigned to a later date than the Kushan period, but may be considerably earlier'. Luders admitted the possibility of their representing two of the Pañchaviras, though he was aware that this view could not be definitely proved. But it must be observed that in spite of their sadly mutilated state, they bear the clear stamp of individuality with two distinct types of necklaces and different arrangements of the waist-girdles, and have very good claims for being regarded as divine images. Both the torsos are exceedingly well-modelled and the neck and ears of no E22 show clear traces of *trivali* (three parallel lines signifying skin-folds—a *mahapurushalakshana*) and elaborate *kundalas* (ear-rings) respectively. But their heads and hands being broken it is not possible for us to determine whether any of the two might have originally stood for Sāmba. We can, however, turn to another class of sculptures of the Kushan period also hailing from Mathura and see whether we can pick out his image from among them. These are seated figures, some definitely shown riding in a chariot drawn by four horses, while in the case of others the chariot is either completely absent or just faintly suggested. These figures are usually dressed according to the mode of the northerners (*udichyavesa*), and hold in their two hands either lotus flowers (not very distinct in many cases) or mace, sword and other indistinct objects. They are either described as so many images of Sūrya or statues of some Kushan kings, according as their attributes are clearly recognisable. Even when the latter are indistinct, other iconographic traits seem to give out their identity. Thus, one of the earliest such figures recovered from the Saptasamudri well at Mathura could be distinctly recognised as Sūrya not only from the quadriga in which he is placed and the plain halo with the indication of rays behind his head, but also from the small shoulder wings (peculiar to this example—this feature alludes to the Rigvedic conception of Sūrya as a beautiful-winged celestial bird—*divya suparna garutman*), though the objects held in the hands are not clear. Sometimes these figures do not hold lotus flowers at all but carry a club (*gada*) in right hand and a staff (*dandā*) in the left; yet these have been described as Sūrya on account of the northern dress and the faint indication of a chariot drawn by four horses of which the front pair only are shown (but in these cases the presence of a quadriga

10. A. S. I. A. R., 1911-12, pp. 127 ff. and pls. Vogel has since changed his mind and described the male statues as standing for Yakshas; *he sculpture de Mathura*, *Ars Asiatica*, Vol. XV, P. 116.

is usually surmised by the peculiar sitting posture of the principal figure—'with knees raised *i.e.* riding in a car'—Coomaraswamy). One such sculpture now in the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, (Boston Mus. 21.1706), has been described by Coomaraswamy thus.—"Sūrya—squatting figure with knees raised *i.e.*, riding in a car, wearing a conical cap or helmet, chain armour, a dhoti? and boots? or socks, also ear-rings, necklace, bracelets and perhaps a sacred thread. The right hand holds a club (*gada*), the left a staff (*danda*). Horses represented below to right and left, the front pair (of the four) only being clearly defined. Whether or not the deity is intended to be represented as wearing high boots, as is usual in the early northern forms with Iranian affinities can not be clearly determined in the worn state of the sculpture. Apparently some kind of leg armor is intended. The absence of any indication of toes suggests the use of sock or boot".¹¹ The identification suggested in this case apparently rests on very sound data, but the attributes in the hands of the figure stand somewhat in the way. Neither can it be forth-with identified as a Kushan royal statuette, for its other iconographic traits indicate its affinity with the north Indian Sūrya type. I have a suspicion that it is one of the ways in which Samba was represented in early times when his worship was in vogue, and his mythical association with the north Indian Sūrya cult is probably emphasised by the artist in this manner; one type of Sūrya image, was known as Sambaditya.¹² Two other images, one of them in the Mathura Museum, are described by Coomaraswamy as 'representing a royal personage, apparently a Khushan king in tunic and boots, with the same attributes, but without horses, and seated on a throne flanked by lions and marked in front by a fire altar; the other in purely Indian costume, torso nude, and holding in the left hand a cup, and flanked by two small figures of women, is apparently a Bacchanalian Yaksha' (*H. I. I. A.*, p. 68). This last a little bit summarily described may stand for Samba and may not represent a mere Bacchanalian Yaksha as surmised by Coomaraswamy. In it the staff in usually placed in the left hand of such figures is replaced by a drinking cup, the attribute in the right hand, *viz.*, a club being left unchanged; it should be noted that the mode of dress is purely Indian. The female attendants and the wine cup presumably led Coomaraswamy to describe it as the figure of a sensual Yaksha. But the club or a *gada* in

11. This sculpture is made of cream-coloured Mathura sandstone; it is dated in the first century A.D. Coomaraswamy, *Catalogue of the Indian collections in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, Vol. 2, *Sculpture*, 1923, p. 46.

12. The *Skanda Purana* (VII, 1,100) mentions the enshrinement of an image of the son named Sambaditya in Prabhashakshatra; according to the same authority (VII, 1-139, 22), the sun was called Samba at Vardhamana (*Vardhamana* *eva* *Sambautyam*).

the right hand fully tallies with the description of Sāmba in the iconographic texts. The *Brihatsamhita* (ch. 57, 40) tells us that Sāmba should be made with a club in his hand (*Sambascha gadahasta*), while the same text refers to the image of his consort holding a shield. The *Vishnudharmottara* (Book III, ch. 85,) also enjoins that the image of Sāmba should be made in a similar manner (*Sambah karyo gadahastah surupascha viseshatah*). The drinking vessel in the left hand of the last Mathura sculpture can be explained with the epic and puranic references to Sāmba's love for wine,—barring Vāsudeva the other constituents of either the Chaturvyūhas or the Pañchaviras have this weakness. The *Mahabharata* (I. 219, 9) describes Sāmba and Raukmiṇeya (i.e. Pradyumna) as well-clad in celestial garland and garments and roaming like so many gods a little worse for the drink at a festival (*Raukmineyascha Sambascha kshivau samaradurmadau Divya-malyambaradharau vijarhate'marariva*).¹³ Other types of Sāmba's image of early date should be sought for at Mathura and its environs and my own impression is that they are to be found among the sculpture group noticed above. What Coomaraswamy describes as the statue of a Kushan king (*H. I. J. A.*, p. 68, fig. 64) is hesitatingly identified as the figure of Śrīya by Vogel *Ars Asiatica*, vol. xv, p. 46), on account of what appears to be a lotus bud in his right hand, and several other features. Mythologically Sāmba like his father appears to be much more intimately associated with Mathura than with Dwarka. He is specially remembered for the part played by him in the introduction of a new form of sun worship in India.¹⁴ Of the 'several places in northern India which are mentioned in the Purāṇas as containing Śūrya shrines first established by Sāmba, Mathura is one.¹⁵ The *Varaha Purana* tells us that when Sāmba on being enjoined by Nārada to go to Udayāchala for the worship of the sun for being cured of his leprosy expressed his inability to travel so far on account of his deformity and disease, he was advised to worship the god at Mathura.¹⁶ After establishing three sun temples, one

13. Iconographic texts dealing with the images of Samkarshana and Aniruddha often lay stress on their inebriety, and images of the former with a wine cup in one of his hands are well-known. A suggestion can be offered in this connection; all of the sculpture groups of Mathura showing sportive and inebriate postures may not stand for the so-called Bacchanalian Yakshas, in some at least we may see the boisterously mirthful Yadavas of yore represented in the company of their sweet-hearts.

14. R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaishnavism Saivism and Minor Religious Systems*, pp. 153-55.

15. R. C. Hazra, 'Three most prominent places of Sunworship in ancient India', *Bharatiya Vidya*, 1943, pp. 212-16.

16. *Varaha Purana*, ch. 177, vv. 36 & 39:—*Yathodayachale devamaradhya labhate phalam Mathurayam tatha gatyā satsurye labhare*

at Udayagiri, another named Kālapriya on the south of Yamunā, and the third named Mulasthāna on the Astamānāchala. Samba also enshrined another image of the sun, named Sambapura, at Mathura.¹⁷ Samba's association with Mathura in the early and late mythology is, thus, very intimate, and it is in the fitness of things that his image should be found there. A few sculptures of the above group which can not be definitely identified as so many figures of Sūrya can with some justification be identified as figures representing Samba, even when they bear some non-Indian traits like the *Udichyavesa*. Be it noted that the new form of sun-worship which Samba is said to have introduced in India was a modified form of Iranian Mithra worship, and some similarity in the sculptural representation between the cult-picture and its supposed introducer can be surmised.¹⁸

That Samba fell from the high estimation of the Bhāgavatas in comparatively late times is proved by the fact that no importance at all is given to him in later texts dealing with Vaiṣṇavite iconography. The earlier iconographic texts like the Chapter 57 of the *Bṛihatsamhita* and Book III, Chapter 85 of the *Vishnu-dharmottara*, as we have already seen, clearly describe Samba images, whereas the later ones which are incorporated in such Purāṇas, like the *Agni*, *Matsya*, etc., as well as those which form parts of other works, do not refer to his image, though they describe the image of sundry and other gods. Samba does not find a place in the reconstructed list of the Vyūhas, their number being subsequently raised to 24 (Chaturviṃśatimūrttayā) though the three other members of the Pañchaviras, viz., Saṃkarshaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha retain their place in it. No independent image of Samba of the Gupta or later date is known to me, and such images were most probably no longer needed by the Pañcharātrins in their worship. The Great Epic (cf. the account of the destruction of the Yādus as given in the *Mushala Parva*) refers to him as the ostensible cause of the calamitous end of the Yādavas. Some of the Purāṇas like the *Varaha* (ch. 177) and others mention

phalam. *Krishnagangodbhave snatva suryam aradhya yatnataḥ Sarvya-pāpānirmuktāḥ kṣuṭhādibhyo vimucyate.*

17. *Ibid.* ch. 177, vv. 51-5:—*Mathurayam tatha chaikam sthāpya Sambaḥ vasuudhāre Swanamna sthāpayamasa purāṇavidhina svayam Evaṃ Sambapuram nama Mathuranam kulesvaram.*

18 Cf. the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* version of the story of Samba's instrumentality in the introduction of this cult in India. *Varaha Purāṇa*'s account omits all references to Sakadwipa and the Magis—the Maga-Brahmanas of the former, and thus is an evident attempt to indianise the whole theme. Reference to the Magadwijas is to be found in the *Agni Purāṇa* account of the Sakadwipa, where we are told that Hari assumed the form of Sūrya (119-21), cf. also *Brahma Purāṇa*, xx. 71 f, *Kurma Purāṇa*, i, 48, 36-7.

the incestuous conduct of this son of Jāmbavatī for his 1600 (or 16000, as the *Varaha* naively puts) stepmothers, for which he was cursed by his father Vāsudeva Krishna to be a deformed leper. All these facts definitely prove that he was positively out of court with the orthodox sectaries. But why is this disgrace—why is this obloquy which is cast upon the head of one who was once one of the holiest (*Bhagavat*) and an object of devoted love and adoration? Is it for his earlier mythical association with Śaiva cult (cf. the story of his birth which is told in the *Anuśāsana Parva* of the *Mahabharata*—Samba was born to Jāmbavatī as a result of Śiva's grace) or for his later such connection with the north Indian sun cult which was certainly introduced into India from out side—both of which were undoubtedly formidable rivals of the Pāñcharātra-Bhāgavata-Vaiṣṇava sect at one time or other? But what is the real explanation of the origin of these myths? Why is poor Samba singled out from among the Pāñcha Vṛishṇi Viras for all these myths which presumably had such a disastrous result on his position in the cult? Was it because he was the son of Jāmbavatī, the daughter of the Riksha—or Kapi-rāja Jāmbavān who as his mythical account in the epics and the Purāṇas shows did not apparently belong to the Aryan race?

SCHISM AND SARNATH

(A study on different sects occupying Sarnath)

BY

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Schism practically commenced with the master's *parinibbana*. After his passing away, Mahakassapa, warned by Subhaddi's outbursts, decided to hold a recitation of the *Dhamma* and *Vinaya*. This is found in the *Culavagga* as well as in the *Mahaparinibbana Sutta*. The assembled monks then asked Mahakassapa to select the delegates and 499 *arhats* were selected. Ananda seems to have been ignored. The assembly met on Vebhāra (Sk. *Vaibhara*) hill near Rajgir, under the patronage of Ajātasattu. But *Digha-Nikaya* makes no mention of it, and from this Oldenburg opined that, it was a pure invention. This Council is often confused with that held at Vesālī with 700 monks. But Thomas gives weighty reasons for disbelieving Oldenburg, asserting that, at the very best it proves that *Culavagga's* mistake lay in connecting the cause of the FIRST council with Subhadda's outbursts. The assembly of 700 monks at Vaiśālī is given prominence by the *Mahāvamsa*; and is generally taken to be true; but E. J. Thomas

has rightly pointed out that it was the 'Council of Vinaya' held to abrogate certain relaxations allowed by the monks of Vaisali, against which Yasa had protested. The summoning of the First Council had for its prime motive to make known the real *Dhamma* and *Vinaya*, which indicate probably, that the elders felt that the dangers of misinterpretations of the teachings of the master existed, when he had passed away. It was not so serious, however, as it turned out later. It is not our intention here, to consider the origin and development of various schools of Buddhism; our scope is very limited, being mostly concerned with epigraphic and artistic materials that have been made available, to us, which throw light on the actual conditions prevailing at Sarnath, in different centuries—the *Isipatana-Migadaya* of the Pali texts.

Buddha himself had worries about the *samghabhedkas*, and that the matter was very serious, is evident from the Sarnath Special Pillar Edict of Asoka; when he warns the monks and nuns living there about the absurdity of creating schism.³ If the matter had not been serious, it would have been sufficient merely to warn the faithful, but two aspects of this pillar edict is noteworthy. Unless and until schism was more pronounced, what purpose there was in inscribing this edict on this particular, as well as on the pillars at Sanchi and Kosam; and what is more, what utility could have been served by asking them to keep a copy of it in their *samsalanam*?⁴ Their place of assembly; by which is probably signified the site of the apsidal temple, the foundations of which was founds by Mr. Hargreaves and ascribed to the late Mauryan age. It might have replaced an earlier structure of less durable material. Secondly the imperial patron had provided for deterrent punishment: *e chum kho bhikhu va bhikhuni va bh [akha] ti s [e] odatani dus [ani] i [sa] mnamdhapayia unavasasi avasayiye.....*: then a copy of it is to be preserved with the laity too, and on the fast days (*upasotha*), the people were expected to assemble and appreciate the significance of the contents; as well as the *mahamatras* who were also expected to propagate it in their districts, through their subordinate officers.

1. *Vinaya*. I, p. xxxvii; and Oldenburg—*Buddha*, p. 391.

2. E. J. Thomas—*The Life of Buddha*, London, 1931, pp. 165-66.

3. [Na saki*] *ye kenapi sanghe bhetave.....* "Hultzsch—*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* Vol. i, p. 162. Sarnath Special Pillar Edict, D. R. Bahandarkar—*Asoka* (1st edition), p. 333.

4. For different interpretations consult: *Compte Rendu*, 1907, pp. 30ff, for Senart's opinion. Venis translates it as 'place of assembly'. *JPASB*, Vol. iii, p. 4. Bhandarkar takes it to be sort of 'kacheri' op. cit., p. 334.

5. Hultzsch—op. cit., p. 162.

By *mahamatras* probably the *dharma-mahamatras* are meant, whose creation, and definition of whose functions, are enumerated in R. E. V.; but here they are not specifically mentioned as such.

To realise the situation, we have to appreciate the condition of the *samgha* upto the time of Sarnath Pillar Edict. The Buddhist church at the time of Gautama—the Buddha's death, was certainly not powerful, but, it was well organised, and the germs of future greatness were there. Neither the animosity of the Jains nor the rivalry of the older Brahminical faith were able to stamp it out. The story of division of Buddhas mortal remains, amongst the nations of India, may signify the races inhabiting the homeland of Buddhism—the eastern India. According to the *Divyavadhana*, Asoka is reported to have built several thousands of *stupas*, but excavations so far have enabled us to find only few; at Taxila, Sanchi, Sarnath and the Chhatra-Tope near Ramnagar in Bareilly district. With the exception of the Kanakamunis *stupa*, referred to in the Nigliva pillar Inscription; and possibly the Pisrawa Stupa, no Pre-Mauryan *stupa* has so far been found in India. The tradition that Asoka dug up old *stupas*, probably imply the need felt in his time, to strengthen the faith in every part of his empire, where the faithful will have some concrete object to worship and venerate. We may therefore pardonably conclude that before Asoka's time Buddhism had not such a powerful following, though it is not negligible.

At Sarnath, the excavations of the area to the west of the Main Shrine, have failed to bring to light any antiquities of the pre-Mauryan epoch. Are we to conclude from this that *Migadava* (Sk. *Mrigadava*) was unoccupied. Any such conclusions are ruled out by the contents of the special edict. The existence of the monks and nuns in whose *samsalanam* a copy was expected to be kept, implies habitation, though it might have lacked the grandeur of the Asokan days. It is not the purpose of the present paper to belittle the achievements of the early Buddhists, but, a proper evaluation has become imperative to appreciate that it was in a small circle, that schism had set in, and its prevention was of utmost importance, because, it was inscribed at three different places. What was the nature of this schism? *Mahavamsa* tells us that, a Council of the Buddhist elders, the THIRD COUNCIL, was held at Pataliputra in the 18th year of Asoka's reign. At that time the *samgha* was divided into two schools: Theravāda and the *Mahasanghikas*. The first was sub-divided into two sects, while the second had four sub-divisions. Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, however, holds that even in Asoka's time the church was undivided, atleast the edicts are addressed to the whole *samgha*.¹ But already in his time, this is what I have long

1. Bhandarkar—*op.—cit.*, pp. 95-97.

believed, some sectarian tendency had been shown, and the pillar inscriptions were issued to fight these tendencies, and to stamp them out in their embryonic stages, without giving official recognition to these dissenting schools. The orthodox school, on the other hand thinks since in the *Kathavatthu* an attempt has been made by the President of the Council,¹ who met at Paṭaliputra under Asoka's patronage, to controvert the doctrines of the heretical schools, it is clear that, the schools had already originated at this time. But the author of the *Kathavatthu* does not specify the schools but merely tries to meet the various theses.² Rhys-Davids says that an analysis of the data leads to the conclusion 'that at the time that *Kathavatthu* was compiled (c. 250 B. C.) only a small proportion of the seventeen schools had survived.' Thus we find that two great authorities, Rhys-Davids and Bhandarkar, hold contradictory theories. Any serious discussion of the merits and demerits of these would merely lead us to a different topic; the only point with which we may concern ourselves is that by the time of the Sarnath Special Pillar Edict Asoka's vision perceived the danger threatening the *saṃgha*, from sectarian differences, and he tried to avert the danger. It is quite possible that, this edict was promulgated, after the Council had met at Paṭaliputra, when it was thought necessary to take some action against the *saṃghabhedakas*.

After Asoka, the road declines. The disintegration of the Mauryan empire, and usurpation of the throne by Pushyamitra Śunga, brought in an era of militant Hinduism, and as a political necessity perhaps, Buddhist monuments were allowed to suffer. The need of fresh integument to the *Dharmmarajika* Stūpas at Sarnath and Sanchi prove that. The *ex-voto* records of the Persepolitan capitals, belonging to the late Mauryan epoch, are of little help to us and till we come to the reign of Rajan Aśvaghoṣha, we have no recorded information to rely on. For this monarch we have one line commencing from the end of the Mauryan edict. The beginning and the end has been deliberately defaced. The attempt to chisel it being quite clear.

.....*ra pariṇyeha Rano [m]³ Asvaghoshasya chatariṣa savachhare
hamata pakhe divase dasame suvithaye*.....

.....Of Rājā Aśvaghoṣha, in the fortieth year, in the first fortnight of winter, on the tenth day, for the good road.....

Dr. Vogel read no letters after the mention of the date.⁴ In 1912 however the late Dr. A. Venis read them as *sutithaye*

1. Moggaliputta Tissa.

2. Mahasanghikas were those who held the ten points objected by Yasa and to decide which the Council at Vaisali was held.

3. There is a superfluous *anusvara* sign after *no*.

4. *Epigraphia India*, Vol. viii, pp. 171 ff.

4 200 9 and depending on the calculations made by Mr. Chotelal referred it to the so-called Mālava-Vikrama Era.¹ His reading was challenged by the late Dr. Fleet and Dr. Vogel;² who read *sukhathaye* and *suivithaye* (Vogel). I have carefully verified these readings with the original on the pillar; and I agree with Dr. Vogel that this is to be read as *suivithaye*. The absurdity of the calculations made by late Mr. Chotelal has already been demonstrated by the late Dr. Fleet, and if it is to be read I will read it as 172, and when referred to the Mālava Vikrama Era the date becomes 115. But the palaeographical evidence, as pointed out by the late R. D. Banerji, makes it impossible.³

The identity of Aśvaghosha is uncertain, and Dr. Vogel has given good grounds to think that he can not be the great Buddhist patriarch; and palaeography makes it impossible to make him a satrap of the Kushāṇa Kings. Moreover the inscription on the umbrella staff dedicated by Friar Bala, acquaints us with the form of the honorifics of the Kushāṇa governors and viceroys, which were *Kshatrapa* and *Mahakshatrapa*. It is doubtful, whether the Kushāṇas permitted their consuls and pro-consuls to assume semi-royal dignities. This Aśvaghosha ruling as he did in the 1st century B.C. was probably connected with the *Kshatrapas* of Mathura. There is a second inscription of his found at Sarnath, but that is very fragmentary.⁴

Accidental finds of epigraphs, testify the fact that shortly afterwards, if not coeval with Aśvaghosha, the *sarvvastivadin* sect occupied holy Migadāva and the methods by which they tried to establish their supremacy apart from throwing light on the mutual jealousies that governed the relations between the different sects of Buddhism considerably heighten the interests of the school themselves. One of them was found on the Asokan *harmmika*, which was later on removed to enclose a brick *stupa*, in the southern chapel of the Main Shrine. It would be found on the east side of the railing.

1. "*Acha [r] yanam sarvvastivadinam parigahetavam.*"

"Homage of the elders of the *sarvvastivadin* sect."

The second inscription occurs on the northern side of the base of the railing :—

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1. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1912, pp. 701-03.
 2. *Ibid.*, pp. 703-07.
 3. *The Origin of the Bengali Script*, Calcutta, 1919, p. 18.
 4. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. viii, p. 172.
 5. *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1904-05, p. 68, plate xxxii, fig. ix.

2. "*Acharyanam sarvvastivadinam parigrahe.*"

"Homage of the elders of the sarvvastivādin sect."¹

There is a third inscription on the top of the stair-case on the eastern side of the *Dharmmarajika Stūpa* found by Babu Sohanlal in 1907-08.² It reads :—

Achar [ar] yanam sarvvastivadinam parigrahe.

"Homage of the elders of the sarvvastivadin sect."

The most important feature of the first two records is, that, in both the instances the commencing words were inscribed after defacing an earlier record ; while the latter part *parigrahe* and *parigahetavam* were allowed to exist, with the result, that we have in the same epigraphs, characters of different centuries. While the third inscription was inscribed, after defacing by chisels an earlier record, on the right side of the staircase, (as one ascends it), existence of which was not noticed previously. I am publishing an estampage of it, as it shows some of the characters, though very indistinctly.³ The first part of the second inscription, was assigned to 2nd century A. D. by R. D. Banerji ;⁴ while the latter part of the first inscription is little earlier than 1st century B. C. This conclusion is confirmed by two kinds of data made available to us. If we compare *parigahetavam* with *parigrahe* (Pl. fig.), we find that the characters on the eastern side of the railing are slightly earlier than those on the southern side. The second most noteworthy feature is the language employed, while the first is in *Prakrit*, the second is in Sanskrit. The Aśvaghosha inscription is in *Prakrit* ; and extant evidence goes to show that, till the beginnings of the christian era, Sanskrit was not used. With my limited knowledge, I feel that Junagadh Inscription of Rudradāman is the earliest record to use Sanskrit. Before however, we proceed to evaluate the archaeological evidence, it will be worthwhile to pay some attention to the *sarvvastivadin* sect.

Sarvvastivadins, were one of the 18 schools of Buddhism, and as the name suggests, they believed in the existence of everything external and internal.⁵ They were known to Hindu philosophers of a later age as *vaibhasikas*. It is derived from the word *vibhāsa* meaning option, which is the great commentary compiled sometime after Kanishka's reign. The history of the school practically commences from c. 240 B. C. as we find in the

1. *Ibid*, 1906-07, pl. xxx, fig. iv. and pl. fig. of this paper.

2. *Ibid*, 1907-08, p. 73 ; pl. xxi ; fig.

3. cf. pl. fig. of this paper.

4. R. D. Banerji—*op. cit.* p. 16.

5. Hastings—*Encyclopedae of Religion and Ethics*, vol. in, p. 198.

Kathavatthu few questions were directed towards this sect. Till the beginnings of the christian era, they did not seem to have enjoyed much prominence. By the time that Mathura Lion Capital was inscribed they seem to have been well-placed in Mathura.¹ Next comes the Kharoshthi inscriptions which show that it was an influential sect in the Punjab, Gandhāra and Sindh, from the time of Kanishka, if not earlier. Thus the Kanishka Casket inscription tells us that the relics were meant for the acceptance of the Sarvāstivādin teachers (*sarvastivādina*). In the Zeda inscription of year 11 Hipea Dhia in digging a well prays for the glory of the school (*sarvastivadati*). In the Kurram Casket Inscription Smedavarmma dedicates the alleged remains of Sākyamuṇi to the teachers of this sect (*sarvastivadana*). While the Tor-Dheri Inscription extends the influence of this school upto the Loralai district of Beluchistan.² Amongst the Brahmi Inscriptions, may be mentioned the Saheth-Maheth Umbrella Staff Inscription of the *Tripitakacharya* Bhikku Bala, which records the dedication of an image of Bodhisattva at the *bhagavate-chamkame*, in Srāvastī as a gift to the elders of the *sarvastivadin* sect.³ The Kaman Inscription of the year 74 (which comes to c. 152-53 A. D. if it is referred to the Saka era) mentions the dedication of an image of Sākyamuṇi in the Mihira Vihāra by a monk named Nandika for the *sarvastivadin acharyas*.⁴ It is quite clear therefore that, there are good grounds for believing that from the time of the Kushāṇas this sect held a prominent sway in northern India. The Council of the Buddhist elders held at Kashmir, under the patronage of Kanishka, was presided over by *sarvastivadin* Vasumitra. Fa-Hien found them in China and Paṭliputra; Hiuen-Tsang noticed them in Kashghar Udyna, Matipura, Kanauj and Rajgir.⁵ In central Asia, the expeditions led by the late Sir Auriel Stein, found some *sarvastivadin* texts. In the eighth century Saṅkarācharya tried to refute their doctrines.⁶ Finally Mādhava-chārya in the 16th century, had to deal with the doctrines of the *Vaibhashikas*. Thus a school originating in the third century B. C. had its doctrines recognized till atleast 14th century of the christian era.

An analysis of the archaeological evidence leads to the same interesting conclusions. The railing in the southern chapel

1. Sten-Konow—*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. ii, pt. ii, pp. 40-43.

2. *Ibid*, pp. 137, 145, 155 and 176.

3. *Epi. Indi.*, vol. viii, pp. 181-2.

4. *Ibid*, vol. ii, p. 212, Luders No. 12.

5. See an article by Rhys-Davids in *the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*. 1899, pp. 1-37 and the references.

6. *Sacred Books of the East Series*, vol. xlviii, pt. iii, pp. 510-16.

of the Main Shrine was not always there. It was but the *harmmika* of the original *Dharmmarajika Stupa*. In circa. 150 B. C., as the excavations testify, the *stupa* built by Asoka had been sufficiently damaged to have necessitated encasement. The same was the case at Sanchi. So the damaged *harmmika* was brought down and placed around the brick *stupa*, which still exists with the stump of an umbrella in it. At that time, as the steps built to give access to the *stupa*, prove the ground level was lower than it was when the present *kankar* flooring was laid around the chief shrine. When the present Main Shrine was built arrangements were made to design a special chapel for it. But before that, somewhere between 3rd and 2nd century B. C., the sect holding prominent sway at Sarnath, had inscribed their name on the base of the Mauryan railing.¹ Still later, the *sarvvastivadins* sect, obtained the control of the holy site, and for some reason they defaced the earlier *ex-voto* record, substituting their name. How do we explain their action except by sectarian jealousies. With regard to the brick *stupā*, it is noteworthy that, people who inscribed their names on the Asokan column, who utilised the *harmmika* and monolithic steps, for a totally different purpose, did not at a later date, when the present Main Shrine was erected, try to do away with these venerable remains, unless it was of special sanctity or an object of great veneration to the Buddhists. The Buddhists like the Hindus never hesitated to use ancient materials for new purposes. The inscribed pillars of many balustrades that once stood on the holy site were utilised as lampstands by the faithful at a later date.²

After the *sarvvastivadins* comes the *sammitiya* sect, and the Asoka pillar received the third record in the characters of the 3rd century A. D. It reads. —

Ācha [a] [ri] yyanam parigrahe Vātsiputrikānam.³

"Homage of the elders of the Vatsiputriya [sammitiya] sect."

1. It is this early sect who were responsible for the utilisation of the *harmmika* as a railing around the *stupa*. Be they the *theravadins* or the *mahasanghikas*. There seems to have been considerable animosity between them and the *sarvvastivadins*, for which they decide to deface their name.

2. D(a)15 and 16 of Sarnath Museum. These are not the only instances. D(i)6 of the same museum proves utilisation of Gupta pilasters as pediments in mediæval times; while D(f)7 show that a later Gupta pilaster was utilised as ceiling slab; and as identical slabs have been used in Ganj-i-Sahidan Mosque, Benares we may infer that it was used in Kumara-devi's temple. There is a Gupta architrave with festoon garlands in the drain from the Main Shrine. Lest however the theory of utilising ancient fragments are carried too far, I should point out that Mr. A. C. Mukherji, I.S.E., now a Superintending Engineer, Central Public Works Department told me that in early days the P. W. D. in carrying out conservation to ancient monuments utilised such fragments.

3. Plate fig.

Who were these Vātsiputriyas? M. Valee Poussain points out that according to the *Abhi-dhamma-kosa-vyakhyā* the *sammitiyas* formed a part of the Vātsiputriyas,¹ while the tradition preserved in the *Bhinna-nikaya dharmma-chakra* sutra by Vasumitra states that, this school originated in the third century after the demise of the Gautama the Buddha.² From the notice taken of its contents in the *Kathavatthu*, it is clear that, they were known in Asoka's time. The next evidence of their existence is probably this *ex-voto* record. Most criticized view of this school is *pudgalavāda*; as this theory entailed a belief in permanence and *ātman* which was condemned by Gautama and other schools. There were special rules of discipline, concerning the undergarments, girdle, remedies and beds. Their texts were written in *Apabhramsa*. In the 7th century of the Christian era, Hiuen-Tsang found them in large numbers, at Sarnath. They were also established at Ahichhatra (modern Ramnagar in the Bareilly district), Sankissa in Farruckabad district, Hayamukha, etc. Rājyaśrī the queen of the last Maukharī King and sister of Harsha was a nun of this sect.

These small epigraphs therefore help us to reconstruct the history and conditions of Migadava. *Samghabhedakas* were known to Buddha as we have seen before, but the dissentients gathered force within a short time of his death. Asoka who found schismatic differences serious, held the Council at Pataliputra, and under his patronage two extremely necessary steps were taken, first Moggaliputta Tissa tried to controvert their theories. Secondly, the special pillar edicts were inscribed at Sarnath and Sanchi etc., with a view to punish the *samghabhedakas*. With the down fall of the Maurya empire, the site was neglected. Greek Invaders or visitors established images of provincial Greek divinities, where *tathagata* had preached. With the passing of Pushyamitra the religious policy of the Suṅga emperors seem to have become more liberal; and the *Dharmmarajika Stupas* at Sanchi and Sarnath received their first integument. With the conquest of Mathura by Saka-satrap, it again seems to have received royal support. Later on contemporaneously with the *Kushanas* the *servvastivādins* controlled the holy site, and defaced earlier records. They in their turn were replaced by the Vātsiputriyā-sammitiyas.

Archaeologically, the era immediately preceding Asoka, seems to have been barren. It is in the reign of this monarch that principal monuments were established, or to be more correct erected. With the decay of the dynasty, the exotic art they introduced made its exit; and the age has been made remarkable by the rise to prominence of the indigenous school. At first the products

1. Hastings—*ERE*, Vol: ix, p. 168.

2. *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Calcutta University, Vol. i, p. 3.

were stiff and awkward, the forms stood out perpendicularly from the surrounding mass. But in course of time the modelling gathers force, and a well balanced sense of chiaroscuro heightens their dignity, even real naturalism could be claimed for them.¹ Utilisation of the principal Mauryan monuments, attempts to label these as their own continued till Kushana times. During this period, that is Kushana regime, attempts at fresh benefactions with materials not available locally, consistent with the economic and political position of the empire were made. How refreshing is the intrusion of the red-sandstone Karri; and the red-sandstone image and its huge umbrella with the works of the previous epochs? With the liquidation of the Kushana empire, history repeated itself, and we find Sulakshmana, Vatsiputriyas and Kirtti having recourse to old methods-utilising earlier remains. We meet with a resurgence of building activities and beneficiaries when the Catholic Guptas, established their hegemony over the warring princelings of Northern India. No longer, ruins of earlier period brought from their places of neglect to satisfy pious needs. We find again the age old quarries of Chunar, working at its full capacity. Under the enlightened despotism of the Hindus the lonely Migadava, received the deserving attention—which ruins of several monasteries, thousands of sculptures, reliefs and stelae testify.

II

In the above section, we have concerned ourselves solely with epigraphical evidence, regarding the sectarian history of Sarnath. In the following passages, we propose to take up the evidence of the sculptures, whose proper evaluation tend to show gradual evolution, brought about in Buddhist ritual and worship by imperceptible influences. It is only when the court art of the Maurya empire made its exit, and indigenous art makes its reappearance, when the craftsmen after overcoming difficulties of material, again went on embellishing different architectural members with their free fantasias, that the first fundamental feature of early Buddhist church art is perceived. It is the absence of the figural representation of the master. Sarnath very happily has furnished us with portrait heads of kings(?) or warriors, but the image of the Master is conspicuous by its absence. In the *alamvanas* (the copingstones) we find the stupa being worshipped by men and mythological animals.² Foucher's researches have shown, that his presence was indicated by symbols.³ The masters figure being significantly absent. From this we may rightly assume that the

1. I am informed by Colonel D. H. Gordon, D. S. O. that he arrived at the similar conclusions from a study of the Sunga terracottas.

2. 90 N., and D(a)40 and 43 of Sarnath Museum.

3. A. Foucher—The Beginnings of Buddhist Art.

Buddhists had traditional objection to the representation of the master. This continues till the christian era.

The year 81 A. D. is memorable to Sarnath for a significant change. In this year Friar Bala, established a red-sandstone image of Bodhisattva at the lords *chamkama*.³ This is significant, because it shows that in Bala's time, tradition held that a certain spot at Sarnath was the *chamkama* (that is he used to go and come back in a straight line).⁴ The image too was found in the area between *Dharmmarajika Stupa* and the Main Shrine, the name of which *Vihara* was *Mulagandhakuti*. By which, it was implied that, the temple occupied the site of the first hut in which the Buddha spent the first *vassa* (monsoon) at Migadava. His first abode after renunciation. More than that, it was the image of a Bodhisattva and not that of Buddha, which shows that, in spite of the evolutionary processes at work, the pious monk could not call it a full fledged Buddha image. Religious orthodoxy dies hard. The earliest known specimen which is called the Buddha image, is that found at Mankuwar, dated 129 G. E. (448-49 A. D.).

From the 5th century of the christian era, the Benares artists created a new type of Buddha image. It was a plain figure sitting or standing in *abhaya-mudra* with the *sanghati* either covering one shoulder or both. The drapery was diaphanous and the hems were left raised. The palms had a soft cushion like appearance with lines clearly indicated. The head including the protuberance of the skull was covered with curls turning to the right. The *urna* was invariably absent in the Benares school. The most significant departure was the absence of the folds of the drapery, as in earlier schools, which was probably due to Hellenistic influences. When the Bala image was made the art of Mathura had already come in contact with Indo-Hellenistic art. The Kushanas came through Bactria and Afghanistan, after conquering Greek Kingdoms.⁵ In Gandhara the images had the folds arranged in reliefs. At Mathura the torso was generally left plain and the indications of the fold were generally indicated upto the arm-pit. While at Sarnath, it was a simple garment falling smoothly over the body without any folds. This type of image at one time made a greater appeal to the Buddhist world and is found at Ajanta Cave No. xix, at Nalanda and in

1. *Baranative banhgavato chamkame* (EI, Vol. viii, p. 176. Bala makes an identical claim in the Umbrella staff Inscription of Sravasti. Was *Jetavanarama* the second *gandhakuti*?

2. The level seems to have been disturbed, it was found above the concrete terrace. The tradition though noteworthy is unreliable.

3. For origin and development of Greek drapery of. Ridder and Deonna—*Art in Greece*, pp. 220-36.

the countries of Greater India. The drapery and modelling of Borobudur Buddha show Sarnath influences, while several fragments noticed by Salmony prove that it extended upto Thailand.¹ In describing the Bronze torso from Sukhothai, Salmony was touched by its difference from the lower Indian examples and by the 'unusually bold treatment of the drapery which stands out from the body like wings'.....'for all that, the modelling of the leg and the fold has the free fantasia on Gupta motif" But what he failed to point out is the exact source of inspiration. At first the art in India shows an economy of *mudras*, the earliest of which is *abhaya*, but in the classical age of Indian antiquity, we find it completely overcome by several types: the *bhumisparsa*, *dharmmachakra* and the *varada*.

In the last part of fifth century and beginning of the sixth century the *Mahayana* images first begins to appear in Migadava. By this, the possibility of their earlier appearance, here as well as elsewhere, is not ruled out. But as evidence stands at present the image of Bodhisattva-padmapāni, with its lithe grace and hems of the upper garment arranged in a series of superimposed fishtails, happens to be the earliest.² To this group can be added the image of Bhṛikuṭi Tarā, which show a remarkable freedom from later embellishment. Later on same the fine image of Maitreya the future Buddha,³ Vajrapāni-Bodhisattva,⁴ Mañju-Srī Siddhaikavira.⁵ All these go to show that the holy place was becoming the stronghold of Mahāyāna Buddhism. The germs of Mahāyānist tendency is probably to be found as early as c. 240 B. C. in *Kathanatthu*.⁶ But it comes to the front with the Council held at Kashmir by Kaṇishka. The difference between *Hineyana* and *Mahayana* are fundamental, yet, *Mahayana* accepted the old teaching and was based upon it. Hināyanists are keen upon obtaining salvation for themselves, while Mahayanists are supposed to be endeavouring to liberate all created beings. *Mahayana* put the ideal of arhatship in the background and Bodhisattvahood in the forefront. As the Bodhisattva theory gained ground, not only imaginary beings, but prominent teachers or leaders of different school of thought, were regarded as Bodhisattvas. In this category comes Nāgārjuna. The second factor that brought about this change in Buddhism is its extreme elasticity and adaptability. Buddhism, we know, after originating in India, in course of time

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1. A Salmony—*Sculpture in Siam*, plates 9.10.17 and 24(a) and (b).
 2. B. Majumdar *Guide to Sarnath*, pl. xi, fig. 6.
 3. *Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India*, 1904-05, pl. xxviii, fig. (c) and (d).
 4. *Ibid*, 1918-19, pl. ix, fig. (a).
 5. *Ibid*, 1904-05, pl. xxviii, fig. d.
 6. T. W. Rhys-Davids | *Buddhism*, 1909, p. 199.

crossed all racial frontiers—went and conquered in hospitable regions of Central Asia, Afghanistan, Tibet; it conquered the intellectual Chinese, from China it went to Korea. In the south it spread amongst the tropical jungles of Siam, Cambodia, Sumatra, Bali, Borneo, Java etc. But wherever it went it was transformed by national sentiments, or existing creeds and philosophies. Need it therefore occasion surprise that, in their homeland, a gradual change would be forthcoming in their ritual. Buddha himself had commanded that extremities should be eschewed. The divisions into various schools, and exchange of arhatship for mass Bodhisattvahood, had fertilised the ground for further logical developments. The people seldom change their habits and thoughts even when they are converted. How do we explain the occurrence of the cult of the pippal (*ficus religiosa*) tree and the custom of enclosing the sacred areas and objects, with railings, in Buddhism; which, we find to have been the cultural traits of the people of the Indus Valley, milleniums before the birth of Buddha?

Late in the christian era, therefore, we find an attempt made to introduce, the older religious beliefs of Hinduism, into Buddhism. According to Rhys-Davids, one of the chief agents of this new type of Buddhism was Asāṅga, a monk of Peshawar, who wrote the first text book of the *Yoga-chara* school—*Yoga-chara-bhūmi-sastra*, about the sixth century of the christian era¹. This new form of Buddhism, whose origin still remains a moot point, is known as *mantrayana* or *vajrayana* and at one time caught the imagination of the millions throughout the length and breadth of India. Its commencing stages are still unknown. The extant manuscripts are later than the images, the actual objects of worship and ritual. Thus the only inference possible is that, the tradition might have been handed down from preceptor to disciple in secret and these might have been written down at a later date. Another possible explanation is that, the earlier manuscripts have not survived the ravages of time, and political vicissitudes, through which the country has passed, the copies from which our information was derived were later ones, when this type of esoteric Buddhism reached Nepal and Tibet. The first scholar who introduced to us to this type of Buddhism is Mon. A. Foucher in his work entitled *Etude sur l'iconographie Bouddhique de le Inde*. At Sarnath till 10th century of the Christian era, *Vajrayana* images are not prolific. It is after this century that this school of Buddhism completely overshadowed earlier schools and got the control of the holy site. The images

1. "He managed with great dexterity to reconcile the two opposing systems by placing a number of Saivite gods in the pantheon of this new Buddhism, and by incorporating into it a great deal of mystic *tantrik* doctrines from the prevalent animism." T. W. Rhys-Davids—*Buddhism*, p. 207.

of the *Sakyamuni* were seldom dedicated at Saranath, while hundreds of images of Bodhisattvas, etc., testify to the extreme hold enjoyed by them over popular imagination and how influential they were. Amongst the best instances of this class of images is that of *Khasarpana-lokesvara*,¹ *Heruka*,² the images of various *Taras*, *Chadakshi Lokesvara*³ and single figures of his *sakti*, which I believe to be the most unique possessions of Sarnath Museum. Two particular forms of *Vairayana* worship may be noted. First the cult of *Tara* which enjoyed certain predominance here, evident from the large number of images of this divinity found in the excavations. Amongst these the most important is the fragmentary image of *Vajra-Tara*,⁴ which is another unique possession of Sarnath Museum. Secondly, tantrik practices led to the establishments of Hindu tantrik shrines.

Thus we find the whole scene unfolding before us, since that day when Gautama preached the first sermon, amidst jungle and deer herds. Since that day, different schools one after another occupied the holy site, and left their stamp on it. Until the original teachings of the 'master' were completely lost sight of, and large number of gods and goddesses created from prevalent cults to satisfy the morbid piety of a degenerate people. The obscenities to which this type of Buddhists were addicted has been eloquently by Raja Rajendralal Mitter and B. Bhattacharya.⁵ It was a blessing that, the iconoclastic zeal of the Turkish converts to Islam swept them out of existence, in India. That role of Muhammadan conquest has yet to be written.⁶

1. A. R., A. S. I., 1907-08, pl. xvii, fig. a.

2. *Ibid*, 1906-07, pl. xxiii, fig. 11, and plate xxvi, fig. 4.

3. *Ibid*, 1904-05. pl. xxxi, fig. d.

4. *Ibid*, 1904-5, p. 67, fig. 11.

5. B. Bhattacharya—*Sadhanamala* (Gaikwad Oriental Series), Vol. ii, pp.

6. The present theme was suggested to the writer by Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit in August, 1943, who very rightly hinted that along with study of Sarnath sculptures an effort should be made to find from the available epigraphic and artistic materials the advent of the two main schools of Buddhism as well as different sects. It is being published by the courtesy of Brigadier R. E. Mortimer Wheeler.

THE AKOLA HOARD OF SATAVĀHANA COINS

BY

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In September, 1939, there was discovered in the Tarhāṭa village (Mangrul Taluq, Akola District Berar) a hoard of 1600 Satavāhana Coins. They have been ably read and interpreted by Mahamahopādyaya V. V. Mirashi in an article in *The Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. II, (1940). Though his readings of the legends are correct, one cannot agree with all his conclusions.

The present discovery eclipses those of the Chāṇḍā and Jogethembī hoards, as also the sack-fuls of coins picked up in Eastern Deccan. The Jogethembī hoard only directly proves the epigraphic inference that Gotamiputa Siri-Sātakani defeated Nahapāṇa and exterminated his dynasty. Whereas the Chāṇḍā hoard contains only the coins of 4 kings (Siri-Pulumāvi, Siri-Sātakani, Siri-Yaṇa Sātakani and Siri-Kana), the present hoard contains the coins of six more kings, of whom Kumbha Sātakani is not known from any other source, and Vijaya Sātakani and Skanda Sātakani are known only from the Puranas. As has been pointed out by Mahamahopādyaya V. V. Mirashi 'there is not a single coin of any other dynasty, indigenous or foreign'. We may add, with the exception of Caḍa Sati, all kings from No. 24 in the Puranic Lists are represented in this hoard. The number of coins of each king corroborates well his Puranic regnal period. No. 24 (a) who has 29 years to his credit has 600 coins, Siri-Yana with 28 years 248 and Pulumāvi II with 24 years 174; Siva-Siri-Pulumāvi who reigned for 7 years has 32, Vijaya who reigned for 6 years 4; Pulumāvi II with 11 years has 4 and Sivaskanda with 3 years 3: Of course the Puranas err by a narrow margin. Epigraphic records show that Gotamipata Siri-Sātakani reigned for at least 24 years and Pulumāvi IV for 11 years. Yet the Puranas assign them 21 and 7 years respectively. The present hoard also enables us to explain why the Puranas have not included certain Satavāhana names revealed by epigraphic and numismatic sources.

On the problem of metronymics the present hoard throws additional light. Rapson has noted that metronymics are absent on the coins of the Chāṇḍā hoard. The same is the case without a single exception of the Akola Hoard. But on their coins from Eastern and Western Deccan the same kings bear metronymics—we have Vasiṭhiputa Sire-Pulumāvi Gotamiputa Siri-Yaṇa Sātakani and Vasiṭhiputa Siri-Caḍasati on coins from the Āndhradeśa and

Western Deccan ; and Siri Puḷumāvi, Siri-Yaṇa Sātakāṇi and Siri-Çaḍasāti on coins from the Chāṇḍā Dt. One.....explanation is want of space. But this is not convincing as coins from Eastern and Western Deccan are not any bigger. Even on smaller coins metronymics are generally found.

In early inscriptions from Malwa (2nd and 1st centuries B. C.) (Sāñci Saṭdhārā and Barhut Stupas) we get a crop of metronymics-Sariputa, Vāsithiputa, Mogaliputa, Kosikiputa, Gotiputa, Gāgiputa, Kāsiputa and Vatsiputa. In records of the same period in Western and Eastern Deccan metronymic are absent. Only later Sātavāhanas bear metronymics. Later Mahārāṭhis, Ikṣvākus and Ābhiras who were matrimonially connected with the Sātavāhanas also bear metronymics. It is clear that the Sātavāhanas transmitted their metronymics through the channel of marriage as the Ikṣvāka record unequivocally show. The question then arises could they not have got metronymics through the same channel? West Malwa came under Sātavāhana away in the first decades of the second century B. C., and East Malwa some time between 175 and 125 B. C. It may be that marriages between the Sātavāhana and Kṣatriya noble families in Malwa gave these metronymics to the former.

The explanation for the absence of metronymics on the Central India coins is now obvious. The Sātavāhanas deemed it superfluous to vaunt their metronymics in the classical land of metronymics (many a thing dies in the land of its birth). In a land to which metronymics were new they used them freely (new broom Sweeps well).

Mahamahopādhyāya V. V. Mirashi ascribes 573 coins with the legends *raṇo Siri-Satakaṇisa* to Gotamiputa Siri-Satakāṇi, 23rd in the Puranic List. His arguments are as follows :—These coins cannot be ascribed to Siri-Yaṇa Satakāṇi (27th in the Puranic List) for the royal title on these coins is *raṇa* for *raṇno* while it is *raṇa* (for *raṇo* on the coins of Yājña. Again the legends on these coins are in bold and archaic letters, whereas the general tendency in later times was to use small and thin letters' (p. 87), on the coins of Gotamiputa from the Jogelthembi hoard *raṇo* and not *rano* is used. *Ta* with the horse shoe bottom on the Akola coin is more developed than that on the Jogelthembi coins. *Ma* with rounded bottom on the latter is also early. So the attribution of the Siri-Satakāṇi coins to Gotamiputa is risky. Skanda Satakāṇi is 26th in the Puranic List, yet his coins exhibit the same type of bold and archaic letters—*sa* and *ta* with horse-shoe bottom, and *ka* with a bent and short vertical below the horizontal stroke. The alphabet of the Siri-Sata coins from the Chāṇḍā as well as the Akola hoards presents three types—bold type with ornate *ka* and *i* stroke, medium type carelessly engraved and small type. Either they belong to three Satakāṇi's or to one whose long reign explains the variation. It is not possible

to work three Sātakarnis in to the Puranic List from 24 to 30 and the present hoard which presents a continuous line of kings from No. 24 to No. 30 shows that the Puranic List of later Sāta vāhanas is correct. It would therefore be safe to attribute all these coins to Siri-Sātakarni, 24 (a) in the Puranic List, and successor of Siri-Puṣumāyi II. He seems to have enjoyed along reign of 29 years.

Siva Siri-Puṣumāvi is the Sivaśri of the Puranas, for as shown by Pargiter (Dynasties of the Kali Age p. 42) the *Matsya Purana* and one MS of the *Vaya Purana* give his name as Sivaśri Pulomā. It is now necessary to identify Vāsīthiputa Siva-Siri-Sātakarni of the coins from the Āndhradeśa (Rapson *Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum* p. 29 and Pl. V). As *siri* is an honorific prefix *siva* which precedes it is also an Honorific prefix. Then the name can be that of any Vāsīthiputa Sātakarni. Inscriptions from Western India reveal to us a Vāsīthiputa Siri-Sātakarni *Luders' List* No. 994) son-in-law of Rudradaman, and a Vāsīthiputa Catarapana Sātakarni (Nāneghāt ins. *Luders' List* No. 1120). The two names refer to the same king. Catarapa like Chatrap can be a form of Kṣatrapa on the analogy of Prakṛt *cual* instead of *chula* for *Ksudra*, and Cāmtamūla for Chāmtamūla Saṁskṛt *Ksantamūla*-Catarapa would be a form of Chatarapa Saṁskṛt *Ksatrapa*. Sometimes the *anaka* ending in names is shortened into *ana*. The name Catarapanaka now becomes intelligible. It could only have been borne by a son-in-law of Rudradaman. As metronymics are absent on the Akola coins, and as there is only one Sātakarni in the Puranic List from 24 to 30 it would be safer to identify Vāsīthiputa Siva-Siri Sātakarni with king No. 24(a) in the Puranic List.

It is wrong to say as Mahamahopadyaya V. V. Mirashi has done that Siri-Saka Sātakarni is not known from any other source numismatic or inscriptional. From the Āndhradeśa have been picked up coins with the legends (Si) ra (i); Saka Sadsa. (Rapson, *opt. cit.*, Pl. III G. P. 2). *Sada* is a form of *Sata*, both abbreviations of Sātakarni. The alphabet of the Akola Saka coins is not earlier than that of the coins of kings No. 24 to 27. But it is much earlier than that of the coins of Kumbha Sātakarni. Kumbha *ka* and *ra* with long vertical and pronounced reascend of the lower end are much earlier than the Saka *ka* and *ra* with short vertical and no reascend. As the Purāṇas omit his name, he belonged to a local branch of the Sātavāhana family ruling over Vidarbha and part of the Āndhradesa after the main line had become extinct. As Kumbha Sātakarni also belonged to this branch, it seems to have had a long line of kings.

V. V. Mirashi asserts that the present hoard throws welcome light on the starting-point of Sātavāhana power. Khāravela a contemporary of Sātakarni I, 3rd in the Puranic List says that disregarding Sātakarni he despatched an army to the west which

reached Kaśha-bemṇā. This river is identified with Kaṇhan, 8 miles north of Nagpur on the grounds that in the Mahābhārta it is called Kṛṣṇavenā and modern Kṛṣṇā lies to the south-west of Kalinga. Benākataka of which Gotamiputa Siri-Satakani calls himself *Sami* (lord) is the Dt. on both sides of Wain-Ganga. Benākataka was therefore an ancient country which was the home province of the Sātavāhanas. After the defeat inflicted on Nahapāna, Gotamiputa moved his capital to Paithan. There is many a weak link in this chain. The Synchronism of Kharavela with Satakani I is not quite certain as Kharavela's date cannot be more precisely determined than within the limits of half a century, and only 18 years separate Satakani I from Satakani II. So Kharavela could have been a contemporary of Satakani II. Pulumāyi son of Gotāniputa Siri Satakani calls himself a Navanarasāmi. Does it prove that Navanara was the second starting-point of Sātavāhana power. If Berar was the starting-point of Sātavāhana power why are inscriptions of the first three kings found only in Nāneghāt and Nasik coins of the third and fifth kings have been picked up only in Western Deccan. The earliest Sātavāhana inscription from Central India belongs to the sixth or seventh king. The earliest whose coin has been picked up from C. P. is Āpilaka 8th in the List.

It will do well to correlate literary and epigraphic testimony and not reject one for the other. Jain legends fix Paithan as the capital of the early Sātavāhanas. The Purāṇas call them Āndhra servants and the Āndhras inhabited Eastern Deccan, the lower valleys of the Kṛṣṇā and the Godāvari. As already stated coins of the third king have been picked up in Western India, and inscr., of the first three found at Nāneghāt and Nasik. Āndhradeśa could not have been the starting-point of Sātavāhana power as expansion from the plains to mountainous regions is more difficult than the reverse. Moreover it would mean that the first and second king achieved the incredible feat of founding a dynasty on the ruins of the Mauryan Empire, and conquering Deccan from sea to sea. Only records and coins of Sātavāhana kings from No. 24 in the Purāṇic List are found in Eastern Deccan though the Amarāvati *Stupa* has yielded inscriptions belonging to different periods from the third century B. C. to the second century A. D. It will not do to say that the Purāṇas redacted at a time when the Sātavāhanas were ruling over the Āndhradeśa committed the mistake of calling them Āndhras.—Āndhra is a tribal Sātavāhana a dynastic and Satakani a surname. The Nāneghāt and Nasik inscriptions, as also the Akola and Chāṇḍa hoards and the Āpilaka coin prove the accuracy of the Purāṇic List of early and later Sātavāhanas. The writers who remembered well these ancient names, could not have been ignorant of their tribal affinities.

All pieces of evidence can be correlated if it is postulated

that the Sātavānas were Āndhras who took service under the Mauryas (Āndhra servants) and moved up west. The Yavanas and Kambojas inhabited north-western India and yet we find a Yavana Governor of Surāstra under Asoka. Such dynastic drifts were common in ancient India.

The present hoard throws light on the meaning of the Puranic List of Sātavāhana kings. Kumbha Sātakani is known from the Akola hoard and coins of Ruḍa Sātakani picked up in Eastern Deccan are by type and metal connected with coins of the Chāṇḍa and Akola hoards. (Rapson, *op., cit.* Pl. III G. P. 2 and G. P. 3). Sivamaka Sada is known to us from an Amarāvati inscription. These names as also Saka Sātakani and Kaṇa Sātakani cannot be worked into the Puranic List. Kumbha and Andra coins with the long verticals of *ka* and *ra* and a pronounced reascent at the lower end are much later than that of even Yaṇa, Vijaya and Caḍasati (27, 28 and 29 in the Puranic List). Whereas, Cadasati ruled over Central Provinces Kalinga and the Āndhradeśa Kumbha Sātakani ruled over only Berar. The Puranas included only those Sātavāhanas who ruled over Western and Eastern Deccan or at least a considerable part of Eastern Deccan and ignored local branches that followed the main.

MAYURASARMAN KADAMBA'S TERRITORIES

BY

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I thank Dr. V. Raghavan of Madras for inviting my attention to the discussion going on in the Journal of Oriental Research, Madras and other Journals regarding the identification of the river *Prehara*. I take this opportunity of stating my views in the matter and discussing the boundaries of Mayūraśarman Kadamba's territories.

For Mayūraśarman's career we have The three Inscriptions. mainly to depend on the following three inscriptions :

- (1) The Tulagunda inscription of Santivarman Kadamba, usually dated about 420 A. D., which gives a detailed account of Mayūraśarman's romantic career and is the chief authority on the subject (Ep. 2 Ind. Vol. VIII, 94 ff).

- (2) The Malavalli pillar inscription, Part II (Ep. Car. Vol. VIII Shikārpur 263) which is evidently a record of Mayūra-śarman connected with the Sthanu Linga worshipped by the Satakarnis.
- (3) The Chandravalli inscription of Mayūra published in the Mysore Archæological Report for 1929, p. 50 ff.

Though the Talagunda inscription was engraved about four generations after Mayūra's rise, it has generally been accepted as sketching his career more or less correctly. The facts as stated therein are now well known. Mayūra was a young Brāhmin student of Sthanukundūra or modern Talagunda in the Shikarpur Taluk of the Shimoga District. Along with his teacher Virāśarman he went to Kānchi, the capital of the Pallavas, which was a famous seat of learning. There at the *ghatika* or university he studied the Vedas and the traditional lore and evidently grew up to be a learned and sturdy young man. Being insulted by the cavalry men of the Pallavas he retreated to Sriparvata usually identified with Srisailla, and defeated the Banas. When the Pallava armies came to subdue his revolt he defended himself effectively by guerilla warfare. The Pallavas appreciated his valour and peace was made, as a consequence of which Mayūra was appointed a commander of the Pallava army. On behalf of the Pallavas he made numerous conquests.

Information about these conquests is furnished to us in the Chandravalli inscription which is definite and clear except in regard to one geographical name. The information thus obtained shows that Mayūra claimed to have overrun a good part of western Dakhan. I have discussed the details in the Mysore Archaeological Report for 1929. *Trekūṭa* included the area between Bombay and Surat which two or three centuries later was called also *Aparānta*. The second province *Ābhira* included the area round about *Nāsik*. The fourth word cannot be read without doubt. I read it in 1929 as *Puriyatika*. Ten years later I tried to revise the reading. I find that '*Pu*' may as well be '*Pa*', '*ri*' is correct. The first letter in the third line is better read as *cha*. The second letter is *ta* or *ti* and the third one is doubtful. It may be *ka*, but the tail is now invisible. So the word may be read *Parichata*. The revised reading does not change the identity of the country for *Parichata*, *Parivata*, *Parichatika* and *Parivatrika* all signify the same geographical area usually identified with the neighbourhood of the western *Vindhyas*. *Sakasthana* in its southernmost interpretation could be *Gujarāt* and nothing further south. *Sendraka* is evidently the districts of Shimoga and North Canara. *Punata*, is the Mysore District. *Maukhari* was a kingdom in the northern Central Provinces or South Bihar which might have then extended far into the south. The

Pallava territories did include the Kānchi and Amarāvati areas. When I prepared a map (vide M. A. R. 1929, pl. 12) to illustrate Mayūrasārman's claims, I also felt that the area mentioned may have been only overrun by him and not permanently retained. I thought that he might have annexed only the southern parts of the territories of the defeated kingdoms or that the confederated forces of the Ābhira, Trekuṭa, Saka, Pārichāta and Maukhari powers had been defeated by him in some battles thus enabling him to claim to have defeated all of them, but it could not be denied that his actual conquests extended to Gujarat including approximately the modern Kannada and Western Marathi districts. There were of course some scholars who doubted this claim.

Mayūra was yet acting as a commander of the Pallava army. When he set up the Chandravalli inscription he was not yet a king for no royal titles are claimed for him in that record. Thus his conquests spread from the Pallava boundaries to near Gujarat. But when the Malavaḷḷi Pillar inscription, Part II was engraved, the Kadamba, evidently the first of them, Mayūra, was a king. Information about this important change in his status is given by lines 20 and 21 of the Talagunda inscription. The Pallavas were so pleased with his bravery in battles and possibly his victories over their enemies that they offered him a crown with their own hands and made him king of a large territory, two of whose boundaries are mentioned. The south and the east were presumably bounded by the territories retained by the Pallavas whatever their demarcation line might have been and on the north-east were the Maukharis. On the west was the western sea and on the north (and not on the east as previously interpreted was the *Prehara* whose identification becomes important.

In the Epigraphia Carnatica Volume VII, Shikarpur, 176 B.L. Rice read the word as *Premara*. In the Epigraphia Indica Volume VIII, Page 35, Kielhorn read it as *Prehara* and on page 29 he

thought that it was a river on the east of Mayūra's territories. Kielhorn read the second letter of the word with a short vowel. On restudying the inscription I find that the vowel is definitely short and the word reads *Prehara*. The tail of *ha* reaches to the full height of the letter, while above it is not seen the long medial vowel *ā* as a horizontal stroke with a curved end. The identification of this name has now been made in connection with the discussion going on in the Journal of Oriental Research, Madras. Mr. Moraes (Kadambakula p. 16) and Mr. Govinda Pai (Journal of Indian History XII, P. 359) accepted the faulty reading *Premara* and identified it with Malwa. Dr. D. C. Sarkar in his Successors of the Satavahanas, P. 239 thought that it is an unidentified river,

possibly the Tungabhadra. Mr. M. Venkataramayya in the Journal of Oriental Research, Volume XII, P. 308 considered that *Prehara* is an unidentified territorial division like Satavahanihara. In the same journal Volume V, Part 2, Dr. Raghavan has drawn our attention to the fact that the poet Dandi has mentioned in the *Avantisundarikathā* the rivers *Preharā* and *Murula* as existing in *Aparānta*. The existence of *Murala* in *Aparānta* is supported by Kalidasa's *Raghuvamśa*, Canto IV stanza 55. Dr. Raghavan II has in another article drawn our attention to the fact that in Jināsena's *Purvapurāna*, *Praharā* and *Muravā* are mentioned as two rivers rising from Sahyadri. From the maps it is seen that *Pravarā* is a river starting from Trimbak hill south of Nasik and falling early into the *Godāvari* and the river *Mula* flows to its south. There can now be no doubt that there is a river *Breharā* in *Aparānta* and that in all probability it is identical with *Pravarā*. He may very well infer that it formed a northern boundary of Mayūrasarman's territories as ceded by the Pallavas.

The Talagunda and the Chandravalli inscriptions corroborate each other in this respect. For the invasion of Mayūrasarman as discussed above extended far to the north. It may be doubted whether he was able to retain all the territories invaded by him including southern Gujarat and the Vindhya area; but he may well be expected to have retained the territories reaching up to the Ābhira and Trekuta areas. It is found that the river *Pravarā* starts to the north-east of Bombay close to Igatpuri and flows by the towns of Akola, Sangamner, Belapur and Nevasa and joins the *Godavari* just on the boundary between the Ahmednagar and the Aurangabad districts. It flows west to east at a short distance to the south of 20 North latitude which almost passes through Nasik.

In the map published by me in the Mysore Archæological Report for 1929, Plate XII, I have included in Mayūrasarman's territories extending between the *Godavari* and the *Vindhyas*. This indicates the territories invaded by him.

Only a part of these, and a major part may have been finally retained. The fact that the *Preharā* is mentioned and not the *Godavari* may also be significant. Very probably Mayūra's territories were confined only to the western part of the Dakhan. We are uncertain as to the exact position of the demarcation line between the territories of the Kadambas and those of the Maikharis and Pallavas. For the present we may feel satisfied with the discovery that Mayūra's territories extended from about Mysore far beyond Bombay to at least a few miles south of Nasik.

LEGAL RESPONSIBILITY OF PHYSICIANS IN ANCIENT INDIA FOR THEIR CARELESSNESS IN MEDICAL TREATMENT

BY

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1. To the curiosities of the Ancient Indian Law belong *inter alia* the notion of legal responsibility of physicians for their carelessness. Although the Indian Law is not the oldest in which this legal responsibility is put in force, it is one of the oldest. Probably the oldest code in which we can find the rule concerning the medical responsibility of physicians for their carelessness is the Hammurapi's Code of Law. According to this code the physician who operates on a man or an animal and causes death is liable, in case of a man, to the penalty of having his fingers cut off (*lex tallionis*); and in case of a slave he has to give another slave of the same kind.¹

The Ancient Indian Dharmaśāstras and Arthaśāstras codify this question in a similar manner but their codification is more detailed and from the point of law better arranged.

2. It is evident from the Dharmaśāstras that the physicians belong to persons of a lower class. Vās² refers to Mn. and states that neither a physician (चिकित्सक) nor a trader, nor an actor, nor he who obeys a Sūdra's command, nor a thief can be called a Brāhmana.³

The food of a physician (चिकित्सक) is considered as pus⁴ and should never be eaten by a Brāhmana,⁵ a physician (चिकित्सक) must not be invited to a Śraddha⁶ say the Dharmaśāstras, which is one more proof that their position was rather low.

However, life is stronger than laws.⁷ The physician (called वैद्य) who saves another person's life because of his learning is highly esteemed and honoured.

1. 218 and others.

2. Vas, III-3.

3. I have not found this rule in Mn.

4. Mn. IV-220.

5. Mn. IV, 212, Y-I-162, C XVII-17, VI-LI-10, Vas. XIV-2, Ap. I-6, 18, 21, I-6, 19, 15. M. B. H XII-35-30,

6. Mn. III-152, VI, LXXXII-9.

7.

As it results from the Ancient Indian Literature he is once accompanied to the door of the palace¹ and another time he receives a remuneration amounting to 200,000 kāhāpanas which he has to share with the king Bimbisāra² etc.³ and even the same Dharmaśāstras which say on one place that the physician is a person of low class, and in another mention him among mother, father, sacrificial and domestic priest, teacher, child, old and sick persons, paternal relatives, kingmen, maternal connections, brother etc.⁴ and state that one should never have a dispute with these persons. However, neither Mn. nor Y. use for the meaning of a physician the word चिकित्सक or भिषज्, but use the word वैद्य⁵ which means "highly educated".⁶

The importance of the physicians and his great importance in everybody's life is also evident from Vi⁷, where we read that a snātaka must not live in a kingdom in which there are no physicians, also K. understanding their necessity states that the physician (भिषज्) should be in the vicinity of the king for his personal safety;⁸ he also hands over to the king medicines which have been proved by experiments.⁹

The physician (चिकित्सक) is also considered as a non suspicious person even if he moves in the vicinity of royal buildings or goes at night in spite of curfew orders, and this regardless of what work is actually performed by him.¹⁰

K. also considers physicians as persons who enjoy confidence and therefore decides that, for instance, the envoys should use as spies for their own aims some persons disguised as physicians (चिकित्सक)¹¹ or to use physicians (चिकित्सक) as spies in order to make place and break it as soon as it is convenient for the king or commander-in-chief.¹² On the other hand K. advises the use of physicians (चिकित्सक) as spies in order to poison seditious ministers¹³ or persons of seditious character.¹⁴

1.

2.

3. I. J. Meyer's Das altindische Buch von Weisheit und Staatsleben, Leipzig, Zus. 521, 27 (p. 813-814)

4. Mn. IV-179-180, Y-I-157-158.

5. Mn. IV-179, Y-I-157.

6. Therefore one can be in doubt as to whether these passages relate to physicians. In any case, if it relates to physicians it relates to a special kind of them. It is to highly educated ones.

7. VI. LXXI-66.

8. K. 43, 19 (& 21).

9. K. 44, 1-2 (& 21).

10. K. 146, 6 (& 36).

11. K. 31, 4-5 (& 16).

12. K. 316, 11 (& 123-124)

13. K. 240, 3 (& 89).

14. K. 246, 13 (& 90).

3. The responsibility of physicians for their careless medical treatment is only settled in three Dharmasāstras, namely in Mānava-Dharmaśāstra,¹ Yājñavalkya-Dharmaśāstra,² Visnu-Smṛti³ and in Kautilya's Arthasāstra.⁴

Although the Ancient Indian source of law does not protect the patient directly because the patient does not get any indemnity in case of careless medical treatment on the part of the physician, neither his heirs get it in case of the death of the patient caused by a physician, but physicians are liable to penalties for their careless medical treatment which is collected by the king (State). This penalty is not similar to the penalty fixed in the Hammurapi's Code because the Ancient Indian sources of law do not fix the *lex talionis* but impose on the physician a fine, the extent of which varies according to circumstances.

1. The Ancient Indian sources of law make a difference whether

(a) Persons, or

(b) Animals

are subjected to medical treatment and, in case of persons, whether the patients are

(a) Ordinary persons, or

(b) King's men (servants).

The rule concerning the responsibility of physicians for careless medical treatment is expressed in Mn.⁵ in the following words.

चिकित्सकानां सर्वेषां मिथ्या प्रचरता दमः ।

"All physicians who act incorrectly are liable to punishment".

This responsibility for the "incorrect acting" is settled in detail in Y. and VI Y,⁶ states :

मिषड्मिथ्याचरन्दाप्यस्तिर्यक्तु प्रथम दमम् ।

मानुषे मध्यमं राजमानुषेषुत्तमं दमम् ॥

"A physician who acts incorrectly should pay the first amercement in case of animals, the middlemost in case of men and the highest in case of king's men". VI.⁷ states :

मिषड्मिथ्याचरन्नुत्तमेषु पुरुषेषु ।

मध्ययेषु मध्यमम् ॥

तिर्यक्तु प्रथमम् ।

1. Mn.

2. Y.

3. VI.

4. K.

5. Mn. IX-284.

6. Y-II-242.

7. VI V-171-175, according to Dutt's edition and VI V-175-177 according to Jolly's edition.

"A physician who acts incorrectly should pay the highest amercement in case of persons of the highest rank" (171).

"The middlemost (amercement) in case of persons (172)."

"The first amercement in case of animals" (173)

These two Dharmaśāstras regulate this question in an identical manner. They distinguish three penalties in three different cases.

Mn.¹ regulates this question in a different manner. We read there

अमानुषेषु प्रथमो मानुषेषु तु मध्यमः

"In case of non-human beings (physicians are liable to) the first, in the case of human beings to the middlemost amercement".

Hence Mn. distinguishes two different cases and two different penalties.

On the other hand K². settles only one case i.e. the responsibility of physicians for their careless medical treatment of persons only. We find there the following sentence :

कर्मपरोधेन विपत्तौ मध्यम ।

कर्मवधवैगुण्यकरणै दण्ड पारुष्यं विद्वात् ॥

"Physicians who undertake medical treatment and death occurs in case of carelessness (are confined to) the middlemost (amercement). In case of increase of disease because of negligence—the punishment fixed for injuries should be applied".

But Mn.³ says :

चिकित्सकानां सर्वेषां मिथ्या प्रचरता दम ।

Y⁴ and VI⁵ also use the word मिथ्य which strictly speaking means "without any result" or "uselessly". Therefore, it is doubtful whether मिथ्या means "without any result" or "incorrectly". It is a great difference from the point of view of law. To act without any result does not mean any guilty act but under the meaning "incorrectly" we understand a guilty act, at least *culpa levis*.

This indistinction is explained by the commentators.

Medh⁶ says that the word मिथ्या means the complete lack of medical knowledge or carelessness on the part of the physician. We read there.⁷ "The prescribing of medicines by dishonest practitioners may be done in two ways."

1. Mn. IX-284.

2. K. 203, 13 (& 76).

3. Mn. IX-284.

4. Y-II-242.

5. VI V-111.

6. Medh. ad Mn. IX-184.

7. According to Jha's translation of Manu-Smṛti, Calcutta 1926

1. It may be due to the man entirely being devoid of theoretical and practical knowledge, or

2. To negligence or greed, even though the knowledge of the science is there."

Medh. does not even Mention uselessness or cure without any result as probably it was for Medh. completely self-evident that it does not apply to this case.

Mit.¹, commentator on Y. understands under the expression मिथ्या such a physician who in order to gain his livelihood poses himself as a well qualified physician but in reality does not know the science of medicine.

It is evident that Mit. knows only the first contingency as stated by Medh. Hence it is not negligence or carelessness but ignorance of medical treatment.

However, probably, life brought about another settlement, and the physician became chiefly responsible for his carelessness and negligence. It seems to be evident from the only ancient Indian source of law which clearly regulates this matter, that is Kautilya's Arthaśāstra ; we read in K.

कर्मपरोषेन विपतौ मध्यम । कर्मवधवैगुण्यकरणे दण्डपारुष्यं विद्यात् ॥

Hence K. settles this matter in the wisest manner K. considers two different cases. This distinction is made not *ad personam* but *ad rem*. The penalty depends on the fact whether :

(a) the patient died, or

(b) the illness of the patient increased,

and it is indifferent to what social class the patient belonged.

7. As mentioned above according to Mn. the penalty depends on whether

(1) a non-human being, or

(2) a human being

suffered a loss because of medical treatment, and according to Y. and Vi. whether it is ;

(1) an animal,

(2) a middle class man, or

(3) a king's man.

Under the expression अमानुष (a non-human being) Medh² understands horses, elephants and so forth and Mit.³ under the expression तिर्यङ्च—lower animals.

1. Mit-ad Y. II-242 p. 137.

2. Medh.-ad Mn. IX-284.

3. Mit, ad Y-II-242 p. 137.

It is unquestionable that, from the point of view of law, the expression *तिर्यञ्च* used in Y and Vi.¹ is not well used by the author or authors of these Smṛtis and the word *अमानुष* in Mn.² is a much better expression because the codificators' aim was in principle to take under protection every living being which is not human. However, in practice this rule could be applied only to such living things as were cured by a physician or better to say by a veterinarian *i.e.* a physician for animals (*तिर्यञ्च*) only.

Although Mn. mentions only human beings (*मानुष*) as victims, Y, and Vi. mention the *राजमानुष* or *उत्तममानुष* on one hand, and *मानुष* or *मध्यम* on the other.

राजमानुष or *उत्तममानुष* are persons of a higher class, especially king's officials (king's persons) and *मध्यम* or *मनुष* are other common persons, persons of middle class. According to which category of persons the victim belongs, the fine will be greater or less. The rule is that the higher the social class to which the victim belongs, the higher will be the responsibility of the physician for his carelessness. On this subject Mn. is more democratic as he imposes the same penalty on the physician for his carelessness regardless of the social class of the victim.

8. In principle the fine is the same in all the ancient Indian sources of law. In case of non-human beings, that is animals the first amercement will be imposed.³ But according to Mn. and Vi. the first amercement amounts to 250 *panas*⁴ and according to Y. to 270 *panas*.⁵

In case of human beings, regardless of their rank, Mn. imposes the middlemost amercement *i.e.* 500 *panas*.⁶ According to Y. and Vi. in case of persons who belong to the middle class, the middlemost amercement is to be imposed.⁷ According to Vi. this middlemost amercement amounts also to 500 *panas*⁸ but according to Y. amounts to 540 *panas*⁹. In case of persons of the highest rank—the highest amercement¹⁰ is to be imposed. This highest amercement amounts according to Vi.¹¹ to 1000 *panas* and according to Y.¹² to 1080 *panas*.

1. Y-I-242, VI V-173.

2. Mn. IX-284.

3. Mn. IX-284, Y-II-242, VI V-173.

4. Mn. VIII-138, VI-IV-14.

5. Y-I-365.

6. Mn. VIII-138.

7. Y. II 242, VI-V-171.

8. VI IV-14.

9. Y-I-365.

10. Y. II-242, VI-V-172.

11. VI IV-14.

12. Y-I-365.

According to K. in the case of the patient's death, it is the most dangerous case, the middlemost amercement is to be imposed¹ which amounts from 200-500 *panas*², and in the less dangerous case, that is the prolongation of the disease, the punishment fixed for injuries should be imposed.³ This last penalty varies and amounts to 3-24 *panas*.⁴

The rule applied here is very clear and self-evident; depending on the higher class of persons wronged (Mn. Y. Vi) or on the higher wronged object (K) the higher penalty is to be imposed.

9. In K. we can find two other very interesting administrative and police rules which refer to physicians.

We read on one place;

मिषजः प्राणावाधिकमनाख्यायोपक्रममाणस्य विपत्तौ पर्वस्या हसदशः ।⁵

"Physicians who undertake a perilous medical treatment without informing and if death follows, are confined to the lowest fine".

In other place we read :

चिकित्सकः प्रचक्षणं प्रतीकारकारयिता रमपत्यकापिष च गृहस्वामी ।

च निषेध (गोपग्या निषेध) गोपस्थानिकयोगुज्जोतायया दुल्यदोषस्त्यात् ॥

"Any physician who undertakes in secret the treatment of a patient from wounds or excess of unwholesome food or drink, as well as the master of the house, are only innocent when they report to the *gopa* or *sthanika*, otherwise both of them are equally guilty with the sufferer."

In other words the physician in order to safeguard himself from a penalty which could be imposed on him when treating a grievous case which might cause death, should inform the corresponding office i.e. the *gopa* or *sthanika*. In case he does not inform the office and death occurs he is liable to the first amercement which amounts from 12 to 96 *panas* ⁶, besides which, the physician should immediately inform the *gopa* or *sthanika* in case of being called to a patient who might be suspected of concealing his whereabouts. For the medical treatment of such a person, regardless of whether it be a wound or an excess of unwholesome food etc.⁷ the physician, as well as he who entertains the patient in his house, is liable to the same penalty as the patient.

1. K.

2. K. 192.

3. K.

4. K. & 73.

5. K. 203, 13.

6. K. 203, 13.

7. The diseases are enumerated only by example.

This rule is well known in contemporary codes as well. These are the rules which are introduced particularly during war or in a state of emergency in order to find out the whereabouts of partizans or underground workers.

The police State of Chandragupta Maurya¹ introduced in the 4th century B. C. special "modern" legal rules. It illustrates one more peculiarity and curiosity of the Ancient Indian Law.

THE KALIYUGARAJAVRTTANTA AND THE IMPERIAL GUPTAS

BY

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In the Journal of the Bihar Research Society Vol. XXX, Part I, pp. 1-46, Dr. B. Bhattacharya has published what may be called as annotated translation of certain verses alleged to belong to an 'old Purāṇa' called the Kaliyugarajavṛttanta. Although these verses have been before the Indologists for the last twenty-eight years—ever since their publication in 1916 by Mr. T. Narayan Shastri, in his work, 'The Age of Sankara'. Dr. Bhattacharya claims to have thrown new light on the history of the Imperial Guptas, and he pities the lot of all previous writers on Gupta History. He is even highly indignant, at this negligence of the writers on Ancient Indian History. It is proposed to examine in this paper, whether these verses² have really necessitated a revision of some important facts of Imperial Gupta History, as suggested by Dr. Bhattacharya.

Before I start to discuss the new points of view based on the information supplied by these verses. I feel it is imperative to go into the question of the authenticity of these verses, particularly because Dr. Bhattacharya has himself stated that he has not consulted any Manuscripts of the work called Kaliyugarajavṛttanta, but has taken these verses from Krishnamachariars 'History of Sanskrit Literature'. Mr. Krishnamachariar, too does not refer to any MS or printed edition of this 'Old Purāṇa'. He has taken the verses from the Age of Saṅkara by T. S. Narayan Sastri who is also absolutely silent regarding any details of the MS.

1. I admit that Kautilya's Arthasastra gives a splendid picture on the State and legal rules of the time of Chandragupta Maurya and his Minister Kautilya, although it is doubtful whether this Arthasastra was really written in these times.

2. See Appendix.

A Manuscript of the work called *Kaliyugarajavṛttanta* is preserved in the Government Oriental MS Library, Madras.² It contains 26 complete *Adhyayas*, while the 27th is incomplete. In this work we find an account of Cola King Sundara who ruled from 956 to 973 A. D.

There is mention of Bhoja of Dhārā, who ruled in the eleventh Century A. D. (1018-1060 A. D.) Evidently, therefore, the work was composed or recast at the end of the XI Century. In this account of Kings which comes up to the XI Century A. D. there is no mention of the Guptas. Not a single verse or a single name is to be found in this MS. Another MS. bearing the title *Kaliyugarajacarita* is described by Rev. W. Taylor at pp. 215-217 of Catalogue Raisonée of Oriental Manuscripts Vol. III. In this MS. the account of the various dynasties comes down to Saka 1672 i.e. 1750, the time of Ahmad Shah. It is, therefore, a very late work, and its information cannot be trustworthy for the early period. This is clearly borne out by some ridiculous statements made in this work. It assigns a reign of 210 years to Chandragupta, and of 2000 years to Vikramāditya.

From the foregoing, it is clear that the so-called 'Old Purāṇa' really does not exist. Instead, we have some accounts composed at different dates, and these evidently represent attempts made in different times to present the account of a particular ruling dynasty, in a historical setting. No MS. has been traced in which the verses quoted by M. T. Narayan Sastri, may be found. In reality, these verses are of recent origin. They seem to have been composed after the discovery of the Bhitari Seal of Kumāragupta, in 1889, as they contain an account of those Kings of the Gupta Dynasty only, whose names were known from the inscriptions, and who alone were regarded as Imperial Gupta rulers by the Epigraphists. This account, for instance, does not include the name of Budhagupta, apparently because up to that time Budhagupta was regarded by Dr. Fleet and others only as a local ruler of Mālava, and not an imperial Gupta monarch. Now we know it definitely, that Budhagupta was a member of the Imperial Gupta Dynasty,³ and his sway extended over Bengal, Bihar, United and Central Provinces. Had the account been based on genuine tradition, faithfully handed down in works of the Purāṇa category, there is no reason why the name of Budhagupta, who was certainly an important ruler of the Imperial Gupta Dynasty should have been omitted. There are other discrepancies also. This account omits the names of Purugupta, Viṣṇugupta and Vainyagupta, who are all known to us from coins and sealings.

2. No. 2160, Vide Catalogue, p. 1476.

3. Vide, his Seal published by Dr. Hiranand, in 'Nalanda and its Epigraphic Material' p. 64.

Instead of Purugupta, it mentions Sthiragupta as the father of Narasinhagupta (here spelt has Nrsimhagupta). The text of the Bhitari Seal owing to its illegibility in certain portions could not be definitely fixed for sometime; and Sthiragupta was an alternative reading suggested by Dr. George Buhler.⁴ Such conjectures, however, are no longer possible. The real reading is Purugupta, as adopted by Fleet and Hoernle, and is supported by the Nālandā clay sealings of Narsinghagupta, Kumaragupta II, Budhagupta, and Viṣṇugupta. These verses appear to have been composed in the nineties of the XIX Century, and their author evidently adopted the form of the name approved by Buhler. The duration of the reigns of the various Gupta Kings is approximately in accordance with the rough calculations adopted by V. A. Smith in the earlier editions of his Early History of India, and before the Gupta chronology had been revised in the light of the discoveries of the Sarnath Inscriptions.

Now let us examine some observations of Dr. Bhattacharya.

(1) *Samudragupta—a parricide.*

Dr. Bhattacharya remarks, "But the most amusing of all superstitions is that Samudragupta was selected by Chandragupta as the Crown Prince in an open Durbar.....The real fact is that Samudragupta actually killed his father."

According to Dr. Bhattacharya, Candragupta I by killing two Andhra Kings and by cheating Kumaradevi had committed offences which could not go unpunished, and 'his son meted out to him the punishment which he so richly deserved.'

All these comments are directly opposed to the letter and spirit of the inscriptions of Samudragupta and his successors. In the Allahabad Pillar inscription and in all the later records of the Dynasty, Samudragupta is styled as 'favoured by the feet of' Candragupta, which indicates the former's reverential attitude towards the latter rather than any hostility or ill-will. Samudragupta was highly devoted to his father. In the Eran inscription it is stated that he was appointed to the throne by his father who was pleased with his devotion, valour etc.⁵ If Samudragupta was really disgusted with the conduct of his father, we cannot expect these respectful references in his own records. Dr. Bhattacharya

4. Cf. V. A. Smith, "Dr. Buhler tells me that after very careful examination, he thinks that the correct reading is *Sthira*, and Sir A. Cunningham is inclined to accept this reading".

JRAS. 1893 p. 831. 1 f. n. 2.

5. भक्तिनः विक्रमतोषितेन *etc.*

has sadly missed the import of the verse⁶ in the Allahabad Pillar inscription. The verse definitely refers to Samudragupta's own coronation to the throne. The entire verse portion preceding line 17 in the Allahabad Pillar inscription is connected with Samudragupta by the pronoun *tasya* occurring in the beginning of that line, and cannot refer to anybody else. In this verse also Candragupta is described as highly pleased with his worthy son who received his blessings for a prosperous reign. That Kumāradevi, was ever ill-treated by Candragupta is altogether out of question. The gold coins which bear the portraits and names both of Candragupta and Kumāradevi, conclusively prove that Kumāradevi was honoured by Candragupta in a manner, in which perhaps few queens in history have been honoured,⁷ and the statement of the 'Purāṇa' in this respect is definitely wrong. Then, if Candragupta was so affectionately disposed towards Samudragupta as depicted in the inscriptions, and if Kumāradevi had not been wronged as proved by the numismatic evidence, what was the head and tail of Candragupta's offence for which Samudragupta took the drastic revenge? If the murder of the Andhra Kings was a real fact which had so much exasperated Samudragupta, why did he quietly wear the Crown, that had been obtained by foul means, instead of restoring the throne to the Andhras?

(2) *Candragupta as Rajyasyala*

In this 'Puranic Account'⁸ Candragupta is said to have married a Licchavi princess the younger sister of the queen of Candrasri, and is styled as *Rajyasyalaka*. This is evidently wrong. A *rajyasyala* is the brother of the queen of the ruling King. Here the 'Purana' says something which is nonsense.

(3) *Skandagupta's Reign.*

According to 'this account' Skandagupta ruled for 25 years, from Gupta year 137 to Gupta year 162 (vide Dr. Bhattacharya's table. at p. 46). But Skandagupta's reign ended much earlier. There is no coin or inscription of Skandagupta which bears a date later than 148; while there is evidence to show that two other kings had ascended the imperial throne before the year 162. The Sarnath inscriptions of the years 154 and 157 point to the rule of Kumār Gupta II and Budhagupta respectively. This shows that

6. आर्यो हीत्यपगुह्य भावपिशुनैरुत्क्रियतै रोमभिः सम्बेषूच्छसितेषु तुल्यकुलज्मलानानोद्दीक्षितः ।
स्वेह व्यालुकितेन बाष्पगुरुणा तत्वेक्षिणा चक्षुषा यः पित्रामिहितः निरीक्ष्य निखिलां पाद्वेवमुद्धर्मिति ॥

7. Even if these coins were struck by Samudragupta as memorial medals, they show his great affection for his father Candragupta. Why should he have commemorated a father whom he despised and regarded as a cheat.

8. Vide Verse 4.

Skandagupta had died at least before the Gupta year 154, and could not have ruled for 25 years as stated in this 'Old Purana.' Further Dr. Bhattacharya says that Parākramaditya was the distinctive title of Skandagupta. But this title is not found on a single coin of Skandagupta. The titles found on his coins are Kramāditya and Vikramāditya.

(4) *Kumārāgupta II and Isanavarman.*

According to verse 26 quoted by Dr. Bhattacharya, Kumārāgupta son of Narasimhagupta achieved a victory over Isanavarman. Here the author of the account has uncautiously betrayed himself. He is evidently compiling his account from the inscriptions, but being not quite conversant with historical details he has fallen into a pitfall. Kumārāgupta who defeated Isanavarman was a member of the later Gupta Dynasty founded by Kṛṣṇagupta.⁹ He is not a son of Narasimhagupta, but of Jvita-gupta I.

(5) *Varahamihira and Candragupta II.*

Dr. Bhattacharya assigns the dates 378 to 414 A. D. to Candragupta II, and yet he states that Varahamihra 'was a gem of the court of Candragupta', Varahamihra according to the testimony of his own works lived between 505 and 587 A. D.

(6) *Bhatarka.*

According to this 'Purāṇa' Kumārāgupta son of Nṛsimhagupta was served by Bhaṭṭarka. Commenting upon this Dr. Bhattacharya remarks, "we can recognise in this Bhaṭṭarka the Senāpati Bhaṭarka who was the founder of the powerful Valabhi Dynasty. On the break up of the Gupta Imperial power in the year 565 A. D. Sempati Bhaṭarka must have set up an independent kingdom in Gujrat and Kathiawad". This statement shows how the implicit faith in the accuracy of this 'Purāṇa' has led Dr. Bhattacharya from one blunder to another. Bhaṭṭarka lived long before 565 A. D. His third son Mahārāja Dhruvasena I was ruling in 526 A. D. and his second son Mahārāja Droṇasimha had ascended the throne sometimes before 502 A. D. for in that year she issued the Bhamodra Mohotta grant. Bhaṭṭarka, therefore, must have lived considerably earlier, as Droṇasimha was preceded by his elder brother Dharasena I. This would bring Bhaṭarka to C. 475 A. D. Just one hundred years earlier than the date assigned by Dr. Bhattacharya, on the authority of this 'Old Purana' the Kaliyugarajavṛttanta.

9. Vide Apsad Inscription of Adityasena, Flett CII. III, page 200 ff.

The reference to Isanavarman's defect is to be found in the line
भीमः श्रीशानवर्मक्षितिपतिशशिनः सैन्यदुग्धोद विन्धुर्लक्ष्मीसंप्राप्तिहेतुः सपदि विमन्त्रितो मन्दरीभूमयेन ।

APPENDIX

The account of the Imperial Gupta dynasty alleged to be found in the Kaliyugarajavṛttanta.

अथ श्रीचन्द्रगुप्तारख्यः पार्वतीयकुलोद्भवः । श्रीपर्वतेन्द्राधिपतेः पौत्रः श्रीगुप्तभूपतेः ॥१॥
 श्री घटोत्कचगुप्तस्य तनयोऽमितविक्रमः । कुमारदेवीमुद्राह्य नेपालाधीशितुः सुताम् ॥२॥
 लब्ध प्रवेशो राज्येऽस्मिन् लिच्छवीनां सहायतः । सेनाध्यक्षपदं प्राप्य नानासैन्यसमन्वितः ॥ ३॥
 लिच्छवीयां समुद्राह्य देव्याश्चन्द्रश्रियोऽनुजाम् । राष्ट्रियस्यालको भूत्वा राजपत्न्या च चोदितः ॥४॥
 चन्द्रश्रयं घातयित्वा मिषैरैव हि केनचित् । तत्पुत्रप्रतिभूत्वे च राज्या चैव नियोजितः ॥५॥
 वपैस्तु सप्तभिः प्राप्तराज्यो वीराप्रणीरसौ । तत्पुत्रं च पुलोमानं विनिहत्य नृपार्भकम् ॥६॥
 आन्ध्रभ्यो मागधं राज्यं प्रसह्यापहरिष्यति । कचेन स्वेन पुत्रेण लिच्छवीयेन संयुतः ॥७॥
 विजयादित्यनाम्ना तु सप्त पालयिता समाः । स्वनाम्ना च शकं त्वेकं स्थपयिष्यति भूतले ॥८॥
 एकच्छत्रश्चक्रवर्ती पुत्रस्तस्य महायशः । नेपालाधीशदौहित्रो म्लेच्छसैन्यैः समावृतः ॥९॥
 वञ्चकं पितरं हत्वा सहपुत्रं सवान्धवम् । अशोकादित्यनाम्ना तु प्रख्यातो जगतीतले ॥१०॥
 स्वयं विगतशोकश्च मातरं चाभिनन्दयन् । समुद्रगुप्तो भविता सार्वभौमस्ततः परम् ॥११॥
 विजित्य सकलामुर्वीं धर्मपुत्र इवापरः । समाहरन्नश्वमेधं यथा शास्त्रं द्विजोत्तमैः ॥१२॥
 स्वदेशीयैर्विदेशीयैर्नृपैः समभिपूजितः । शास्त्रसाहित्यसङ्गीत रसिकः कविभिस्तः ॥१३॥
 समुद्रगुप्तः पृथिवीं चतुःसागरवेष्टिताम् । पञ्चाशतं तथा चक्रां भोक्ष्यत्येवैकराट् समाः ॥१४॥
 तस्य पुत्रोऽपरश्चन्द्रगुप्ताख्यो वीर केसरी । यवनांश्च तथा हूणान् देशाद्विद्रावयन् बलात् ॥१५॥
 विक्रमादित्यवन्नित्यं पण्डितैः परिसेवितः । श्रुतिस्मृतिपुराणेतिहास काव्यविचक्षणः ॥१६॥
 विक्रमादित्य इत्येव भुवनेषु प्रथां गतः । प्रसिन्धून् समुत्तरीयं बाह्मिकादीन् विजित्य च ॥१७॥
 सुराष्ट्रदेशपर्यन्तं कीर्तिस्तम्भं समुच्छ्रयन् । षट्त्रिंशद्भोक्ष्यति समास्त्वेकच्छत्रां वसुन्धराम् ॥१८॥
 कुमारगुप्तस्तत्पुत्रो वदेनीसमुद्भवः । कुमार इव देवारीन् विजेष्यन्निजविद्विषः ॥१९॥
 समाहर्ताश्वमेधस्य महेन्द्रादित्यनामतः । चत्वारिंशत्समा द्वे च पृथिवीं पालयिष्यति ॥२०॥
 स्कन्दगुप्तोऽपि तत्पुत्रः साक्षात् स्कन्द इवापरः । हूणदर्पहरश्चण्डः पुष्यसेन निषूदनः ॥२१॥
 पराक्रमादित्यनाम्ना विख्यातो धरणीतले । शासिष्यति महीं कृत्स्नां पञ्चविंशति वत्सरान् ॥२२॥
 ततो नृसिंहगुप्तश्च बालादित्य इति श्रुतः । पुत्रः प्रकाशादित्यस्य स्थिरगुप्तस्य भूपतेः ॥२३॥
 नियुक्तः स्वपितृव्येन स्कन्दगुप्तेन जीवता । पित्रैव साकं भविता चत्वारिंशत् समा नृपः ॥२४॥
 अन्यः कुमारगुप्तोऽपि पुत्रस्तस्य महायशः । क्रमादित्य इति ख्यातो हूणैर्युद्धं समाचरन् ॥२५॥
 विजित्येशानवर्मादीन् मट्टवर्केणानुसेवितः । चतुश्चत्वारिंशदेव समा भोक्ष्यति मेदिनीम् ॥२६॥
 एते प्रणतसामन्ताः श्रीमद्गुप्तकुलोद्भवाः । श्री पार्वतीयान्ध्रभृत्य नामानश्चक्रवर्तिनः ॥२७॥
 महाराजाधिराजादि विरुदावल्यलङ्कताः । भोक्ष्यन्ति द्वे शते पञ्चचत्वारिंशच्च वै समाः ॥२८॥
 मागधानां महाराज्यं क्षिप्रं भिन्नं च सर्वशः । साकमेतैर्महागुप्तवैश्यैर्यस्यति संस्थितिम् ॥२९॥

DHARMA-PATTANA

BY

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The well known Sanskrit lexicon the Amarakosha (circa fourth century A. D.) gives the following synonyms for black pepper¹ :—

1. *Vellaja*, 2. *Maricha*, 3. *Kolaka*, 4. *Krishna*, 5. *Ushana*, and 6. *Dharmapattana*.

The last of these names, *i. e.*, *Dharmapattana*, is of particular interest as it is apparently based on a place-name. Kshiraswāmi (second half of 11th century²) thinks that the correct word was *Dharmapattana* with a long initial vowel, and explains it as *Dharmapattana bhavam Dharmapattanam*.

It means that this name for pepper was so given as it was produced in the country of *Dharmapattana*. Bhanuji Dikshita, another scholiast on *Amara* accepts Kshiraswāmi's derivation but says that the word was *Dharmapattana* without the initial lengthening. Whatever be the form of the word *Dharmapattana* or *Dharmapattana*, both authors agree that the geographical source from which the commodity took its name was *Dharmapattana*.

The question arises as to what was this place called *Dharmapattana* from which black pepper was imported into India as early as the Gupta period? A clue to its identification is now available. In a recent article on 'Negapatam and Theravada Buddhism' (JGIS, XI, pp. 17-25). Dr. S. Paranavitana refers to the Buddhist Saṅgha of the country of Tambarapattana which is mentioned in an

1.अथ वेल्लजम्]

मरीचं कोलकं कृष्णमूषणं धर्मपत्तनम् ॥२॥३६

Krishna seems to refer to the black colour of the pepper and *Ushana* to its hot quality. *Maricha* may be a name from a non Sanskrit language. *Kolaka* seems to be another geographical denomination, derived from Kolkai on the Tamraparni in the Tinnevely district, referred to as *Kolkhi* by Ptolemy. It was the ancient capital of the Pandyas, and a flourishing seaport upto about 700 A. D. It appears that the cargo from *Dharmapattana* and Malaya regions was unloaded at Kolkai and then redistributed. Kolkai thus was the clearing emporium for pepper and other goods. (Smith, *Early History of India*, pp. 468-70; Dey's *Geographical Dictionary*, p. 102; D. C. Sarkar, *Successors of the Satavahanas*, p. 845-46).

2. Kshiraswāmi's Commentary on *Amara*, edited by Pt. Har Dutt Sharma, Poona, Intr. p. V.

inscription³ from Polonnaruwa, of Sundaramahādevī, queen of Vikramabāhu I (1116-1137). He writes: "In my edition of the inscription I have given reasons for the identification of Tambarattha mentioned therein with the country round Ligor (Nakhon Sri Thammarat, the ancient Sri Dharmarāja Nagara) in the Malay Peninsula.⁴ Nakhon Sri Thammarat is about 200 miles north of Kedah and situated on the east coast of the southern peninsular extension of Siam to the north of the Malay peninsula. Nakhon in the Malayan language means 'town' and Sri Thammarat seems to preserve the ancient name of Dharmarāshṭra, which in the inscription occurs as Tambarattha. It is this place which appears to be the Dharmapattana of the Amarakosha. In that case Thammarat, Dharmarāshṭra, Dharmarājanagara⁵ and Dharmapattana would be but different forms of one and the same name.

The Brihat Samhitā of Varāhamihira (XIV 14) also contains a reference to this place under the name Dharmapattana. It is enumerated there amongst countries lying in the south direction and is distinctly referred to as a *dvipa*, i. e. an oceanic country.

Some light can perhaps be thrown on the genesis of the name Dharmapattana as applied to a city in distant Malaya. *Dharmamaharaja* was the title assumed by the early Pallava king Sivaskandavarman who ruled in the early part of the 4th century A. D. (about 300 A. D.; Sarkar, *The Successors of the Satavahanas*, p. 165, 171). In their inscriptions he and other early Pallava kings say that they were ever energetic for the upliftment of Dharma which had sunk by the sins of Kali age (कलियुगदोषावसन्न धर्मोद्धरणं नित्यसन्नद्ध, Sarkar, op. cit., p. 39). The fourth century seems to redound with the ideals of Dharma revival. Kalidāsa also refers to his ideal hero and conqueror as Dharma-vijayī, (Raghu. IV. 43). The title Dharma-mahārāja travelled far beyond the confines of India and began to

3. आनन्द नाम विदितो जयति द्विपत्रो लंका तलुस्सितथजो पवरो ययीसो ।

यो तम्यरद्वयति.....थेरभूतो चोलेषु सासनं पतिद्वितकोऽसि धीरो ॥

4. The Inscription has been edited by Mr. Puranavitana in the *Epigraphia Zelanica*, Vol. IV, pp. 67-72. See also, Dr. Paranavitana's paper on 'The Religious Inter course between Ceylon and Siam', in the *Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1932, No. 85: p. 196, stating that Modern Ligor was known in olden days by several names as Sridharmaraja, Nagara Sri Dharmaraja, Nakhon Sri Thammarat, Tambarattha and Tamralinga.

5. Prof. Nilkanta Sastri gives Dharmmanagari as the ancient name of Ligor in his archaeological map of Indonesia accompanying the paper on Sri Vijaya. BEFEO, Tome XL, 1940, Map facing p. 310. Chau Ju-kua, the Chinese inspector of foreign trade at Ch'uan-chou writing in 1225 in his *Chu-fan-che*, mentions Tan-malinga a dependency of Sri-Vijaya, identified by modern scholars as Tamralinga in Ligor (Nilakanta Sastri, *ibid*, p. 294).

be emulated by kings of Champā and Malaya. King Bhadravarman of Champā styles himself as *Dharmamaharaja* in the Chho Dinh inscription (*vide* R. C. Majumdar, *Champā*, Ins. no. 2 ; B. C. Chhabra, *Expansion of Indo-Aryan Culture during Pallava Rule*, p. 2, J. A. S. B., 1935). South India under the early Pallavas exercised considerable influence on the early colonisation of Champā, Kambuja and the adjoining colonies of the Malaya land.

The foundation of the city of Dharmapattana or Dharmarāshtra was probably the work of these Brahmanical settlers from India who transplanted the Hindu religion and the Sanskrit language so successfully in a foreign land, and it is no wonder that the designation of Dharma which was then in the air travelled with them and was applied to a newly founded city.

INDIA UNDER THE GUPTAS

(A Study in Economical Life)

BY

MR. SATYA PRAKASH SRIVASTAVA, SAHITYA RATNA

(On the basis of epigraphic and numismatic evidence)

Our sources for the study of the economic life of the people in Gupta India are not so abundant as for political history. But the coins supply us with some valuable information. This, coupled with the incidental references found in inscriptions and also with the information left by Fahien in his Memoirs, give us a complete picture of a full-fledged culture and civilisation based, as it were, on secure national resources.

Society in Gupta India presented the picture of a feudal structure with the king at its head and the basis of the splendour of these times was the economic development of the country.

Growth of numerous important cities in India was responsible for the economic prosperity of the country. The inscriptions corroborate the statement made by Fahien that Magadha was a prosperous country with large towns teeming with wealthy population. We have mention of some different cities in the Gangetic plain namely : Indrapura¹, Chandrapura² Garagaratatapuram *i.e.*,

1. Bulandshahr District.

3. Damodarpur Copper Plate Ins. of Bhanugupta.

a city on the bank of the river Gogra ; Ayodhia ;³ and Pataliputra, the capital of the Guptas'. The north of Pataliputra was also flourishing with important industrial cities like Vaisali and Tira. Some other cities existing in the Central and Western India, as revealed by inscriptions, were Airikīṇa, the place of enjoyment of Samudragupta (Svabhoganagara) No. 2. Nasti. Ujjain, Dasapura (Modern Mandasor-Ins. No. 18), Girinagara (Ins. No. 14) and Manapura, near the river Son. (Ins. No. 31.)

Now, as to the centres of economic activity, it can safely be said that Pataliputru still flourished as the capital of the imperial Guptas, and Fahien has testified to it in his Memoirs. Though it remained the Imperial Capital officially, it appears from the inscriptions that Ayodhia rose to prominence during this period and enjoyed royal visits now and then.⁴

Gargaratatapuram is described in inscription No. 17 as being adorned with irrigation wells (Vapi), tanks (Tadaga), temples and halls of the Gods (Surasadmasabhā) drinking wells (Udapana), pleasure gardens (upavana) of various kinds (Nana-Vidha) causeways (Savikrama) and reservoirs (dirghika). In the western Malwa, the city of Dasapur was flourishing with succession of storeys like rows of aerial chariots (prasādamalābhīralaṅkṛitini), with paintings (Chitra Karmāni), waving flags (Chalat-patakāni) white and high (No. 18). The Lata in the Central Gujarat was also famous for its temples, assembly halls of the gods and Viharas (Devakula Sabha).

The above descriptions of the cities point to the achievement of a high degree of architectural skill which, added to the magnificent public works of the cities as noticed above, testifies to their economic prosperity. Some of the cities were also highly industrialised so as to develop important industrial organisations which we study below in Vaisali and Indrapura.

Agriculture was undoubtedly the principal industry of the people but arts and crafts were also flourishing vigorously. The writers of the age speak of the sixty-four arts (Kalas) among which were included metal, cloth, leather, stone, wood and many other industries. The great iron pillars at Delhi and Dhar were manufactured in this age. The forging of such iron-bars is not frequent in Europe even yet. The product of Indian Craftsmen were carried by land and sea to distant regions. The ancient Hindus had highly developed the art of ship-building, and they embarked from the sea-ports of Tamralipti, Kudar, Kayal, etc. on the eastern, and Broach, Sopara, Kalyan etc. on the Western coast.

3. MS. No. 16.

4. Karmadanta Ins. and Damodarpur Ins. of Bhanugupta.

They carried Indian goods and Hindu culture to the colonies which they established in the Indo-Chinese Peninsula (Burma, Malacca, Cambodia, and Annam) and the islands of the Eastern Archipelago (Java, Sumatra, Borneo, Philippines, etc.). The guild system was the characteristic feature of the industry of this age. The guilds were corporations of industrial men who were engaged either in a single profession or various professions. Thus the guilds (Shreni or Pūga) of Oilmen (Tailaka) of Indrapura and the guild of silk weavers (Pattavayirsreni) of Dasapura are illustrations of both classes of guilds. The constitution of the latter gives us a clear idea of the highly advanced nature of the guild system of the age and is thus worthy of study there.

The Mandasor Ins., of Bandhu Verman narrates that a guild of silk weavers immigrated from Latavisaya into Dasapura, where the members of the guild followed different occupations according to their taste.

Some specialised in the Science of Archery (dhanurvidyā), some on story telling (Kathāvidah), some in discourses of religion (Dharma-prasanga), some in their own business of Silk-weaving some in the Sciences of Astrology (Jyotish), some distinguished themselves in war (Samarapragalbha) in destroying their enemies and others in the life of celibacy and piety as saints. This was thus a composite corporation combining in it rather curious contradictory interests secular and religious, practical and spiritual, literary and military. This shows once again the mobility of labour and the elasticity of its occupations.

The guild so successful carried on its trade as to build "a noble and unequalled temple" of the Sun with the stores of wealth acquired by craft (Silpa-avaptair-dhana-Samudayaiah). The guild had a long existence of about 40 years extending from 437 A. D. to 473 A. D., even when it was munificent (bhuyah Sren : 1,20 so as to restore the temple which fell into disrepair. The guilds were thus not of transitory existence but of permanent or long standing nature, successfully developing the interests it represented.

Another guild of composite nature is the one revealed by the inscriptions on the clay seals found at Basarh and connected with the time of the Imperial Guptas. It was a corporation (nigama) of bankers (sresthis), traders (sarthvaha) and merchants (kulika). There were found the seals of private individuals, who were themselves bankers, traders, and merchants, and, perhaps, members of the guild. One Hari is known as both Kulika and Prathama Kulika, the leader of the merchants. It seems as if during those days some thing like a modern Chamber of Commerce existed in Upper India at some big trading centre, perhaps, at Pataliputra. We thus realise the existence of a sort of hierarchy among guilds comprising unitary guilds like that of Oilmen, composite guilds like that of Silk-Weavers and the guild of traders, bankers and merchants noted above which may be called a Chamber of Commerce.

The guilds had their presidents (Sresthi) or headmen (pravaraaya) for instance, jivanta for the guild of Oilmen (Ins. No. 16). The commercial men had risen to great importance through their organisations so as to be admitted a share in the local administration. For instance, the Vishayapati of Kotivarsa was aided in administration by a Board of advisors (Samvyavahara) constituted by members representing mainly commercial interests, namely, the city banker (Nagara Sresthi), trader (Sarthavaha) and the merchant-in-chief (Prathama Kulika).

There are numerous references to banking, which shows that banking was prominent in centres like Vaisali and Kotivarsa. Banking and currency facilities are vitally important for the growth of commerce. The guilds of this age, free from bad and rigid restrictions which characterised the French Guilds of the 17th and 18th centuries, developed the Indian trade by mobilising both labour and capital and promoting its interests effectively through organisations.

The guild acted as banks receiving permanent deposits (Aksaya nivi) of cash or properties, and stood as trustees for the beneficiaries providing for the purpose stated by the founder of the trust from the interest (Vridhhi) of the trust property, without diminishing its original value and this policy to be adopted by the trustee is called "Nividharma" in Damodarpur inscriptions. In the Indore copper plate inscription of Skanda Gupta, a Brahmin called Devavishnu is said to have endowed the Sun Temple and transferred the temple properties to a guild of Oilmen of the town of Indrapura with the condition that they should provide to 2 pallas of oil to the temple.

Under the contract of trustee-ship, it could hold the property even if it shifted from that place provided it continued in internal concord. But besides receiving and managing the trust properties of others, these popular bodies also endowed charities at the public charge, for instance, the guild of Silk-Weavers of Dasapura constructing and endowing the Sun-temple.

Now as to the industries themselves, the inscriptions reveal that the silk-weavers of Dasapura produced fine silk "agreeable to the touch, variegated with arrangement of different colours pleasing to the eye."

The Silk garments were regarded as very fashionable and the silk industry was greatly patronised. This is why the Silk Weavers earned great wealth by the craft so as to leave ample funds even for public charities.

The industry of architecture was also considerably developed and storeyed buildings were constructed. The inscriptions provide abundant evidence of widespread construction of temples all over the country. "The accident that nearly the whole of the Gupta empire was reputedly overrun and permanently occupied by

Muslim armies, which rarely spared a Hindu building, account for the destruction of almost all large edifices of the Gupta age." Still there remain numerous magnificent buildings belonging to this period; for instance, temples at Sanchi, the stone temple at Deogarh in the district of Jhansi etc. The allied arts of sculpture and painting also reached high perfection. It was in this creative epoch that two of the finest caves at Ajanta were excavated.

The Gupta age witnessed great development in Metallurgy as well. The use of different metals like gold, silver, copper, and iron was frequently made. The different instruments of warfare described in Ins. No. I were made of iron. The pillar at Delhi, made of wrought iron and the huge copper image of Buddha of Nalanda are specimens of marvellous skill in the metallurgical art. The coins of the Imperial Guptas point to the use of a variety of jewellery consisting of necklaces, earrings, armlets and anklets etc., which throw light upon the delicate side of the art as well.

Now turning to agriculture, the immemorial and staple occupation of India, we find that attempts were made to open all parts of the country to agriculture and bring the whole land under cultivation by grants of waste land (Khila) on liberal terms, for instance, 3 dinars for one Kulyavapa.¹ The land was held in small fragments as appears from the areas of the lands, which constituted different grants, and large estates were not much common. The prohibition contained in the grant of No. 60 against the 'agraharika' introducing people from other villages to settle in his agrahara perhaps point to the lack of pressure on land. Besides all this, agriculture was not in any way backward, and irrigation work was carried on by means of wells (Vapi), tanks (tadaka) and lakes constructed by damming up streams, for instance, Sudarsana Lake. Irrigation Works were maintained by the government. For example, when the lake Sudarshana burst due to excess of rains, Chakrapalita, the Nagararaksaka or city Magistrate of Girinagara constructed within two months at an immeasurable cost (Vyayamaprimeyam) of wealth, an embankment of solid masonry work (gharitolpelana) of hundred cubits in length, 68 in breadth and seven men's height.

Inscriptions also reveal to us the metrology of the Gupta age. The unit of measure of land was Kulyavapa and that of weight was pala, which, as Fleet observes, was a particular weight—4 Suvarnas (gold pieces) or 64 mashas (beans). The coins were known as both Suvarnas (Nos. 2, 4 and 69) and dinaras (Nos. 7, 8, 9, 62 and 64), the Kushana name.

Though the gold coins of the early Guptas were struck on the model of the Roman standard, the later emperors issued their coins on the indigenous suvarna standard (1464 grains). The currency consisted of gold, silver and copper as well.

Since the standard of living of the people of any age varies with the economic prosperity of the country, it can safely be maintained that the people are the index of the economic position of a country.

The citizens of Dasapura are referred to have enjoyed upon the 'flat roofs of houses with Sandal wood perfumes (chandana), palm leaf-fans (Talavrinta) and necklaces (hara). The fashionable women of the age adorned themselves with the golden necklaces, betel leaves and flowers and also with a pair of coloured silken clothes (pattamaya vastrayugam). The ordinary dress of a man was a pair of upper and lower garments as indicated in inscription No. 65.

The country was inlaid as it were with philanthropic institutions like alms-houses to relieve the poor of the society.

The dress of the royalty consisted of a close fitting cap, coat and trousers as is testified to by the early coins and standard type of coins. They were, later on, replaced by turban, Dhoti and waist cloth with Sashes floating behind.² The ornaments of the king consisted of necklaces, earrings and armlets. The queen's dress included a long loose robe and her jewellery, earrings, necklaces, armlets, anklets, etc.³

The furniture of the royal house-hold, as represented on the coins included couches, and wicker stools.

India in the Gupta age was on a sound financial footing and hence it foretold the national welfare of the age. The Emperor Samudragupta "possessed an abundance of elephants, horses, money and grain" (hastya-asva, ratha dhanadhanya Samriddhih) and was thus a very strong monarch both in point of riches and power.

Again, the gold currency of the age was another bright feature of the National wealth of the country.

Not only were, thus, the elemental needs of life satisfied, but its luxuries were also provided; the civilisation had its basis buried deep into rural economy but steadily developed into urban form with all possible amenities, trade, arts, crafts etc.

It is, in short, trade, craft, industry and agriculture that created most favourable grounds for the intellectual outbursts in the Gupta period; and ultimately characterised India as the golden age of northern India.

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1. Damodarpur copper plate Ins.
 2. Lion slayer type of coins of Kumargupta I.
 3. Asvamedha type of coins.

A NOTE ON AN INSCRIPTION FROM CHEZARLA

BY

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The inscription is on a stone slab and is much mutilated and defaced was found in Chezarla, a village in the Tenali taluka of the Guntūr district. The language is Sanskrit, though the inscription begins with the Prakṛt word *kalissara*. The characters are of an early South Indian type. On palaeographical grounds the inscription may be assigned to the 6th century A. D. It records the grant of a village by a *Prthiviyuvaraja* who is extolled in a long string of laudatory epithets, many of which relate to his strength and prowess on the battlefield. The name of the donee and other details about the grant are lost in the midst of the mutilated passages. The *Prthiviyuvaraja* is known only by his surnames *Ranamahamalla* and *Satsabhamalla*. It is further said that he was born of King Kandara's daughter,¹ and that his army fought a battle at Dhānyakaṭaka. He was a worshipper of Parameśvara.

King Kandara is styled *Sitetarabannanatha* and *Trikūṭapara-vatpati*. The practice of singling out places in this way was prevalent in the Sātavāhana period also.² *Sitetarabanna* is *Kṛṣṇabenna*,³ and all the records of the Kandaras have been found in the Guntūr district. The identification of *Trikūṭapārvata* is not so easy. In his *Buddhist Remains in the Andhradesa*, Dr. K. R. Subramaniam connects this *Trikūṭo* with *Tripārvata* of the Kadambas. True, any three-peaked hill may have been called *Trikūṭa*. The Nāsik hill is called *Tirāṇhu*. In the *Ramayana* it is said that Lanka was built on *Trikūṭa*.⁴ But in the *Ipūr* plates, Mādhavavarman II, called *Trikūṭa-Malayādhipati*. This joint mention of *Trikūṭa* and *Malaya* should dispose of any attempt to identify the *Trikūṭa* of these records with any three peaked hill in the eastern Deccan. *Malaya* which is also mentioned in Nāsik No. 2 is the Western Ghats. In Kālidāsa's *Raghuvamśa*, mountain *Trikūṭa*, from which the designation *Traikūṭaka* must be derived, is placed in the territory of the king of Aparānta (N. Konkan); and in the *Surat* plates of Vyāghrasena, all *Traikūṭaka*, he claims to have ruled over Aparānta. While editing the *Ipūr* plates, Dr. Hultsch passed over the epithet, *Trikūṭa*, *Malaya-dhīpati* with the remark that Mādhavavarman claimed to have

1. Benakatakasami. Nāsik No. 4, EI, Vol. VIII; Navanarasami, Nāsik No. 3.

2. *Sitetara*-black.

3. *Sundarkandam*. Sarga 2 sloka 1.

4. IV. 58 ff.

been lord of Trikuṭa and Malaya (mountains), which were at a safe distance from his dominions. It is an empty or ornamental epithet suddenly making its appearance in only one of the Viṣṇukunḍin records? In Nāsik No. 2 Gotamiputa⁵ Siri-Satakani is called. *Vijha-Chavata-Paricata Sahya-Kanhagiri-Maca-Siritana-Malaya-Mahida-Setagiri Cakora-pavatapati*.⁶ Surely these are not empty epithets. How could Mādhavavarman or Kandara have got the title even though the mountains were at a safe distance from their dominions. We get the clue from a Vakāṭaka inscription.⁷ Verse 8 records the defeat of a lord of Kuntala by apparently Prthivīśenas I and in verse 18 speaks of Kuntala, Avanti, Kāliṅga, Kośala, Trikuṭa, Līṭa and Āndhra as having been subjugated by one of the later Vakāṭakas. At that time the Viṣṇukunḍins were the Āndhra power. Such defeats would have been repaid and the outcome of such prolonged hostilities must have been the marriage alliance referred to in the Chikkulla plates of Vikramahendravarmān. The defeat which the Viṣṇukunḍin inflicted on the Vakāṭakas must have provided for the former the occasion for taking over the latter's titles or glories. The Kandaras would by defeating the Viṣṇukunḍins with or without the help of the Pallavas got the title or glory for themselves. This is the most probable explanation; and the Chezarla inscription refers to a hardfought battle at Dhānyakāṭaka.

It is also interesting to note that the queen of king Kandara is called an Āndhra (*Andhrasundari*), and that Kandara was the king of a kingdom with two divisions or the king of two kingdoms. Since all the records of the Kandaras come from only the Guṇṭūr district the former explanation is preferable.

2. *The Prthivīyuvārāja of this inscription.*

Only his surname '*Ranamahamāla*' is given. Prthivīyuvārāja reminds us of Prthivīvallabha and Prthivīdūvārāja of the Koppāram plates of Pulakeśin II's time. But the inscription under review is not a Caḷukyan inscription, as the family name and some epithets which are invariably found in the Caḷukyan records are absent, though we have the word *svakula*. *Malla* ending in the surname shows without doubt that it is a Pallava inscription. The sculptures of the Vaiṣṇāṭhaperumal temple at Kāncī supply additional proof. One of the compartments mentions *Srimalla*, *Ranamalla*, *Sangramamalla*, and *Pallavamalla* as Hiraṇyavarma's four sons. Compartment I mentions Hiraṇyavarman and Para-meśvaravarmā II (beginning of the 8th cen.). The Ramamahāmalla

5. EI, Vol. XI, pp. 219 ff.

6. EI, Vol. XVII, Ipur Plates of Madhavavarman II.

7. ASWI, Vol. IV, pp. 124 ff.

8. Perhaps the eleven Asvamedhas of Madhavavarman were a reply or counterblast to the four performed by the Vakataka king Pravarasena.

of our ins. cannot be the Raṇamalla of the Kāñci ins. as king Kandara cannot be shifted to such a late date. Moreover surnames are not the monopoly of one sovereign. Moreover, the title of Yuvaraja was known to the earliest Pallavas. The practice of registering the surnames of the ruling prince was apparently begun by Mahendravarman I (*Satrumalla*) and become very popular during the time of Narasiṃhavarman II (*Rajasimha*).

The Pallava prince is called *Prathitan, prthiviyuvarajaha Prathita Prthiviyuvarajah* gives sense. Can it be a scribal error for *Prathitandraprthiviyuvarajah*? He would then be a Pallava prince. Who ruled over the Andhradeśa or a part of it, as viceroy.

KING VASKUSHANA IDENTIFIED

BY

RAO BAHADUR C. R. KRISHNAMACHARLU

Govt. Epigraphist for India (Rtd.)

On the pedestal of an image of Buddha found at Sanchi and preserved in the Sanchi Museum of Archæology now, is an epigraph in Kushana characters which is of unique value. The inscription was first read and published by Ramaprasad Chanda in the *Catalogue of the Museum of Archæology at Sanchi*, where, however, the reading of the king's name is given in an erroneous and untoward form, viz, Vashushāna. Subsequently I had occasion to examine the impressions of the record in the Government Epigraphist's office in about 1927 and then discovered that the king's name must correctly be read as 'Vaskushāna'. N.G. Mazumdar who later published the record in Sir John Marshall's *Monuments of Sanchi* (p. 386) has adopted the correct reading i.e., Vaskushāna and remarks that 'the name is somewhat curious' but admits that the king 'was probably of Kushana origin'. There does not appear to be anything curious or out of the way or anything more curious than the forms Vāsashka, Vāsheshka, Huksha, Huvashka, Huveshka, Huveksha, Huviksha, Huvishka and Hūvishka assumed by the Kushana kings. On the other hand, the name is in the nearest and most suggestive form to denote the Kushana origin of the king; and from the date of the record i.e., Sa. 22 we should have no difficulty in identifying him with Vāsishka, the successor of Kanishka I. It may be argued against this identification that the king is styled simply *rajan* (*rājā*). But it must be remarked that the Kushana kings did not always adopt uniformly all their titles and epithets in all their epigraphs. For instance Kanishka I bears his titles in varied

combinations and they do not always occur uniformly. Thus while in Luder's List No. 22 dated Sa. 7 he bears the birudas 'mahārāja, rājatirāja' and 'devaputra,' in No. 22 dated Sa. 9 he is styled 'mahārāja' only and in No. 23 dated Sa. 10 he bears the titles 'mahārāja' and 'devaputra'.

A consideration of all the above facts must only confirm the identity of Vaskushāna with Vāsishka as suggested above. It may also be observed that Dr. Luders assigns his No. 33 dated Sa. 28 and No. 149a dated Sa. 24 to Vāsishka.

The Sanchi inscription in question is incidentally of interest in being so far the earliest known epigraph of the Kushāna period recording the installation of an image of Buddha. The other epigraphs of the Kushāna kings up to Sa. 22 relate to the consecration of Jaina images while the Isapur record of Vāsishka dated Sa. 24 records the setting up of a sacrificial post by a Brahman.

King Vāsashka of Luders' List No. 161 dated Sa. 68 must be presumed to be Vāsashka or Vāsishka II of the Kushāna line.

THE CONTEMPORANEITY OF SAMUDRAGUPTA AND AUGUSTUS CAESAR OF ROME AND THE PROBLEM OF THE EPOCH OF THE GUPTA ERA.

BY

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Mr. D. N. Mookerjee tried to maintain that Samudragupta was contemporaneous with Augustus Caesar of Rome.¹ But we are not convinced with his arguments or rather suppositions. Mr. Mookerjee has been trying to prove that the Vikrama and the Gupta eras are identical and so according to him, the Gupta era started in 53 B. C.² Let us first examine the position of

1. See 'The contemporaneity of Samudragupta and Augustus Caesar of Rome' by D. N. Mookerjee, *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. XXII, Pts. III-IV, pp. 264 ff);

2. I. H. Q., 1939, Vol. VIII P. 85; "The contemporaneity of Chandragupta and Kaniska", P. O. (i.e., Poona Orientalist) V, No. 4 January, 1941 pp. 197-204; "The Gupta Era" J. I. H. XX, pt. 2, August 1941, p. 249; "Chandragupta and Bhadrabahu", *ibid*, XX, pt. 3; "The genealogy and chronology of the early imperial Guptas", *ibid*, XXI, pts. 1 and 9, April and August, 1942, pp. 34 ff. Also see "The Kṛta era", N. I. A., V., No. 10, January 1943, where he argues that the Gupta era started in 55 B. C. and the Kṛta era four hundred years earlier about 450 B. C.

Mr. Mookerjee with regard to the contemporaneity of Samudragupta and Augustus Caesar and then, in the end, we will give conclusive evidence to disprove the theory of Mr. Mookerjee that the Gupta era started in 58 B. C.

Taking up the arguments of Mr. Mookerjee about the contemporaneity of Samudragupta with Augustus, we may analyse them into two chains of suppositions, one concerned with his identification of Amitrochades (Allitrochades) with Poros and the latter with Samudragupta, the other (chain of his suppositions) being concerned with how Strabo and others wrote Poros and Amitrochades (which stand for according to Mr. Mookerjee, the title and name of Samudragupta respectively) intending them for Bindusāra, son of Candragupta Maurya. There is no justification at all for identifying Amitrochades with Poros. Strabo says (ii, P. 70) that Megasthenes and Deimachos were sent on embassy, the former to Sandrakottos at Palimbothra (Pataliputra) and the other to Amitrochades his son. It is evident that Sandrakottos and Amitrochades his son were not contemporary Kings, but kings *one after the other* in succession. So firstly Megasthenes visited India and saw Sandrakottos. Later, Deimachos came to Amitrochades. The latter cannot be identified with Poros due to the following reasons. Arrian says³ that Megasthenes often visited Sandrakottos, the greatest king of the Indians and Poros still greater than he. So this statement implies that Poros was ruling at about the same time when Sandrakottos was reigning. But, as we saw above, Amitrochades ruled after Sandrakottos. Further, Amitrochades is said to be the son of Sandrakottos, while Poros was not his son at all. As Amitrochades is said to be the son of Sandrakottos, he is Bindusāra. Now Poros is said to be greater than Sandrakottos but Amitrochades (Bindusāra) was not certainly greater than Sandrakottos (Candragupta Maurya). So it is very obvious that Amitrochades is not identical with Poros.

Mr. Mookerjee distorts AMITPOXATHE into AMITPOKATHE on no sufficient grounds at all. Then he tries to maintain that AMITPOKATHE stands for Samudragupta, and Poros for *Para* (*Krama*) or (*Krtanta*) *parasu*, two of the titles of Samudragupta. He takes only portions of these two titles, according to his convenience. Thus he drops out, '*Krama*' in *Parakrama* and takes into consideration only *Para*. In *Krtantaparasu*, he drops out of consideration not the later portion, as in the case with *Parakrama*, but the former. Thus he considers only portions of Samudragupta's titles. Further *Parakrama* by itself is not a title of Samudragupta. He has the title *Vyaghraparakrama* on the obverse of his tiger-type coins.⁴ He has also *Asvamedhaparakramah* as a title.⁵ Again, these titles where *Parakrama* occurs

3. Indika, c. 5. frag. 1, J. W: Mc Crindle, 'Megasthenes and Arrian', p. 200.

4. John Allen "Catalogue of coins of Gupta dynastries etc.," p. cx;

5. *Ibid.*, p. *Ibid.*

are not borne by Samudragupta-only. For example, Kumara-gupta I has the title *Vyaghrabalaparakramah* on the obverse of his tiger-slayer type coins.⁷ In the light of the above facts we cannot agree with Mr. Mookerjee's theory that Poros stands for the titles of Samudragupta, and to think that it stands so is a too farfetched argument. Why should one resort to all these theories, when there is the famous king Poros, who is obviously by the Poros mentioned by Arrian? Further Poros is said to be visited by Megasthenes (Arrian, *Indika*, C. 5, frag. 1) Megasthenes came to India in the time of Candragupta Maurya. If Poros stands for a title of Samudragupta it is quite unintelligible how Magasthenes could have visited Samudragupta, even if the Gupta era is identical with the Vikrama era.

Amitrochades is the son of Sandrakottos, Candragupta Maurya whose rule began in the early part of 4th century B. C. So Amitrochodes cannot obviously be Samudragupta, even if one identifies the Gupta era with the Vikrama era. If AMITPOKATHE stands for Samudragupta, the question arises whether Samudragupta was reigning in the third century B. C. Thinking that the above question arises and finding that Guptas rules from the first century B. C. (according to his theory of 53 B. C. being the epoch of the Gupta era), Mr. Mookerjee has tried to explain how in Greek accounts (like that of Arrian mentioned above (Samudragupta's name (*i.e.*, AMITPOKATHE) appears, according to him, in the place of Bindusāra, son of Candragupta Maurya. He explains it by a series of mere suppositions which may be stated in this own words:—

".... Strabo and others must have received their information from merchants, sailors, and travellers from India from whom on enquiry regarding the name of the son of Candragupta (the Maurya), the greatest king of India, Strabo and others were told that his name was Samudragupta *Para*(kram) or (*Krtanta Parasu*). The name of Candragupta Maurya's son, Bindusāra, was most probably not recorded in the accounts of Megasthenes and others as he was not such a well-known emperor as his father. Hence Strabo thought that he was giving a correct information in stating the name of (Maurya) Candragupta's son as Samudragupta who was really the son of the Gupta Monarch Candragupta. Hence Arrianus.....says, 'It appears to me that Megasthenes did not see much of India, but yet more than the companions of Alexander, for he says he often visited Sandrakottos, the greatest king of the Indians, and Poros even greater than he.' Now this Poros was evidently intended by Strabo and others for Bindusāra, but as the result of information imperfectly understood, Bindusāra's name was stated as (Samudragupta) *Para* (*krama*) or

6. *Ibid*, p. 81.

7. Fleet, 'Gupta inscriptions' p. 57.

(*Krtantaparasu*) who was really greater than his father the Gupta emperor Candragupta I. This is certainly not true of Bindusāra."

We may now comment on the above remarks of Mr. Mookerjee. He says that the name of Bindusāra was not recorded by Megasthenes and others, as he was not such a well-known emperor as his father. It is rather surprising to hear this, because it is clearly stated by Strabo, as mentioned above, that Megasthenes was sent to Sandrakottos at Palimbothra and Deimachos to his son Amitrochades. Bindusāra was the son, the only son, and successor of Candragupta Maurya, so far as we know. So it is sure that Amitrochades, (or to be more correct, Allitrochades) son of Sandrakottos, is Bindusāra. If Amitrochades is not Bindusāra, who is the son of Sandrakottos visited by Deimachos? As hinted above, there were no other sons to Candragupta Maurya than Bindusāra. Mr. Mookerjee thinks that Bindusāra was not mentioned by Megasthenes and others as he was not so well-known as his father. But it is not very likely that Bindusāra's name was left out just because he was not so mighty and famous as his illustrious father. Megasthenes and others have certainly recorded things much less worthy than the name of an emperor like Bindusāra. In fact they have not left out his name. Strabo mentions him as Amitrochades, son of Sandrakottos. Strabo derived his information from Megasthenes and others. So it follows that Megasthenes and others did not fail to take note of Bindusāra, as Strabo's mention of him implies. To deny that Amitrochades is Bindusāra on insufficient grounds and then to say that Greek writers did not perhaps record the name of Bindusāra as he was not so famous as his father, is not a convincing argument. We have shown that Greek writers did not leave the name of Bindusāra. If so, there is no reason why Strabo and others asked Greek merchants etc., who the son of Candragupta (Maurya) was. It might be the Greek merchants knew something of contemporary India but one could not be sure that they knew the previous history of India especially the details of it like the name of Candragupta Maurya's son, which was, according to Mr. Mookerjee, left by Megasthenes and others. Even if we assume, for the sake of argument, that Strabo and others asked about the son of Candragupta Maurya, there is no reason why the merchants were presumptuous and hasty enough to say that he was Samudragupta (*Parakrama*) or (*Krtantaparasu*). Mr. Mookerjee remarks that Samudragupta was really greater than his father the Gupta emperor Candragupta I and that this is certainly not true of Bindusāra. Mr. Mookerjee has remarked like this probably with the following chain of logic in his mind. Amitrochades is Pollos and the two stand respectively for Samudragupta and (*Parakrama*) or (*Krtantaparasu*). Poros, according to Arrian, was greater than Sandrakottos (Candragupta). Evidently Bindusāra was not greater than Candragupta, his father,

but Samudragupta was greater than Candragupta I, his father. So Poros is certainly Samudragupta. But let us remember that in the statement of Arrian about Sandrakottos and Poros, Sandrakottos refers to Candragupta Maurya and that there is no question at all of the father of Samudragupta. Let us also remember that the statement of Arrian implies that Sandrakottos and Poros were contemporary kings and that there is no indication at all that the latter was the son of the former. Poros is said to be greater than Chandragupta Maurya, not Candragupta I, father of Samudragupta. So Poros is not Samudragupta. He is also not Bindusāra, as the latter was not greater than Candragupta Maurya. Thus as Sandrakottos is Candragupta Maurya and Poros, a king contemporary with him, and not his son, there is no question at all of Candragupta I and of Samudragupta or Bindusāra being greater than Candragupta.

Mr. Mookerjee, thinking that Poros stands for a title of Samudragupta, argues, on the basis of a statement of Strabo, that Samudragupta was contemporaneous with Augustus Caesar of Rome. Strabo says (XV, 73) on the authority of Nikolaos that three Indian ambassadors were sent to Augustus Caesar from a certain king Poros. We have already shown that Poros does not stand for (*Para Krama*) or (*Krtantaparasu*), said to be two of the titles of Samudragupta. Therefore we cannot accept that Samudragupta was contemporaneous with Augustus.

Mr. Mookerjee bases his theory of the contemporaneity of Samudragupta and Augustus on a statement of Dion Cassius also. Dion Cassius in his history of Rome (IX, 58) states that numerous Indian embassies came to Augustus at Samos in 21 B. C. Thinking that the Gupta era started in 58 B. C. and that therefore Samudragupta was ruling in 21 B. C., Mr. Mookerjee feels confident that Samudragupta was contemporaneous with Augustus. But we will show shortly that the Guptas could not at all be ruling before 150 A. D. and that therefore the Gupta era never started in 53 B. C.

We can prove beyond doubt that the Guptas or at least Skandagupta ruled long after 150 A. D. This we can do on the basis of the evidence provided by the Junāgaḍh inscriptions, one of Rudradāman (dated 72 Saka) (150 A. D.) and the other of Skandagupta's time dated the years 136, 137 and 138 in the Gupta era. But in the mean while the following remarks or the Junāgaḍh inscription of Skandagupta may be borne in mind. "The inscription is on the north-west face of a large granite boulder, containing also 14 Asoka edicts and a long inscription of the Kshatrapa Rudradāman.....The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets; but the type is a *later development* of that which was used in inscription of the Mahākshatrapa

Rudradāman on the same rock ; it may be called the Saurāścra or the Kāthiawāḍ alphabet of the fifth century A. D.⁸

The Junāgaḍh inscription of Rudradāman is dated 72 (śaka) =150, A. D. Now if the Gupta era is identical with the Vikrama era and started in 58 B. C., the reign of Skandagupta begins in at least 78 A. D. as his Junāgaḍh inscription shows (58 B. C.—136 G. E.=78 A. D.). So according to this calculation, he must have reigned before Rudradāman. But Skandagupta is not mentioned in the inscription of Rudradāman. In this inscription the construction of the Sudarśana lake originally by Candragupta Maurya and its completion by Asoka are mentioned while giving the previous history of the lake. After this, it is said in the inscription that the embankment of the lake gave way in the year 72 (Saka) and so it was rebuilt strongly by Rudradāman. But previous to the date of Rudradāman's inscription, the lake bursted in G. E. 146 (=78 A. D. according to Mr. Mookerjee's theory) and the breach was rectified by renewing the embankment in 137 G. E. in the time of Cakrapalita, son of Paṇadatta, governor of Surastra in the time of Skandagupta. This is the information about the lake which we get from the Junāgaḍh inscription of Skandagupta. But the inscription of Rudradāman does not contain anything about the repairs made to the lake Sudarśana in the time of Skandagupta. It ought to have mentioned the repairs if Skandagupta was really previous to 150 A. D. and reigned from 78 A. D. As it is, nothing is said about the repairs in the time of Skandagupta, though the inscription traces the history of the lake back to the time of Candragupta Maurya. So it is an obvious fact that Skandagupta never reigned before the date of the Junāgaḍh inscription of Rudradāman. The composer of the inscription would have referred to Skandagupta, if really the latter ruled before the time of Rudradāman. This must have been the case especially because Junāgaḍh inscription of Skandagupta is on the *same boulder* as that on which the fourteen rock edicts of Asoka and the inscription of Rudradāman are inscribed. Evidently the writer of the inscription of Rudradāman did not find Skandagupta's inscription on the same boulder in his (*i.e.*, the writer's) time, apparently because Skandagupta came long after the time of Rudradāman. So Rudradāman was certainly prior to Skandagupta by a long time. If however we accept the theory of Mr. Mookerjee that the Gupta era started in 58 B. C. we have to suppose, against the concrete and indefatigable evidence of the Junāgaḍh inscription of Rudradāman, that Skandagupta ruled previous to the time of Rudradāman from about 136 G. E.=78 A. D. according to Mr. Mookerjee. This clearly shows that the Gupta era is not identical with the Vikrama era and that Skandagupta can never be assigned to the first century A. D. If Skandagupta ruled from

8. 68 C. E.:—The latest date on Western Satrap coins is, as we will show below, approximately equal to 388 A. D. *i.e.*, 68 G. E. 90 is the earliest date on the Surastra coins of Candragupta, II.

78 A. D. to 88 A. D. the epoch of the Gupta era (58 B. C.) is wrong by at least 62 years, as the Junāgaḍh inscription, in which Skandagupta should have been mentioned if he ruled before the time of Rudradāman, belongs to 150 A. D. (150-88 A. D.=62).

Our conclusion that Skandagupta did not rule before 150 A. D. is supported by paleographic evidence also. The Junāgaḍh inscription of Skandagupta is written in a script which is evidently a *later development* of that which is used in Rudradāman's inscription. It may be called, as already quoted, the Saurāstra or the Kāthiawad alphabet of the fifth century A. D. So Skandagupta must have ruled long after Rudradāman, as the script of the former's inscription, found in the *same place* and on the *same boulder* where Rudradāman's inscription is found, is a later development of that of the latter's inscription. If we suggest that Skandagupta ruled from 73 A. D., and that for some reason or other Rudradāman might not have mentioned in his inscription the repairs to the lake Sudarśana done in the time of Skandagupta, we suggest what is paleographically absurd. If Skandagupta ruled before the time of Rudradāman, how can the former's inscription be written in characters which are a latter development of those found in the latter's? Skandagupta must surely have ruled some centuries after Rudradāman and so Mr. Mookerjee's epoch of the Gupta era is wrong by so many centuries as intervened between Rudradāman and Skandagupta.

If anybody asks why there is no reference to Rudradāman in Skandagupta's inscription, though Rudradāman ruled long before the latter, we can reply readily and fittingly. Rudradāman's inscription is written partly with a view to trace the previous history of the lake Sudarśana. But evidently Skandagupta's inscription is written from a different point of view and in a different mode. It was not intended to give a brief account of the history of the lake. Secondly, we must really object if Skandagupta's inscription mentions any previous rulers connected in some way with the lake (any rulers like Candragupta Maurya or Asoka) and does not mention Rudradāman. But it mentions, no such previous rulers at all, being written in a different mode and from a different viewpoint from the Janāgaḍh inscription of Rudradāman. So the objection does not hold good.

The incorrectness of Mr. Mookerjee's epoch of the Gupta era can be shown further, by applying it to the date of Candragupta's (II) conquest of the Western Satraps. That conquest took place approximately between 68 and 90, G. E. (*i.e.*) 10 and 32 A.D., according to Mr. Mookerjee's epoch.)⁸ The mean date of the conquest (10 plus 32 : 2) is 21 A. D. This conclusion about the conquest goes against the indefatigable evidence of the coins of the Western Satraps. Those coins were issued till about 388 A. D. (the latest date on the coins is 310 or 31X⁹ *i.e.*, 310 Saka=388 A. D.) How

9. Allan "Catalogue of the coins of the Gupta dynasties etc." p. XXXVIII.

could the Western Satraps continue to rule and issue coins till 388 A. D. if they were exterminated about 21 A. D. according to the theory of Mr. Mookerjee? This shows that Mr. Mookerjee's epoch of the Gupta era is incorrect by at least 367 years on this account ($388-21 =$ Western Satraps, as Mr. Mookerjee thinks,¹⁰ the epoch is incorrect by more years than the above.

Mr. Jagan Nath of Lahore has already disproved, along with some other theories of Mr. Mookerjee, that Candragupta I conquered the Western Satraps. To the arguments adduced by Mr. Jagan Nath already, we may add the following one to show that Candragupta I did not conquer the Western Satraps. The earliest date on Candragupta's (I or II) coins from Surāṣṭra are dated 90 or 90 X. It was Candragupta I who conquered the Western Satraps and issued these coins, it means Candragupta I had at last a reign of 90 years, which is *prima facie* absurd. Not only is it absurd but also it goes against the evidence of inscriptions and leaves no room for the reigns of Samudragupta and Candragupta II. It is Candragupta I who started the Gupta era, according to Mr. Mookerjee himself, in 58 B. C. And as the earliest coins of Candragupta (I or II) from Surāṣṭra are of 90 (G. E.) it means he ruled till 90 G. E. at least. But the Mathura pillar inscription of Candragupta II, who succeeded Samudragupta, (or Ramagupta according to some scholars) is dated 61 (G. E.).¹² So Candragupta II must have ruled at least from 61 G. E. So Candragupta I could not have conquered the Western Straps and issued the Surāṣṭra coins, as the latest date on the Western Satrap coins falls in the reign of Candragupta II (according to Dr. Fleet's epoch of the Gupta era) and as Candragupta I could not have reigned till 90 E. G.

So we have proved that the Gupta era¹³ could not have started in 58 B. C. and consequently Samudragupta did not rule in the first century B. C. If so, it is obvious that Samudragupta was not contemporaneous with Augustus Caesar of Rome.

10. J. I. H. XX, pt. 3 p. 267.

18. *Ibid* XXI, pt. 3, p. 162.

12. E. I. XXI, pp. 1 ff.

13. The years in the Gupta era are sometimes referred in Gupta inscriptions by '*Vijayarajya-samvatsare*'. But there are also some exceptions where *Vijayarajya-samvatsare* denotes not years in the G. E. but regnal years. Dr. Fleet thought ('Gupta Inscriptions', p. 38, fn. 5) that as *Vijayarajya-samvatsare* usually refers to years in G. E., it may rightly be taken to refer to them by emending it into '*Vijayarajya-samvatsare*'. But it need not be emended. In all the instances where it occurs in Gupta inscriptions, it occurs only as it is. So it was *deliberately* engraved as it is. If it was written or engraved by mistake as it is, we ought to have met at least a single instance where it occurs as Fleet emended it. But we come across no such instance at all and so need not emend it. We must take it as it is as a deliberate technique of referring to years in G. E.

TWO PRAKṚT FRAGMENTS FROM AMARĀVATI

BY

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Two members of the Andhra Itihāsa Samsodhaka Mandali, Guntur, Messrs. P. Seshadri Sastri B. A., L. T. and V. V. R. Somayaji B. A., visited Amarāvati casually in June 1937. They found foundations being excavated inside the outer compound of the local Amareśvara temple for the construction of a small shrine. A number of broken marble stones lay scattered about. They examined some of these stones out of curiosity and found that two of them contained Brāhmi letters. On getting these fragments cleaned they found that each of them contained a Prakṛt inscription. They took estampages and sent them as presents to the Maṇḍali.

The first stone contains eight lines and possibly there was one more line. Some letters seem to have been damaged at either end of each line. The second contains definitely six lines though the latter half of each of the last three lines is damaged and missing. The Madras epigraphist states that these two fragments were in the outer prakara of the Amareśvara temple and numbers them as Nos. 329 & 330 of 1936-37.

I am giving below tentative readings of the text of these two fragments.

Text

A	B
1. Sidham verasa mahā	1. Sidham mahāceti
2. hā vera dāsasa va (ga) ¹	2. civerakiyaṇam
3. hapatisa sathi	3. tasa gahapatisa
4. mulāvāsacetiya	4. mātukasa sa
5. sa therasa citaka	5. kasa sapu
6. votesa lapa	6. rivaṇam ca (sa)
7. (ka) sa lasa kavi	
8. kaniputa deya	

Summary

A. seems to register the gift by a certain Verdasā, a merchant, in favour of a thera named citaka of the mulavāsacetiya.

B. Seems to refer to the mahacaitya and mentions the gift of a householder of the Civerakiyas.

1. This letter is written below the time.

ASOKA'S SUVANNAGIRI

RY

RAO BAHADUR C. R. KRISHNAMACHARLU

Government Epigraphist for India (Rtd.)

Asoka's (southernmost) province had its capital at a place called 'Suvannagiri' (Suvarnagiri) as stated in the commencement of the Brahmagiri and the Siddapura Rock-inscriptions of the monarch. The district of Isila (identified with Siddapura) in which Brahmagiri and Siddapura were situated was subordinate to the viceroy at Suvannagiri. Dr. Hultzsch, following Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri who identified Suvannagiri with 'the country around Maski which abounds in gold-workings' suggests that 'it may perhaps be identified with its synonym Kanakagiri, south of Maski and north of the ruins of Vijayanagara' *Corp. Inscr. Indicarum*, Vol. I, pp. xxxviii and 177, f. n. 5). Against this identification arises the objection that Kanakagiri itself has not yielded any Mauryan associations, either archaeological or epigraphical. On the other hand, the Nallamali hill of the Pattikonda taluk, Kurnool District where the so-called Yerragudi rock-inscriptions of Asoka have been discovered lies in the vicinity and the limits of the revenue village of Jonnagiri¹ in the same taluk. The 'Jonnagiri' cannot be sustained etymologically in pure Telugu as a component of *jonna* (millet) and *giri* (hill). A Telugu word like *jonna* cannot combine with a Sanskrit word like *giri* and yield a compound like Jonnagiri. So the only and apparent origin of the name is 'Suvannagiri,' corrupted in local parlance in later times into 'Jonnagiri.' I think that Jonnagiri is identical with Suvannagiri and exploration here might yield Mauryan remains like Brahmagiri and Siddapura.

1. J here was the sound of Z

Summaries.

A NEW AMARĀVATĪ INSCRIPTION

BY

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The article is a brief description of a small slab from the Amarāvati Stūpa, which is in the possession of the author at present. The slab has the carvings of stupas and seated Buddhas, a pair of them alternating each other, and carries a short inscription at the bottom. The inscription is in Prakṛt, Brahmi characters of the first century A. D. and in common with many other similarly short inscriptions at Amarāvati records the donation of that part of the carving. The donor is *Lokadaya* resident of *Taracara*.

The Text reads :

Name Bhagavato. . Talacara vasatasa Lokadayasa.

SUMMARY OF THE ARTICLE—KING OF KOSALA AT THE TIME OF HIUEN TSANG'S VISIT

BY

MR. P. C. RATH

Superintendent of Archaeology, Patna State.

Hiuen Tsang in his account states that, the king of Kosala was a Khatṛiya but was well disposed towards Buddhism. The pilgrim most probably visited Kosala some time during the years 638, 639 and 640.

Siva Gupta, son of Harsa Gupta of Kosala, is better known by his title Balārjuna. This Siva Gupta was the father of Janamejaya Mahābhava Gupta, who became Trikalīngadhipati. Historians like Prof. Mirashi and Prof. D. C. Sarkar on grounds of paleography, language and style of the plates issued by the Somavāṁsi kings of Kosala, have definitely given the opinion that they belonged to the 6th and 7th centuries. The Somavāṁsi kings of Kosala and Trikalīṅga can be taken with certainty to have come immediately after them. So the views of Fleet, Kilhora, R. D. Banerjee, B. C. Mazumdar and Pt. B. Mishra regarding the time of the Somavāṁsis do no more stand.

Hiuen Tsang mentions Odra kingdom in northern Orissa, Kongoda in central Orissa and Kalinga in southern Orissa, and Kosala to the south-west of these Kingdom. The Bhauma Karas ruled northern Orissa, called the kingdom they ruled over Tosala. So the Tosala kingdom and the Bhaumakaras had disappeared by the time of the pilgrim's visit.

Janamejaya defeated the king of Odra and became Trikalingadhipati. Other inscriptions of the Somavamsi kings of Trikalinga and Kosala, mention Odra country. Whereas Yayati II and his successors mention Utkala country in northern Orissa.

So Hiuen Tsang came to Kosala when, some of the decedents of Janamejaya up to Yayati II was ruling over Koshala and Trikalinga.

Inscriptions of Uddyotakeshari mention a period of trouble after Dharmaratha. This period of trouble extended from 619 *i.e.* the date of Mādhavarāja II, to 643 A. D. when Harṣa conquered Kongoda. The Mādhava mentioned as the rival of Dharmarāja was the grand-father of Mādhavaraja the feudatory of Sasānkarāja. The king Tivara mentioned as the ally of Mādhavaraja I was the elder brother of Naghusa of Soma-kula and may be taken as Tivara II. This Tivara II's name due to inglorious short period of rule is not mentioned anywhere. Whereas Naghusa's rule being mentioned in the two copper plates of Uddyatakesari is omitted in the Brahmaswar inscription. This omission is due to Naghusa's defeat by Sasānka rāja before 619 A. D. and also Harṣa in 643 A.D.

The Somavamsis were Khatriyas. The inscriptions of Nanna Deva, Tivara Deva and Someswara Deva of 10th century prove the Buddhistic inclination of the Somavamsi kings.

Taranath's accounts also mention one Nāgesha king of Odivisa as ruling at the time of Harṣa. This Nāgesa, can be identified with Naghusa. Thus the evidence of palaeography of the charters concerned, political geography of the countries and foreign Chinese and Tibetan accounts, all combine to show that Naghusa of Somakula, was the king of Kosala nay of Trikalinga *i.e.* Odra, Kongoda, and Kalinga at the time of Hiuen Tsang's visit to Kosala.

THE HISTORICAL EVIDENCES OF THE FIVE GREAT ATRUPPADAIS IN TAMIL

BY

MR. VIDWAN A. M. PARAMASIVANANDAM, Lecturer in Tamil,
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By studying history we acquaint ourselves with the age-long civilisation. One among them is the Tamilian civilisation. We come to know the civilisation of the Tamilians of the earlier centuries of the Christian era only from the literary works of the period, called Sangam literature.

Learned scholars of the Sangam wrote many poetical works, one of them being a collection of ten poems called Pattuppattu. In this collection there are five Atruppadais which are useful in furnishing the historical facts of the age. A minstrel who got valuable gifts from a king meets on his way home another minstrel and directs him to the philanthropic patron and the idyll with this descriptive direction is called Atruppada. The five great poets Nakkirar, Urthirankannanar, Nathathanar, Mudathamakkanniyar and Perumkunrurkkilar are the authors of these idylls.

During the age of these idylls the Tamil culture and civilisation were in their zenith. We see in them how the learned artists were honoured by the kings of the land.

The life of the people is well illustrated in these songs. The main object of the house holders was to receive and honour the guests—known or unknown. However poor they were, the guests were heartily welcomed. Even the crowned kings Chera, Chola and Pandiyas honoured them. They even sacrificed their own interests to help the poets and minstrels.

In these poems we find the four divisions of the land on natural basis and the customs of the people who lived therein. The various kinds of food and drink were served to the new comers with kindness and courtesy which show us their high social ideals.

Apart from these facts we come to know about their great talents in music. They forgot their distress and worries by playing on their musical instruments. In one of the idylls we observe the various kinds of music and musical instruments. There were many musicians and dancers who were wanderers and lived

on the patronising gifts of the rulers. The songs except the first of Nakkirar deal with the life of these artists.

The capitals and the roads leading to them are also described. In the idyll called Perandpannatruppadai we see the city of Conjeevaram with its glory and prosperity. In Malaipadukadam the description is about the mountain regions and the paths there in.

Leaving these facts we are able to assert that the land was ruled by able kings who extended their empire even beyond the boundaries of the Tamilnad. The characteristics of Chola Kari-kalan are portrayed in Porunaratruppadai. He went upto Himalayas and engraved his royal emblem on the mountain's peak as a mark of his expedition. The efficient government of the land is illustrated in these songs. The rulers of the land were simple, honest, kind and at the same time God-fearing. During the reign of these Tamil kings the country was safe and free from aggression and danger. The main source of income of the state was only from the land and so the kings took keen interest in improving the irrigational system.

In the poem of Nakkirar we find the various details about the performance of puja in the temples. Aryan influence was already found in those days. Yagas and Vedas were wellknown to the people of the land.

These five idylls inform us of the imperial administration of the able governments of their time and the happy life of the people therein. This great civilisation is now to be found only in the pages of literature. Tamilians with these literary works have to rise to a higher standard of life and culture and there by to serve Mother India wholeheartedly.

INDIAN PLACE NAMES

A plea for starting an Indian Place Name Society.

BY

MR. K. ISWARA DUTT Ballary.

Study in India.

The study of place names is a neglected part of Indian History and our Country has yet to cultivate its research. Except

an occasional mention of the derivation of the place names and their history in the course of their vast writings on this subject the Indian Historians have not made any serious study of the subject.

Study on the Continent.

A complete linguistic survey of Norwegian topographical names was begun in 1896. Sweden followed in 1905, and Denmark in 1910, the importance of the work in each of these countries being recognised: best financial support from the State. England as usual followed the continent and was a bit late in the field. The English Place-name Society dates its official existence from an address delivered to the British Academy on 26-1-1921 by Professor Allen Mawer and the Cambridge University Press published the researches of the Society in 1924 and the Society grew in strength. Likewise it is respectfully urged that a Place-name Society for India may be started under the auspices of the Indian History Congress and the Scholars from the linguistic areas may be selected for making a study of the same. Best results will be obtained by the collaboration of those skilled in many branches of knowledge, languages in Telugu, Tamil, Kannada and Malayalam, Ancient Indian History, Archaeology, Topography etc.

Material for the study of place-names.

There is abundant harvest for the study. The sthala-purāṇams and Mahatmyams in Sakandapurāṇa, the ancient South Indian inscriptions, the local tradition which can be obtained from the oldest inhabitants who are on their last legs and whose knowledge perishes with them. Thus no country possess a greater harvest of material than India in the respect; Labourers are numerous; but not taken to the cultivation of the fertile field.

Origin of place-names in Andhra Country.

- (i) The great majority of place names contain a word denoting a village or homestead or town, 'Palli' 'uru' 'Varam', 'Vada' 'Pattanam' 'Kurti'.
- (ii) Some take the name of the river on which they are built up. (1) Krishnapuram on the river Krishna (2) Hampi on the river Pampa (3) Hagari on the river Hagari (4) Yoleswaram on the stream 'Yeleru'.
- (iii) Some assume the names of the hills by which they were built. (1) Sresailam by the side of that great Saiva pilgrimage centre (2) Mangalagiri by the side of that great Vaishnava pilgrimage centre.

- (iv) Some names are descriptive, Sanganakal. The name of the village by the side of Sanganakal (hillock resembling Peacock) and Panchadarla (by the side of hills containing five waterfalls).
- (v) Some take the name formed by the significant part played in ancient trade by being on the coastal region.
(1) Vadarevu or ancient Vodarevu place where ships halt).
- (vi) Most of the names take the name of Gods (whether Savaite or Vaishnavaites) who were installed by ancient kings.
- (vii) Some ancient names were Sanskritised by the Aryans after the occupation of the country thus, 'Dakiremi' became 'Daksharama'.
- (viii) Again the names of villages or town had the origin in the name of the founders i. e., Chennapatnam etc.
- (ix) Certain names have lost their Indian forms by strange formation.
 1. Varanasi became Benares.
 2. Kalighat became Calcutta.
 3. The name Madraspatam became Madras, patam or patham being deleted.
 4. Even the Railway companies have changed the name by adopting the English pronunciation.
 5. Rajamahendravaram became Rajamundry.
 6. Srikakollam became Chicacole etc.

The same complaint was laid by an English Writer on the English Railway Companies who altered the original names to suit their conveniences etc.

Thus language, religion, topography, tradition and History etc. have played their part in shaping the names of the villages and towns and it will be an interesting subject to study the origin and growth of place names.

Summary of Proceedings

Among the various sections of the Congress Section I had the largest number of papers. A total number of 24 were admitted. Of these seventeen were read and the others recorded. Papers 1, 2, 4, 7, 9 and 10 elicited a good deal of interesting discussion.

Talking on Prof. K. A. N. Sastri's paper on 'Royal power in Ancient India' Mr. P. O. Kare said (see sheet attached to Prof. K. A. N. Sastri's paper). Prof. Sastri in reply said that on the topic of 'the king's ownership of the soil there was no real difference between himself and Mr. Kare but that in regard to the question

of 'rajaśāsaram' he was still inclined to believe that Kauṭilya did exalt royal order above all other forms of legislation.

In the course of her remarks on Dr. J. C. Banerjee's paper (No. 7) Dr. Maryla Fialk said that she remembered there was a reference to the worship of Samba in the 12th book of the Mahabharata.

Dr. Krishna's indentification of Prehara (No. 10) was disputed by Mr. M. V. Krishna Rao and Dr. S. K. Iyengar and Dr. K. Gopalachari mentioned that there was a reference to Prehara in one of the Satavahana inscriptions from Nasik.

Dr. Krishna's other paper (No. 4) was followed by a valuable discussion by V. V. Principal Mirashi in the course of which he said (see sheet attached to Dr. Krishna's paper No. 4).

In the discussion on Dr. K. Gopalachari's paper (No. 9) Professors V. V. Mirashi and T. B. Nayar and V. Lakshminarayana participated. Professor Nayar disputed Dr. Gopalachari's statement that Kharavila's date cannot be more precisely determined than within the limits of half a century. Further more he questioned the location of the original home of the Satavahanas either in the region known as Benakataka, or in south-eastern Deccan and said that Dr. Suktankar's location of it in the region of the Bellary district still held the field, particularly in the light of Dr. Barnett's discussion of the topic in the Bulletin of the school of Oriental Studies Vols. IX and X.

In the absence of Dr. B. C. Law his paper on 'The evolution of Cave architecture in India and Ceylon' was read by Professor V. Venkataraman. Mr. K. R. Venkataramie in the course of his remarks on the subject said (see sheet attached to Dr. B. C. Law's paper).

SECTION II.

Ancient India 711—1206 A. D.

President :—Mahamahopadhyaya, Prof. V. V. Mirashi, M.A.,
Principal, Morris College, Nagpur.

Secretary :—Mr. K. R. Venkatarama Ayyar, Historical Records Officer, Pudukottah.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

BY

MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA V. V. MIRASHI, M.A.,

Principal and Professor of Sanskrit, Morris College, Nagpur.

Fellow-delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,

Let me first express my heart-felt gratitude to the authorities of the Indian History Congress for inviting me to preside over the deliberations of this Section. It is a high honour which should have gone to older and more experienced workers in the field. This thought as well as realization of the responsibilities of this office made me hesitate for long in accepting their offer, but ultimately I yielded to the pressing requests of my honoured friends. I trust you will show me the indulgence I need and help me in successfully carrying out the work of this Section.

Since we met last, we have heard with profound sorrow that the fell hand of Death has removed from our midst three renowned scholars who had enriched the field of archæology and history with their valuable contributions. Sir Aurel Stein the prince of explorers, who began his career with a critical edition of the *Rajatarangini*, the great history of Kashmir, has immortalised himself by his discoveries of precious treasures of paintings and manuscripts in Eastern Turkestan. His magnificent five volumes of Ser-India have shown, as nothing else has done, how Indian culture penetrated in ancient times to the inhospitable climes far beyond the frontiers of modern India. Prof. Luders who was a truly versatile scholar, will long be remembered for his indispensable list of ancient Brāhmī inscriptions as well as for his scholarly editions of numerous ancient

records. It is a matter of deep regret to us that the work of editing early Brahmi inscriptions on which he was engaged for several years past has remained incomplete. Dr. Sham Sastri who covered himself with glory by his discovery and publication of the *Arthasastra*, the monumental work of India's greatest Chancellor, was also a sound epigraphist. He was for some time the Head of the Archæological Department of the Mysore State and recently edited the ninth volume of South Indian Inscriptions which will ever testify to his indefatigable energy even in an advanced age. These great scholars have been distinguished pioneers in their respective departments of Indian history and culture. May their work always guide and inspire us!

The continuance of the Great War and its approach to our land have greatly handicapped the devotees of history as of other subjects, since it has crippled the means of publication. Many well-established oriental journals have been forced to appear irregularly owing to the difficulty of securing printing materials. The *Epigraphia Indica*, the recognized journal for the publication of original records, has suspended its publication indefinitely, much to the regret of students of history who greatly miss its authoritative editions of ancient records. The Bombay Historical Society has fortunately undertaken to continue the highly useful work of publishing an annual bibliography of books and articles on Indian history and Indology which the Leiden Institute had initiated and continued for several years. This is a great enterprise in these days of paper scarcity and depends for its continuance on the wholehearted support and cooperation of the Government of India and the Indian States, Institutions and scholars.

As you are already aware, this section deals with the period of ancient Indian history from A. D. 711 to A. D. 1206. As Dr. Krishna has already pointed out in his lucid presidential address three years ago, the initial and closing dates of this section have been fixed more from the point of view of foreign invasions than of any internal dynastic changes. As he has suggested, it would be more appropriate to commence this period in A. D. 550 when several great empires began to rise in the north and the south—*viz.*, those of the Vardhanas in the north and of the Kalachuris, Chalukyas and Pallavas in the south. Similarly, it would be in the fitness of things if the period were to close with *circa* A. D. 1300 which saw the downfall of the

last Hindu kingdoms of the Paramāras, Kalachuris, Yādavas, Kākatiyas and Hoyasalas. From the point of view of religious and cultural history also the demarcation suggested above appears more suitable. Long before the impact of the Arab invasions, the religion of the people had begun to show signs of change. The revival of the Vedic religion to which an impetus had been given by the patronage of the Bhāraśivas, Guptas and Vakātakas, had spent its force. Such ancient Vedic rites as the Vajapeya and the Asvamedha came to be performed very rarely. Kings and potentates—nay even private persons—erected in stead magnificent temples of gods and goddesses. Pauranic Hinduism, consisting of image-worship and performance of *vratas*, took the place of the ancient Vedic sacrifices. In literature and art new tendencies began to make themselves felt with the rise of new dynasties. These tendencies can be traced much earlier than A. D. 711 which signalises the establishment of Arab power in Sindh. They continued to shape the lives of the people throughout this period down to A. D. 1300 which marked the downfall of Hindu kingdoms in the South. I therefore endorse Dr. Krishna's suggestion to demarcate this period as extending from A. D. 550 to A. D. 1300.

The outstanding event in this period is the rise of several new dynasties in the north and the south which later came to be termed as Rajput and which, by their stubborn resistance to foreign aggression, have earned for themselves undying renown. Four of these royal families, the Paramāras, the Pratihāras, the Chāhamānas and the Chālukyas, were later designated as *Agnīkūlas* and are therefore supposed to have been originally of foreign extraction and subsequently admitted, by means of a religious rite, to the Hindu fold. The hollowness of this theory has already been demonstrated by Mr. C. V. Vaidya whose arguments have been corroborated by M. M. Gaurishankar Ojha, the veteran historian of Rajputāna. Still one occasionally finds the same old theory repeated in recent works and research articles. It needs therefore to be reexamined in some detail.

With the rise of new dynasties in this period a novel tendency comes to view—the tendency to trace one's descent from some eponymous hero famous in ancient legendary lore, or from the sun or the moon. This tendency is conspicuous by its absence in the preceding period. The mighty Bhāraśivas, Guptas and Vakātakas, who were no less zealous

in their support of the Vedic religion, never took pride in tracing their pedigree in the solar or the lunar race. Even in this second period, the Vardhanas were content to state their genealogy after the old model without attempting to add borrowed lustre to it by tracing it from the sun or the moon. Still the tendency may have been noticed in their days, for Bāṇa, the court-poet of Harsha, asks in his *Harshacharita*, 'Tell me if there ever was a king born in the solar or the lunar race, like this Harsha.'

But the tendency had not yet become common; for the Kalachuris and also the Early Chalukyas who were the contemporaries of the Vardhanas make no mention of any ancient lineage in their grants. It is noticed for the first time in the records of the Gurjaras who proudly claimed descent from the epic hero Karna. Other dynasties followed suite. The Kalachuris whose early records are remarkably free from such pride, seem to have been in doubt for some time as to whether they should link their ancestry with the sun or the moon. In the Benares plates which is the earliest known copper-plate grant of the later Kalachuris, the royal genealogy is carried back to the sun, while in later records it is traced from the moon. In the case of some dynasties the fancy of their court-poets supplied the ancient lineage. In the Bilhari stone inscription for instance, the Chalukyas are said to have been descended from the personage who was created by Droṇācharya from a handful of water for the destruction of the Kauravas. Bilhana, on the other hand, states that their progenitor was created by Brahma from his *chuluka* at the time of evening prayers. The Gurjaras traced their pedigree from Karna of the Mahabharata fame, while the Pratihāras claimed descent from Lakshmana probably because *pratihara* in Sanskrit means a door and Lakshmana acted as the door-keeper of Rāma during his exile.

Of the four supposed *agnikulas*, it is only the Paramaras that claim to be descended from fire. From very ancient times fire has been venerated as much as the sun or the moon. To outrival their contemporaries namely, the Pratihāras who claimed to be Suryavamśis and the Kalachuris and the Chandellas who took pride in calling themselves Somavamśis, the Paramaras proclaimed their descent from fire. Little did they imagine that this lineage which they so proudly mention in their records would be turned against them and used to prove their Mlechchha descent.

Some of the arguments used to prove the foreign

descent of these valiant Rajput families sound ridiculous. I need not repeat here the trenchant criticism of C. V. Vaidya. I will content myself with only a few observations to corroborate his views. Let me take the case of the Kalachuris who twice established large empires, once in Northern Maharashtra and Gujarat prior to the rise of the Chalukyas and later in the Dahala country (modern Baghelkhand) from the 10th to the 12th century A. D. Dr. Bhandarkar regards this family as of foreign extraction because in the *Harivamsa* and the *Vishnupurana* the Haihayas, when they seized the kingdom of the Indian king Bahu, were assisted by the Sakas, Yavanas, Paradas and Khasas. Now this is a fallacious argument; for, as C. V. Vaidya has observed, though the Haihayas may have taken the aid of the Mlechchhas in their wars, they do not thereby themselves become Mlechchhas. Secondly, this is a very good instance of what is called in Sanskrit the *ardhajartiyanyaya* or the maxim of half an aged woman. If the Puranas are to be believed when they say that the Haihayas were aided by foreign tribes such as the Sakas and the Yavanas, why not place credence in their other statement which is quite explicit on this question namely, that the Haihayas were descended from Sahasrajit, who was himself a son of Yadu and were therefore of the lunar race? Dr. Bhandarkar has not advanced a shred of evidence to substantiate his conjecture that the Haihayas poured into India after the overthrow of the Kushanas. Had this been so, we would have had evidence of their rule in North-west India where they may be supposed to have first established themselves, as we have in the case of the Sakas, Pahlavas and Kushanas. As it is, we do not get any records of the Haihayas or Kalachuris north of the Narmada till the 8th century A. D. Perhaps the only evidence which Dr. Bhandarkar had in mind while putting forward this hypothesis was the so-called Kalachuri era which began in A. D. 249. But as I have shown elsewhere, this era was not founded by them and it is not found used in North India till the 9th century A. D. There is thus not an iota of evidence to prove that the Haihayas or Kalachuris were a foreign tribe which poured into India in the third century A. D.

As regards the Chalukyas, one of the four so-called *agnikulas*, Dr. Bhandarkar calls them Gurjaras because the country where they ruled from the 10th century onward came to be known as *Gurjaratra*. This argument also is equally untenable. According to Dr. Bhandarkar there were two hordes of the Chalukyas which emigrated from

the Sapadalaksha country which he identifies with the hilly country between the Chamba State and Nepal. One of these, he says, emigrated in the last quarter of the sixth century A. D. and spread as far south as the Madras Presidency while the second issued from Kalyanakataka or Kanauj and spread only as far south as Gujarat. If both these hordes belonged to the same Gurjara tribe, it passes my comprehension why the country of Kuntala where the earlier horde settled down, was not known as *Gurjaratra*. On the other hand, Central and Northern Gujarat where a Gurjara feudatory family was actually ruling in the seventh and eighth centuries A. D., retained its old name *Lata* long afterwards. I am aware that in some later inscriptions of the Chalukyas, the royal family is said to have originally come from Ayodhya and in others from Kanauj, but this is in accordance with the tendency of later times to trace one's connection with the holy land of Aryavarta. It is a mistake to suppose that the course of migrations was always from the north to the south. On the other hand, we have the well-known instances of Nanyadeva and the Senas who migrated from the south to the north and carved there enduring principalities for themselves. The Chalukyas therefore properly belonged to the south. They were Kannada by origin and spread to the north with the expansion of their power.

Even in the case of the Paramaras, the only dynasty whose inscriptions mention the fire origin, we find the tradition for the first time in the poetic work *Navasahasanka-charita* of Padmagupta *alias* Parimala. It had probably originated in that poet's fancy and does not seem to have immediately received royal acceptance. Padmagupta was a court-poet, first of Vakpati-Munja and then of Sindhuraja, but the fanciful story of fire-origin is noticed in the records of neither of these kings, nor even of their successor, the illustrious Bhoja. - It is met with for the first time in the *Udaipur prasasti* of the reign of Udayaditya, nearly a century after the time of Padmagupta, when there was no need to account for the admission of the Paramaras to the Hindu fold, even supposing that they were originally of foreign extraction.

I need not try your patience by examining the origin of other dynasties. What I have said is sufficient to expose the hollowness of this theory which has held the field for a long time and has been believed by some scholars as gospel truth.

I have shown above that the tradition that the Chalukyas originally hailed from the north appears very late in Indian inscriptions and literature and that they properly belonged to the Karnāṭaka, the province which has added undying glory to Indian history by its achievements in art and literature. The historian of India has to give each province its due without fear or favour. I therefore hope my Kanaḍa friends will bear with me if I proceed to critically examine certain theories which are tenaciously held by some scholars. Let me first take the case of the Rashtrakūṭas, the illustrious family which had an extensive empire in the south and several times successfully raided North India to the foot of the Himalayas, and whose monuments still excite the wonder of the world. Dr. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's statement that the Rashtrakūṭas originally belonged to Mahārāshṭra has been objected to on the ground that the Rashtrakūṭas of Gujarat are found using the Kanarese script in their sign manual and that the Rashtrakūṭas of Maṇyakhēṭa gave patronage to Kanarese literature. Both these arguments are weak. As regards the former, we have unfortunately no sign manual of the early members of the main house of the Rashtrakūṭas which would have enabled us to express a definite opinion on this point. Again, the Gujarat branch was established late, probably after the capital was shifted to Maṇakhēṭa, modern Malkhed in the Kanarese territory. The patronage to Kanarese literature also begins in the reign of Amoghavarsha I when the court language may have been Kanarese. These are therefore no sure indications that the Rashtrakūṭas originally hailed from the Kanarese territory. It has also been suggested by way of a compromise that the Early Rashtrakūṭas of Vidarbha belonged to Mahārāshṭra and the great Rashtrakūṭas Malkhed who spoke Kanarese and encouraged Kanaḍa literature belonged to Karnāṭaka. But such a cleavage in the dynasty is unlikely. Fortunately, we have not to depend on conjecture in this case. From a re-examination of the existing early records I have recently shown elsewhere that the earliest capital of the dynasty was at Manapura, modern Man in the Man subdivision of the Satara District in Mahārāshṭra. They called themselves lords of the Kuntala country which comprised the upper valley of the Kṛishṇa. Their early records are found in the Satara District and the Kolhapur State which are well-known to be Marathi-speaking. Some of the feudatories, of these Early Rashtrakūṭas were no doubt holding North Karnāṭaka, but I have no doubt that

the dynasty originally belonged to Maharashtra. It held this part of the country until the rise of Pulakeśin II. Govinda mentioned in the Aihole inscription who belonged to this dynasty became an ally of the great Chalukya Emperor Pulakeśin II and received from him the province of Vidarbha where his descendants are found ruling for several generations. Later on, after the overthrow of the Chalukyas and the expansion of their power to Karnaṭaka, they found it necessary to shift the seat of their government to a central place like Manyakheta. As this Rashtrakuta capital was situated in the Kanarese country, it is not surprising that they adopted Kanarese as their official language and patronised Kanarese literature.

Another dynasty of this period which is claimed to be Karnaṭaka in origin is that of the Yadavas. The Karnaṭaka claim in their case is even weaker than in that of the Rashtrakutas. All the early Yadava inscriptions have been found in Khandesh and Nasik Districts. All their capitals were situated in Maharashtra. Marathi was their official language and their patronage to Marathi literature is well known. The claim that this dynasty was Karnaṭaka in origin is clearly unfounded. I have the highest admiration for the great province of Karnaṭaka which produced the illustrious Chalukya and Vijayanagara dynasties and which has the magnificent monuments of the Hoyasalas and the excellent works of writers like Pampa to its credit. If I have ventured to differ from my Kannaḍa friends and advocated the Maharashtra origin of the Rashtrakuta and Yadava dynasties, it is because I felt it necessary in the interest of historical truth.

What I have said above will, I hope, convince you of the need of a dispassionate study of the history of India. Much has indeed been done, but there are still several problems that need investigation. Owing to the paucity of materials and the mutilation of existing records there are still several dark corners in the history of our country. I will mention only one or two. The history of North India between the death of Harsha and the rise of the great Pratihara dynasty is still shrouded in obscurity. "We have very scanty information about Yaśovarman and the Ayudha kings who ruled in this period. The mystery is heightened by occasional references in southern records to mighty kings of Uttarapatha seeking, like Harsha, to penetrate to the south of the Narmada. The records of the Rashtrakutas, for instance, mention that their predecessors the

Chalukyas had obtained a memorable victory over Vajraṭa. Nothing further was known about this Vajraṭa until the discovery of the Nasik plates of Dharaśraya-Jayasimha which gave us the additional information that it was this Jayasimha who defeated Vajraṭa in the country between the Mahī and the Narmada *i. e.*, in Northern Gujarat. This event must have happened before A. D. 685, the date of the Nasik plates, but we have yet no knowledge of any mighty king of this name who was ruling in North India in this period. Similarly, from some other Chalukya records, we learn that the Chalukya Emperor Vinayaditya fought with and defeated the lord of Uttarapatha and wrested from him the *Palidhvaja* and other insignia of royalty. This event must have occurred sometime between A. D. 694 and 700. Unfortunately this Emperor of Uttarapatha is not named and we have yet no other means of knowing his identity and the country where he ruled. Dr. N. Venkataramnayya has recently put forward the suggestion that both these references are to the same invasion and that Vajraṭa mentioned in Rashtrakūṭa records is identical with Vajrayudha who, from a casual reference in Rajaśekhara's Karpuramanjarī, appears to have ruled over the Panchala country with his capital at Kanauj. I have critically examined this view in a note which will shortly be published. I have shown therein that the two invasions took place at different times and that Vajraṭa who was the earlier invader was identical with Siladitya III of the Maitraka dynasty of Valabhi.

In several other respects our knowledge of this period is still very inadequate. In the records of the Rashtrakūṭas we have several references to the gifts of incredible numbers of gold and silver coins, but we have so far had not a single coin struck by this great Imperial family. On the other hand the legend on some coins called Valabhī coins has remained undeciphered, notwithstanding the attempts of several numismatists. I have recently deciphered this legend and shown in an article which will soon appear in the Journal of the Numismatic Society of India that these coins were first issued in *circa* A. D. 400 by the King Sarva who describes himself as *Mahakshatrapa* and *Mahasamarta* meditating on the feet of the sun.

In recent years there have been several attempts to get a comprehensive history of India written by Indian scholars, but unfortunately nothing tangible has yet been accomplished. During the past year another scheme has

been launched under the able editorship of Dr. R. C. Majumdar, which bids fair to be an accomplished fact very soon. There is also the History of India undertaken by this Congress on a more comprehensive and ambitious plan. Let us wish good-speed to both these schemes and pray that we may soon have reliable histories of India written by her own historians.

Ladies and gentlemen, I have tired your patience by this long address for which I ask your forgiveness.

THE SIDDHARS OF SOUTH INDIA

BY

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The history of the Siddhars of South India who have played a conspicuous part has become almost a forgotten chapter and no Tamil scholar has so far come forward to examine their achievements which were mostly miraculous in character, nor their great services which have enhanced two great sciences in the south of the Vindhya, viz., medicine and yoga. The term Siddhar is a Sanskrit expression which means one who has attained *siddhi*. Siddhi itself means generally perfection reached as a consequence of certain modes of penance. It may be proficiency in magical arts or acquisition of supernatural powers. It may again be profound knowledge effected by careful experimentation and observation, or accomplished by yogic *sādhana*s. In short, a siddha was an inspired seer who had a vision to read not only the past and the present, but who could also read the future. He who looked into the future and could effect things miraculous became a yogin, and he who would easily diagnose a disease and succeed in curing it became a physician. He is ordinarily called a Siddha Vaidyan even to-day.

We speak of a Siddha school of medicine as against the Ayurveda school, both being indigenous whose origins could not be traced to any extraneous influences. The siddhis which were regarded as supernatural faculties were reckoned eight in number and these were *anima* (power to become as small as an atom), *lakshma* (power to become of little weight), *prāpti* (power of accomplishing anything), *prākānyam* (irresistible will), *mahima* (power of increasing size at will), *īśitvam* (supremacy or over-lordship), *vasitvam* (capable of exercising fascinating control over others.), *Kāmaśayita* (power to live according to one's pleasure). These

eight siddhis or miraculous powers are attributed to God Siva, who is called Siddha deva, Siddhartha, Siddhasādhak and Siddhai and Siddhida. The expression siddhi is also a name of Durgā. Siddhisena is an epithet of Kumāra (Tamil Muruga). Thus the siddhis are associated with Siva or his consort or his son Muruga. It is these Gods who possessed in abundance these superhuman faculties and who were ready to grant felicity by initiating into these mysterious powers seers and sages who came under their influence by practice of sheer penance. These siddha purushas were the siddhars of South India who were for all purposes semi-divine persons who walked the length and breadth of South India healing the soul and body of the suffering either from the trammels of Samsāra, or from bodily pain of any character.

Tradition asserts that Nandi and Agastya learnt the Siddha system of medicine, and also *Siva yoga* from Siva, and imparted in their turn to a number of disciples. Some of them have left works being permanent records of their knowledge and experience. Generally the siddhagaṇa comprised of eighteen. Though this number is made mention of in several books like the Kamigāgama and Abidhāna Cintāmaṇi, the names are not the same. Tirugnāna-sambandar and later on Tayumanavar refer to the siddha Gaṇa with respect and approval. This means that the work and tradition of the Siddhars were appreciated even by the elite and the erudite of the Tamila. The eighteen siddhars mentioned in the Abhidāna Cintāmaṇi are the following :—

Agattiyar, Bhogas, Gorakkar, Kailāsanāthar, Saddaimuni, Tirumūlar, Nandi, Kūnikanniar, Kongaṇar, Maccamuni, Vāsamuni, Kūrmamuni, Kamalamuni, Iḍaikkāḍar, Puṇṇakkīṣar, Sundaranandar, Urmārṣi, Piramamuni and (Brahmamuni).

Some of them are mere names to us at present. We have no evidence either of their lives or of their works. It is unfortunate that we have lost sight of these seers who had much to do with the building of Tamil India on the cultural side. But we must consider fortunate in having works of certain siddhars who are the glory and pride of South India.

Among these Tamil siddhars, Tirumūlar, the celebrated author of *Tirumantiram* takes the foremost place. In fact he is the earliest siddhar known to the Tamil land, let alone the hallowed name of Agastya. There are some extant works which are fathered on this ancient sage, but the style and contents prove that they are very late writings of some unknown hand who dedicated his own composition to Agastya apparently to give it an air of authority and ancientness. But a critical student would know how to evaluate such works. It may be that Agastya was the father of a Tamil School of medicine as he was the originator of several other things still cherished by the Tamil land.

Apart from this hallowed name, we have Tirumūlar. His life is given in Sekkilar's Tirutṭoṇḍar Purāṇam and also in Tiruvāṇḍaturai Purāṇam, the latter being written about 150 years ago. Further light is thrown by the Tirutṭoṇḍar Tiruvandāti of Nambi-yāṇḍar Nambi, and by the Tirutṭoṇḍattokai of the Tevāram where Sundaramūrti refers to him. Tirumūlar holds an honoured place among the sixty-three Nāyanmārs, all of them having attained celebrity as the followers of Siva. This means that Tirumūlar was a predecessor of Sundarar who must have flourished at the commencement of the ninth century A. D. (Dikshitar: *Studies in Tamil Literature and History*, I Edn. P. 98). Tirumūlar claims to be a disciple of Nandi and a contemporary of Patanjali (*Tirumantiram* P. 67). This raises a question whether the Patanjali of the Yoga Sūtras is referred to by the text. But we shall not go into it here. The story may be briefly told. Originally a resident of the Kailāsa hills, this sage set out towards the Podiyal hill in the South noted as Agastya's abode. He passed through several places like Nepal, Kāśī, Kalahasti, Kāñci, Tillai (Chidambaram) and Tiruvāṇḍaturai. Once following the course of the river Kāveri he came to an agrahāram Sattanūr by name. Whether this reference is to Sattanūr village about 5 miles west of Tiruvāḍi, Tanjore District we cannot say. Here he saw a herd of cows and cattle on the grazing ground crying and bellowing, round about a dead body which was Mūlan's, Mūlan being the cowherd of the village. The dumb kingdom were so much attached to their master and would not leave him: Seeing this and sympathising with these animals, the sage gave life to the dead body by himself entering into it when the cattle went home led by him. Tirumūlar, the cowherd, stood away at the entrance of the village and refused to reach his house. His wife entreated him in vain. He definitely told her that he had renounced home life and the villagers found him next morning in the village Mutt sitting in *Samadhi*. After he got up from his penance, he went towards Tiruvāṇḍaturai, and sitting underneath a lofty Bodhi tree on the western side of the temple, he entered into Sivayoga which he practised for 3000 years uninterruptedly when he composed the *Tirumantiram* of 3000 stanzas, at the rate of one stanza for every year. Then he left for the Kailāsa hills and became one with the great God,

Most of the details found in this legend are attested by the internal evidence of the text. That he practised *Samadhi* under the Bodhi tree is seen in stanzas 79 and 82 of the *Tirumantiram*. He was an expert in Āgama śāstras and he felt impelled to expound the Āgamic ideas for the benefit of the Tamil people. This could be gathered from stanzas 73, 74 and 81. From the stanza 69, it can be gathered that he had seven disciples. Malangan and others. It appears that these faithfully carried the torch of their teacher's message and founded in their turn seven Mutts to propagate the Siva-Yoga as such (St. 101 and 102).

Tirumantiram is a mine of information to a student of Tamil

mysticism and of Tamil history. It consists of four parts—Cariyai, Kiriya, Yogam and Jñānam. He is a mystic but his mysticism is a happy blending of the formal and material type. The possible and the impossible, the practical and the impractical are connected in highly mystic language. It is not easily intelligible. Let me give one instance. In a stanza (9th Tantra, 23, 4) he says; When the brinjal seed was planted, pākai came out of it. When the earth was dug, a *Poosani* appeared. When the gardener went to fetch it, it became a ripe plantain. Removed of its plain meaning, the author shows here the truth of prāṇāyāma yoga. Reference is to the two main tubes through which the life breath passes in and out. By controlling and regulating this passage of air, a person attains the stage of Vairāgya or renunciation. The plantain fruit symbolises the salvation of the soul and the realisation of Godhood.

Incidentally the texts give some information of value. In several stanzas (1530, 1533, 1537, 1557 and 1561) reference is made to the six systems of philosophy. In another stanza 1646 he refers to the five Maṇḍilams of Tamil Nāḍu, Cera, Cola, Pāṇḍya, Kongu and Tōṇḍaimaṇḍilam. We have only mention of the three divisions in the Saṅgam works. Kongu and Tōṇḍaimaṇḍilam are later divisions. Stanzas 339-346 speak of aṭṭaviraṭṭams and mention only two places Kadavur and Korukkai, while the Tevāram furnishes the names of all the eight. In another stanza (76) the occurrence of the phrase *Muttamil Vedam* is significant. Generally by the *Muttamil Vedam* is meant the composition of the Tevāram by the celebrated Trio-Sambandar, Appar and Sundarar. A study of these unmistakable references puzzles a student of history in determining the date of the author of the Tirumantiram which he himself so styles Mantiram and Mantiramalai. If Sundaramartisvāmi refers to Tirumūlar, it is reasonable to suppose the latter must have preceded the former. When we analyse his reference of *Muttamil Vedam*, Tirumūlar must be dated after the Tevāram trio. To reconcile this we must say that both were perhaps contemporaries. But there are other difficulties to accept this.

But it is easy to state that Tirumūlar was a celebrated sage who attained salvation by his severe yoga practice. At the same time tradition assigns him a place in the siddha school of medicine. A work of 8000 stanzas devoted to the healing science is attributed to him. It is believed that the extant Karukkidai 600 is a composition of this celebrated author. Kalangai Nāthar is considered to be one of his seven pupils, and Bhogar, another name to conjure with, in the Tamil School of medicine is held to be a pupil of Kalangai Nāthar. The Kongumaṇḍala Satakam (36) makes Kanca Malai another pupil of Tirumūlar.

The next Siddhar of importance, whose name and works are still familiar with our Siddha physicians is Bhoganāthar or simply Bhogar. In the chronological scheme Bhogar is the disciple of

Kālangi Nāthar who was one of the pupils of the great Tirumūlar. We have some traditions about this siddhar. He was one of those who went overseas and visited a number of places including Rome in search of medicinal herbs. He discovered some special herbs which were used to advantage in his time, and which have been recorded for the use of future physicians. It is said that Bhogar got initiated from Dakṣiṇāmūrti, Siva in Guru form, for several of his ideas, though according to a later version, he was a staunch devotee of the Muruga cult. Bhogar seems to have possessed some magical powers with which he could control ferocious animals like the lion and the tiger. There is a legend which shows that one of those initiated by him was a cow. When one of his pupils Karuvūr Devar (*Kongumandala Satakam* 34) installed a shrine at Tanjore in honour of Siva, Bhogar is said to have sent a note (*Olai*) for the occasion apparently a message of good wishes for the occasion. We do not know what his permanent abode was. But he lived in places like Caturagiri and Sivagiri. One of his pupils was Saṭṭaimuni, and the story goes that this Saṭṭaimuni destroyed Bhogar's work entitled *Dikṣai*. Why he did so is not to be known. Kongaṇar, Sundaranandar and Pulippāṇi of Palni (Vaikānagar) were his other pupils. It is popularly understood that he spent the evening of his life at Palni sacred to Muruga, and even now visitors to this place are shown the place of Bhogar Samādhi. Bhogar's works were several. The popularly known are Bhogar 7000, being a composition in 7000 stanzas. A Nighaṇṭu is also attributed consisting of 17000. A work on Yoga called *Yogam* 700 was also from the pen of this Siddhar.

Mention has already been made that Pulippāṇi and Kongana Siddhar were the immediate disciples of repute to Bhogar. The *Kongamandala Satakam* (36 and 37) testify to the contemporaneity of these two siddhars. There are some unreliable floating traditions about Kongaṇar. He cannot be the Kongaṇar who figures in one of the legends connected with Tiruvalluvar. He should be far separated from him in time. From the name it is suggested that he must have belonged to Kongunaḍu, and his residence is said to have been very near modern Coimbatore. He is said to have been a contemporary of the Tirumaliśai Ālwār who is said to be an early contemporary of the Pallava monarch Guṇabharan. This means this Ālwār should have lived about the early part of the seventh century A. D. If we can believe the tradition of the contemporaneity, then Kongaṇar should have also lived at this time. He was a great Saiva and founded a shrine in honour of Siva at Tanjore where it is believed, he attained the Samādhi. *Kāṭaikkāṇḍam* and *Trikāṇḍam* are some of his important works.

Gorakkar was another siddhar and a pupil of Maccendirar. As usual some legends are told of the exhibition of his miraculous powers. It is said that he was the first siddhar who used opium for medicinal purposes. On this account opium came to be known

in Tamil as *Gorakkar Muli*. He is credited with the authorship of *Gorakkar Vaippu*.

Īḍaikkāḍar seems to be a disciple of Kongaṇar or perhaps Bhogar. The story goes that he was a cowherd by caste. Once one of the Nava siddhars (according to another version there were nine siddhars. They are Satyanāthar, Sadokanāthar, Ādināthar, Anādināthar, Vekulināthar, Matanganāthar, Maccendranāthar, Gaḍendranāthar and Gorakkanāthar) passed by and wanted some milk to quench his thirst. When it was readily offered the Siddhar initiated him. From that time Īḍaikkāḍar became a Jñāni. There are several floating traditions, one connecting him with Tiruvalluvar, another with the Sangam celebrity Kapilar. It would be wrong to identify him with Īḍaikkāḍar of Sangam fame. The Siddhar Īḍaikkāḍar should be a different person belonging to the medieval period.

Very little information, most of it improbable tradition, is found about the other siddhars, like Kudamba siddhar, Pāmpāṭṭi siddhar, Sūtamunivar, Kalluli siddhar and Kancamalai siddhar, (the Kongumandala Satakam refers this siddhar in stanza 35). Mention can, however, be made of one Sivavākkiyar who has evoked praise from Tāyumanavar. One story goes that this Sivavākkiyar was Tirumaliśai Ālwar, himself. The latter says that he was once a Jainā, then a Bauddha, then a Saiva and lastly became a convert to Vaiṣṇavism. If we can cite this as evidence, it is probable he was a Saiva when he went by the name of Sivavākkiyar. His work at that time was *Sivavakkiyam* in Tamil. Whatever may be the veracity of this legendary lore, it is certain that he was one of the noteworthy siddhars of the Tamil land.

In conclusion we may say that most of these siddhars were adepts in the practice of yoga. By their accomplishments they were equally adepts in *rasavada* or the science of alchemy. We are not to-day in a position to assess their full contribution to South Indian culture. Still we would not be far wrong if we conclude that their writings—most of which have not been preserved with the care and attention which they deserve—, have enriched the indigenous medical science which still goes by the name—the Siddha system of medicine.

SOUTH INDIAN PAINTINGS

A Note on the date of the Sittannavāsāl Paintings

BY

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Since 1920, when the Sittannavāsāl Jain cave temple and its paintings were first noticed by Gopinatha Rao and Dubreuil¹ much literature has been published about it.²

Archæologists are of opinion that this cave temple, which resembles those excavated by Mahendravarman Pallava in Tonḍaimandalam and Trichinopoly, is of the Pallava type and was excavated in the time of that Ruler (7th century A. D.).³

Since the cave temple and its paintings have not been accurately described so far, a brief description may not be out of place here and will be useful in understanding the discussion as to the date of the paintings which follows.

The excavation consists of a cubical sanctus (*garbhagrham*) with a rectangular verandah (*ardhamantapam*) in front, facing west. In the facade are two pillars, cubical at the top and bottom and octagonal in between, and two pilasters of the same type at either end, all carrying massive corbels (*podigai*) with 'roll-ornamentation' and a median flat band and with a beam and projecting cornice (*kapotam*) above. The entrance to the sanctum projects slightly into the verandah and on either side of the entrance, in the projecting part are two shallow, empty niches, each flanked by pilasters with corbels on top, all of the same design

1. Dubreuil, J. Prof.—

(a) Bulletin—'Fre-co painting at Sittannavāsāl'—State Press. Pudukkottai—13-11-1920.

(b) 'Pallava Paintings'—*Indian Antiquary*—LII, (1923).

2. (a) Dubreuil, J.—*Ibid.*

(b) Sundara Sarma M. S. 'Sittannavāsāl Frescoes'—*Triveni*, III, (1930), No. 1.

(c) Mehta, N. C., *Studies in Indian Painting*, Bombay, 1926.

(d) Ramachandran, T. N. 'The Royal Artist Mahendravarman'—*J. O. R. Madras*, VII (1933).

(e) Ramachandran, T. N. 'Pallava Painting'—Gouri Shanker Ojha's Commemoration Vol. p. 9.

(f) Balasubrahmanyam S. R. 'A Note on the Fresco Painting at Sittannavāsāl'. *J. O. R.* IX (1935), pt. 1.

(g) Srinivasan K. R. *Silpa Sri*, Madras.

3. Dubreuil. *Op. cit.* la, 2a.

as the ones in the facade except for the fact that lotus medallions are carved on their upper cubical parts. There is a flight of two steps in front of the entrance flanked by *surul-yali* balustrades.

On the north and south walls of the verandah are niches, mounted on a moulded plinth and flanked by flat, four-sided pilasters carrying corbels of the simple bevelled type, without the roll-ornamentation. In the southern niche of the verandah is a figure in bas-relief, nude and seated in the *dhyana* pose with a five-headed serpent hood above its head. This has been identified as *Parsvanatha*. The figure in a similar pose in the northern niche of the verandah is seated under a single umbrella, which is not the disc of the moon as one writer would suggest,⁴ and the inscription on the bottom of the pillar near by reads *Tiru-vasiriyan* denoting that the figure represents an *Acarya*. On the back wall of the sanctum, just above the middle, are three bas-reliefs in a row, all in the same style and pose. There are triple umbrellas over the heads of the figure on the north and in the centre, denoting that they are *Tirthankaras*, while there is a single umbrella over the one on the south denoting that he is an *Acarya* or *Cakravartin*. On the ceiling of the sanctum a large wheel is carved with its hub in the centre representing the *dharma-cakra* and not an umbrella with a broken handle as has been sometimes suggested. The floor of the sanctum is solid and there is no circular trap door as suspected by some writers, leading to a cell below.⁵

Recent excavation in front of the cave temple has revealed the moulded structural plinth of a front *mantapam* (*mukha-mantapam*), parts of its pillars, and a small broken *Tirthankara* idol, which probably was the principal idol of the shrine within.

Though there are many descriptions of the style, technique and beauty of the paintings⁶ none of them has so far fully explained the scheme of the paintings.

The paintings on the ceiling of the sanctum and verandah may be divided as follows:—A rectangular carpet-patterned canopy over the *Parsvanatha* niche on the south wall with naturalistic lotus flowers in full blossom and bud depicted against a circular back-ground of lotus leaves, a carpet-patterned canopy over the *Tiruvāsiriyan* niche with conventional circular floral designs and a carpet-patterned canopy over the three sculptures on the back wall of the sanctum with ornamental borders on the edges and a pattern of interlining squares and circles within; inside the circles are crosses with bulbous ends and there are two

4. *Ibid.*, p. 233.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 246.

6. *Op. cit.* 2. (a-f).

human figures above and two lions below the horizontal arm of each cross, while inside the squares are circular floral designs.

Excluding the space occupied by these three canopies, and that occupied by the *dharma-cakra*, the rest of the ceiling of the shrine and verandah is devoted to the principal theme—viz., a tank with lotus and lily fish, birds, *makaram*, elephants, buffaloes, and three men in loin cloths wading in it and gathering flowers. The men represent *bhavyas* and the tank is believed to present the *samavasarana*.

The bottom face of the beam in the facade immediately resting on the corbels is exposed to view in three places between the corbels. On the central part is painted a canopy with lotus and foliage issuing from *makara* heads, and on the other two are canopy designs of conventional floral patterns. The rolls of the corbels are painted and the median bands (*pattai*) of the two central corbels are painted with naturalistic lotus buds and foliage and those of the two outer pairs with sprigs of foliage. The outer face of the beam is decorated with painted bands, parallelograms and conventional floral designs. The under surface of the cornice is divided into five areas by four bands, the one in the centre has a canopy design with lotuses and lilies, those on either side of this, have conventional figures of the *hamsa* and those at the two ends have canopies of conventional floral patterns.

On the front upper cubical parts of the pillars of the facade are the famous paintings of the two dancing *apsara* maidens, and on the northern face of the top of the southern pillar are the portraits of a King with a Queen behind him and a man coloured red and apparently a servant in front. There is a pavilion in the back ground. Scholars have suggested that the portraits may be those of Mahendravarman and his Queen.⁷ The paintings on the faces of the pillars and pilasters, those on the walls and the painted stucco on the roughly finished sculptures have been lost.

The plan of construction, the shape of the pillars, the roll-mouldings on the corbels of the facade and the niches on either side of the entrance to the sanctum, their median flat bands, the lotus medallions carved on the top squares (*saduram*) of the pilasters of the niches flanking the entrance to the sanctum and other details of architecture afford, according to scholars, sufficient evidence to assign the cave to the early Pallava period and to Mahendra Pallava arguing from the resemblances to the Pallava caves of this period in Tondaimandalam and Trichinopoly.⁸ But

7. Ramachandran T. N. *Op. cit.*, d. p. 245; Contra Mehta, *Op. cit.*, p. 12, who wrongly identifies it as *Ardhanarisvara* or *Mahadeva*.

8. Dubreuil, *Op. cit.*, 1 a and b and 2a; Ramachandran, *Op. cit.*, d. pp. 232 and 240.

we must not forget to mention that there are caves of this period and almost of this type, with some local variations, in the Pandya country, (to which Sittannavasal is nearer) and where Pallava power never penetrated.

The significant deviation from the early Pallava plan of architecture, that I noticed, is the occurrence of pilasters with a flat four-sided shaft carrying corbels of the *plain bevelled* type, quite unlike those *with the roll ornamentation and curved profile* of the pillars and pilasters of the facade and the sides of the entrance. My study of the architecture of the early temples in Pudukkottai and surrounding districts has led me to inter that these pilasters indicate that the two niches and the sculptures inside them are later additions made in the 9th century A. D. This belief is strengthened when one notices the uneven excavation of the walls at the sides of the niche and on either side of the projecting part containing the shrine entrance and the two shallow empty niches on either side of it.

While engaged in the cleaning and preservation work here, Dr. Paramasivan and I discovered that the present layer of painting on the ceiling of the shrine was superimposed on an earlier layer of painted plaster, with the result that the adhesion of second layer over more or less smooth first layer was not perfect, so that the thin plaster peeled off in various places. This was in striking contrast to the painting on the ceiling of the verandah where there is only one painted layer on a ground of plaster well set on the rough rock-surface below. To us it is clear that a fresh coating of thin plaster was applied to the pre-existing painting on the ceiling of the sanctum without removing the original painting, while the ceiling of the verandah was cleaned, re-dressed and the plaster relaid and painted after the removal of the original painted plaster.

The variations in the linear dimensions of the floor and ceiling, the unequal excavations in the back wall of the verandah on either side of the projection containing the entrance to the shrine and its flanking niches, the uneven surface of these parts of the wall, variations in the projecting niches of *Parsvanatha* and *Acarya* carved in the south and north walls of the verandah, the differences between the architectural features of the pilasters and corbels of these two niches and those of the facade, the rough finish of the sculptures here and inside, all point to the fact that the *ardha-mantapam* was entirely re-done and re-embellished. The paintings on the ceiling, pillars, corbels, beams and walls of the verandah and the stucco on the sculptures—much of which is lost—are of a date, later than that of the original excavation of the temple. The second layer of painting on the sanctum, is as we have said above, a continuation of the lotus tank scene of the central part of the verandah. The canopy over the three sculptures which appears to be a newer layer over a previously existing one, which

can be seen in places where the outer layer has peeled off, must be of the same date as the paintings in the verandah outside.

The person who renovated and embellished the verandah by carving the niches and sculptures in the north and south walls, which seem to have been plain before, and painted the entire verandah afresh, does not seem to have interfered with the pre-existing paintings on the ceiling of the sanctum, but simply laid his second coat on the previous painted layer without removing it. The second coat could not have been laid when the previous painting was fresh. This again points to a lapse of some time, a century or two say, between the first coat which was probably laid when the cave was excavated, and the second when it was renovated.

To the above interesting facts regarding the architecture and paintings, which help to fix the date of the cave temple and its paintings, epigraphy lends additional corroboration. An old Tamil inscription in verse, on the surface of the rock near the southern end of the facade furnishes the key to the problem. Venkayya noticed this inscription and others as early as 1904⁹. It states that a Jain teacher Ilañ-Gautaman of Madura, also called Madirai Āsiriyan, repaired or renovated the *ardhamantapam* and built a *mukhamantapam* in front of the cave temple, which is called *Arivar-Koyil* (temple of the *Arhat*) in Annalvayil*, to which village the rock belongs, in the time of the famous Pāṇḍya king, Avani-pāṣekhara, also called Sri Vallabha (11.16 & 17).

The date and identity of this king has been discussed by the epigraphist in his annual report for 1929-30, in connection with the Erukkangudi inscription (334/1929-30). He is the same Pandya whose coins with the legend 'Avanipasekharagolaga' and the emblem of the double fish were noticed by Hultzsch as early as 1892.¹¹ He is identified with Sri Vallabha, the predecessor of Varaguna Varman II and his reign must have terminated in 862 A. D. The inscription under reference further refers to the removal of all defects during the renovation and embellishment of the *ardhamantapam*, and speaks also of *Adivendar*, and the

9. A. R. E. Madras 1904-05, p. 47.—No. 368 of 1904, See also 370 of 1904.

10. Ramachandran T. N. *Op cit.* d. p. 241.

11. *Indian-Antiquary*, XXI, p. 323-f.

*The name of the village is Annalvayil, as is found in many inscriptions, and in the *Periyapurānam*. It means the abode of the great men or arhats and Sittannavasal, a hamlet of the village, should be *Sittu-annal-vayil* (the abode of the great Siddhas) and could not be derived *Siddhan-am-vasah*.¹⁰ The *Brahmi* inscription calls it *Citu-pocil-Sittu-posil*. i.e. the hill-abode (*Pocilpoccai*-hill; *it*-abode) of the *Sittu* or Siddhas.

sēmpavai, i.e., sculpture decorated by painted stucco, of Tiruverr(a)n (Tiru-eru-aran meaning Rṣabhanātha or Tiru-verran meaning the Holy Jina) or Tiru-(v)īṣan (Tiru-īṣan*-meaning the Holy Tirthankara). It also refers to the renovation of the temple of *Pannakar* or *Pannavar* (Pārśvanātha?) and the endowment of lands for lamps and worship. The appellation '*Tiruvāsiriyan*', referred to above, probably denotes this Madurai Āsiriyan or his preceptor(?) and *Adivendar*, to the sculpture of Cakravartin in the inner shrine(?). Another stone slab excavated in front of the temple contained a short inscription in old Tamil characters of the 8th-9th centuries, which says that a door was provided by one Cadira-devan. All this denotes that there was considerable alteration and renovation of the structure by about the 9th century.

This evidence goes to show that the entire extant layer of painting in the Sittannavaśal cave temple belongs to the first half of the 9th century A. D., when Madurai Āsiriyan renovated the *ardhamantapam* of the temple, carved the sculptures and constructed a *mukhamantapam* in front, the plinth of which our recent excavation has exposed. The paintings therefore cannot be called Pallava and dated in the 7th century A. D. when the cave temple was first excavated.¹² Inscriptions in Pudukkoṭṭai and further north in the Cola country show that the Pāṇḍya power extended far north into the Cola country in the 9th century A. D. and Sittannavaśal was Pāṇḍyan territory in the time of Avanipaśekhara Sri Vallabha. Probably the inner layer of paintings exposed to view here and there by the peeling off of the outer layer on the ceiling of the sanctum is co-eval with the excavation of the cave temple in the 7th century A. D. Thus the royal portrait on the south pillar of the facade is obviously not that of Mahendravarman but may represent the Pāṇḍya King Avanipaśekhara Sri Vallabha.

This discovery raises some interesting points about South Indian paintings.

Though the lines and features of the Sittannavaśal paintings are said to exhibit a close resemblance to the styles of the classical paintings in Ajanta, Ellora, Sigiriya¹³ and Bagh and to compare favourably with them, the technique adopted is quite different. According to Dr. Paramasivan, who has made a thorough analysis

**Irakulam* is the name of a tank to the south of the hill, and *Iravan* the name of the god in a sylvan shrine in another tank to the south of the hill. *Iravan* is a common name amongst the people inhabiting this village even today as also the name *Eluvan*.

12. Dubreuil, *Op. cit.* Ramachandran *Op. cit.* d.

13. Sana Ullah, Md.—'Report on the treatment of the Sigiriya Frescoes'—Sessional paper XXI, 1943, Government Press, Ceylon.

of the technique of all paintings in South India¹⁴ and Ceylon, the ground plaster in Ajanta, Ellora, Sigiriya and Bagh is of mud, mostly clay or alluvium, and silica or sand mixed with very small quantities of lime and containing other organic materials such as cow-dung, husks or vegetable fibres acting as a binding medium. This ground plaster is covered by a thin lime-wash and painted; the paint being *mineral* colours mixed with glue to serve as a fixative. This technique he calls "tempera". All these examples date from the 1st to the 7th century A. D., and Dr. Paramasivan classifies them as group I.

The ground plaster in Sittannavaśal is a lime-plaster—a mixture of lime and sand, with a thin layer of fine lime-plaster over it, on which the paintings have been executed in *mineral* colours without the admixture of adhesives such as gum or glue. Dr. Paramasivan calls this technique 'fresco-secco' and classifies it as group II. As examples of this group he includes Sittannavaśal, Māmaṇḍūr, Kailāsanātha (Congivaram), Tanjore, Vijayalaya Cholisvaram (Nārttāmalai), Lepikshi, Tirumalai, Somapilayam, Cochin and Travancore, and I would add Tirumayan Satyagiriśvara, Malaiyadiṭṭaṭṭi Viṣṇu Cave and Tirugokarṇam front *mantapam*. He has noticed this technique of 'lime-medium' in some places in Ajanta, where the "tempera" is more usual. The Ellora technique combines in many places, caves No. XII and XV for example, the technique of groups I and II, in that the ground

14. Paramasivan Dr. S.—

- (a) Indian Wall Paintings—Journ. Madras Univ. XII, No. 1, pp. 96-128 (1940).
- (b) Studies in Indian Painting—*Ibid* XIII No. 1 (1941) pp. 1-15.
- (c) Technique of the Painting Process in the Cave Temples at Ajanta—*Ann. Rep. Arch. Dep. H. E. H. the Nizam's Domns.*, 1936-37, pp. 25-30.
- (d) Technique of the Painting Process at Ellora, *Ibid*, pp. 31-38.
- (e) The Mural Paintings in the Cave Temple at Sittannavaśal—An investigation into the method—*Technical Studies*, Harvard, VIII, 2 (1939), pp. 83-89.
- (f) The mural paintings in the Brinadisvara temple at Tanjore—An investigation into the method—*Ibid*. V, 4, (1937), pp. 222-39.
- (g) The Pallava Paintings at Congivaram—An investigation into the methods—*Proc. Ind. Acad. of Sciences*, X, 2, (1939), pp. 77-84.
- (h) Technique of the Painting Process in the temple of Vijayalaya Cholisvaram in the Pudukkottai State. *Ibid*, VII, 4, (1938), pp. 282-290.
- (i) The Wall Paintings in the Bagh Caves—An investigation, into their methods—*Ibid*. X, 9, (1939) pp. 85-95.

is made of mud plaster directly applied to the wall, with two or three layers of lime plaster over it, without adequate binding between them. He classifies this as group III. The Badami technique, is a class by itself, the ground is mud plaster, a mixture of clay and very fine silica mixed with animal glue and vegetable fibres. The surface was smoothed and directly painted on, without a lime wash. The pigments were applied with animal glue—again 'tempera'.

Dr. Paramasivan opines that the mixture of the two techniques, 'northern and southern' as he calls them, in the composition of the ground plaster at Ellora was probably introduced by the Rashtrakutas about the 8th century A. D. He says that this hybrid technique was the result partly of the conservatism of the Ellora artists in perpetuating the mud plaster tradition of Ajanta, which is not far off, and partly of the irresistible influence of the lime plaster 'fresco' process of the Pallava paintings in the south.

Thus the 'Southern technique' which started as 'fresco-secco' or lime medium in the first layer of painting at Sittannavaśal, Māmaṇḍūr and Tirumayam, the Kailāsanātha and Vaikunṭhap-perumāl temples at Conjivaram and in the second extant layer at Sittannavaśal in the 7th-9th centuries A. D. developed into the perfect 'fresco' technique of the Colas at Tanjore, 10-12th centuries A. D., and continued up to our times through the later Pāṇḍya, Vijayanagar, Nayak and other post-Vijayanagar periods.

While discussing the continuity of the tradition of 'fresco' processes in the west,¹⁵ from Crete and Mycene—(1700-1100 B. C.), Etruria and South Italy (700-400 B. C.) and finally Pompeii (400 B. C.—100 A. D.) and the Christian catacombs to a period almost contemporary with the earlier Ajantan paintings, Dr. Paramasivan observes that after a gap of about six centuries it is found in the Pallava period of the south and continued thereafter, but avers that it is very difficult to speak of the foreign origin of Indian 'fresco' technique or to estimate the extent of India's indebtedness in this respect to the classical western world.

We may mention here the fact that there are some references to the fresco technique in the early Tamil works of the Sangam period dating roughly from about 200 B. C. to 500 A. D. and the following quotation is enough to show that the practice was in vogue, whether indigenous or not, from at least the beginning of the Christian era.

Ven-sutai-vilakkattu-vittakar Iyarriya-kai-vinai-c-cittiram.

meaning "the painting executed by the expert on the clean white plaster over lime mortar". Examples of these paintings are not

now extant probably because they were executed on the walls of temples and mansions built of brick and mortar, which naturally perished after a few centuries. When in the 7th century A. D. Pallava Mahendra and his contemporaries, the early Pāṇdyas, in the south, designed and excavated the first cave temples, out of the most permanent material *viz.*, the living rock, the tradition of covering their walls with lime mortar and painting over it seems to have continued. If Mahendra Pallava, after his sojourn in the north of his empire as Viceroy, introduced the method of excavating rock-cut temples in the south he probably learnt about the 'lime medium' fresco technique from the south and adopted it in his cave-temples—Sittannavaśal, Māmaṇḍār, Tirumayam and elsewhere, in preference to the mud-plaster and 'tempera' technique of the north.

Thus while dating the paintings at Sittannavaśal, with the help of evidence afforded by the architecture, paint layers and inscriptions, we are able to postulate the continuity of a 'southern' school of painting—which adopted the lime medium process on a lime-mortar stucco which we may sum up in the following scheme.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. The Sangam period 2nd century B. C.—5th century A. D. or later. | Literary evidence from Sangam works—Paintings on lime on brick and mortar walls. |
| 2. Pallava and early Pāṇḍya period 7th-9th centuries A. D. | Sittannavaśal (inner layer) Māmaṇḍūr, Tirumayam (Satyagiriśvaram) and Conjivaram (Kailāsanātha and Vaikunthap-perumāl temples), 7th-8th century A. D. and Sittannavaśal outer layer—9th century A. D. |
| 3. Imperial Cola and later Pāṇḍyan period 10th-13th century A. D. | Tanjore (Bṛhadīśvaram inner layer), Nārttamalai (Vijayalaya Colīśvaram). |
| 4. Vijayanagar and Nayak period 15th-17th century A. D. | Somapālaiyam, Lepākshi, Tirumalai, Tanjore (Bṛhadīśvaram-Nayak layer). |
| 5. Modern period—17th century and later. | Travancore, Cochin, Malayadippatti and Tirugokarnam (Pudukkottai). |

It is well known that the Buddhist cult did not much influence the interior of the Tamil country. The more important objective of the Buddhists seems to have been Ceylon and their sojourn in the Tamil country was restricted to the neighbourhood of the coast. Hence while they carried the Ajantan technique from Deccan to Sigiriya in Ceylon, their methods probably did not influence the artists of the Tamil country.

VISHNUVARDHANA HOYSALA AS A PRINCE

BY

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Following local traditions B. L. Rice and other writers have held that Vishnuvardhana Hoysala was originally a Jain prince of the name Bittiga and that about 1116 A. D. he was converted into Vaishnavism by Sri Ramanujacharya and given the name Vishnuvardhana. About the same time, it is thought, Sri Ramanuja discovered a buried image of Sri Nārāyaṇa at Melukoṭe and got the temple built for the god with the help of his new disciple. The occurrence of new inscriptions and the restudy of the older sources leads to a serious revision of our knowledge.

Two useful new inscriptions have now been discovered in the Hassan and Mysore districts respectively. The first to be discovered was a lithic record of 1102 A. D. found near the village gateway of Bastihalji close to Halebid. It states that while Ballala I was ruling, his brother Vishṇu did certain things suggesting that Bittiga already bore the name Vishṇu in 1102 A. D. or more correctly that the word Bittiga was only a Kannada form popularly used for the prince whose official name was Vishnu and that he already bore the latter name more than ten years before the alleged date of his conversion. A new inscription has now been discovered which makes a further addition to our knowledge.

The second record is found engraved on the basement cornice of the western and southern faces of the inner or original shrine in which the image of Sri Janārdana is worshipped at Belgola close to Mysore on the road from Mysore to Krishnaraja sāgara. The record is engraved in Grantha characters about $1\frac{1}{2}$ " square and run over several lines extending over the faces of the cornices. The characters are more developed than the Chola ones, the loop of 'ka' being well developed and the tail bent and the letters 'ma', 'ba', 'dha' resembling twelfth century characters. It bears no saka year but the date is given as Monday, the twelfth of the dark half of the month Kārtika of the Jovian year Bahudhanya. The month is evidently solar Kārtika. Since no other Bahudhanya is known to possess all these details correctly; only one date becomes possible according to Swamikannu Pillai's Indian Ephemeris and that is Monday, the 22nd of November 1098 A. D. The constellation mentioned is Viśākha which commences 39 ghatikas after sunrise, that is, after 9 P. M. But since auspicious events can take place even at night, the date is highly suitable.

It was formerly thought that Vishnuvardhana was inactive in his earlier years and after his conversion by Rāmaṇuja in 1116, he suddenly burst out with an attack on the Chola provincial capital of Talakāḍ and achieved complete victory over the Chola governor Ādiyama. The Bastihaḷḷi inscription discovered a few years ago revealed that even during Ballāḷa I's reign Talkāḍ had been attacked and the rule over at least part of Gangavadi 96000 had been claimed by the Hoysalas even in 1102. Another inscription (Belūr 199) claimed the conquest of Kongu by Ballāḷa in 1101 A. D. The Belgoḷa inscription recently discovered shows that the title of 'Kongukonda' or conquerer of 'Kongu' or the Ganga country was claimed for Vishnuvardhana as early as 1098 A. D. when Vishnu was evidently a local governor under Vinayāditya who was a subordinate of Chalukya Vikramāditya VI. Further no regal titles are claimed for Vishnu, and no other titles at all like the famous Talakāḍu-gonda, etc. other than Kongu-konda. Therefore we infer that Vishnuvardhana had even before 1098 A. D. made at least one successful attack on the Chola territories in Gangavadi and earned the title Kongo-konda. Evidently he was already a grown up man of fighting age and he led several campaigns against the Cholas, that of 1116 A. D. being the most successful as it resulted in the conquest of Talkāḍ.

It is also clear that the prince bore the name Vishnuvardhana even by November 1098 A. D. He appears to have been governor for a few years since in imitation of the Chola fashion set up in Gangavadi by Rajendrachola, an agrahara was already granted, presumably at Belgoḷa, bearing the name Vishnuvardhana-Hoysala-Deva-Chaturvedi Māngalam. The same name appears in certain Kolār inscriptions of the thirteenth century which obviously refer to a different place. The agrahara referred to in the present record evidently was a local one in which a temple for Rama and Lakshmana was constructed. The prevalence of Vaishnavism at the time is gathered from the record as also from the name of the prince. If Sri Rāmaṇuja met him and converted him it may have been earlier than 1098 A. D. The Vaishnava Guruparamparās state that Rāmaṇuja stayed at Tonnur for a number of years and came into contact with a prince known as Tondanur-nambi who may be identified with Prince Vishnuvardhana, governor of the place.

The Vaishnava Guruparamparās mention that Sri Rāmaṇuja discovered the buried image of Tirunārāyaṇa at Melkoṭe and rebuilt his temple. This even is given varying dates most of which are incorrect according to Swamikamupillai's Ephimeris. The Vadagale Guruparamparā however gives a date which is correct, more correct than the others. The date is Thursday, the 14th of the bright half

of the month of Pushya of the year Bahudhanya, asterism punarvasu which is equivalent to 16th December, 1098 A. D. But in the Belgola inscription issued one month earlier, a private donor by name Tirunārāyaṇa is mentioned. This name with its prefix 'Tiru' for 'Sri' is in the Tamil form and shows Tamil influence. The man bearing the name may have been a grown up man of at least twenty or twenty five years to have been the donor. Since there is no other deity of that name any where in the neighbouring taluks, we shall not be far wrong in inferring that the donor bore the name of Tirunārāyaṇa, the God of Melkote, whose seat is directly north of Belgola by twenty miles. Thus we see that God Tirunārāyaṇa was well-known enough in the neighbouring taluks for children to be given his name even a generation earlier than 1098 A. D. He was an object of worship evidently many years before Rāmānuja offered him worship in January, 1099 A. D. or even before Sri Rāmānuja came to the Mysore country as a refugee. What Sri Rāmānuja appears to have discovered was a temple already in worship and perhaps in a dilapidated condition. Very probably he used his influence to rebuild or renovate the temple.

The inscription does not throw any direct light on Sri Rāmānuja's advent to Mysore. But as stated above it may safely be inferred on the evidence of the present epigraph that Vishnuvardhana Hoysala was already found as the Governor of Tonṇur when Rāmānuja visited the place, that he had granted an agrahara called Vishnu-Vardhana-Hoysala-Deva-Chaturvedi-Mangalam, that God Tirunārāyaṇa was already well-known and in worship by 1098 A. D., that Tamil influence and Vaishnava worship were already in existence in the neighbourhood. If any religious revolution did take place from Jainism to Vaishnavism under Rāmānuja's influence, it must have taken place some time before 1098 A. D.

THE SOMAKULI KINGS OF KOSALA AND UTKALA.

BY

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I. Genealogy.

The Brahmesvara and Balijhari inscriptions of Mahabhavagupta Udyotakesari corroborate each other from which the following genealogical table of the Somakuli kings of Kośala and Utkala is prepared and the name of Karṇakośari has been added to the list at the end from Sandhyākaranandin's *Ramacharita*.

Sivagupta's son	
1. Janamejya (Mahābhavagupta I)	
Kośala line.	Utkala line.
2. Yayāti (Mahaśivagupta II)	2. Vichitravira.
3. Bhimaratha (Mahābhavagupta II)	3. Name not known.
4. Dharmaratha (Mahaśivagupta III)	4. Abhimanyu.
Joint rulers of Kośala and Utkala.	
5. Naghuṣa (Mahābhavagupta III.)	
6. Chandihara <i>alias</i> Yayāti II (Mahaśivagupta IV) brother of 4.	
7. Udyotakesari (Mahābhavagupta IV).	
8. Karṇakośari.	

The above list differs from that given by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar who accepts Yayāti II of the Jatesinga Dungri copper plate as the founder of the family.¹ While reviewing Mr. R. D. Banerji's *History of Orrissa* Vol. I & II, Dr. Bhandarkar wrote the following in this connection :—

“But Banerji holds that the first king of this dynasty is Mahābhavagupta-Janamejaya and not his father Sivagupta. He, however, ignores in this connection an attributive occurring in the Jatesinga-Dhungri plates published by Mr. B. C. Mazumdar

1. L. I. N. I P. p. 403. ftn. 13.

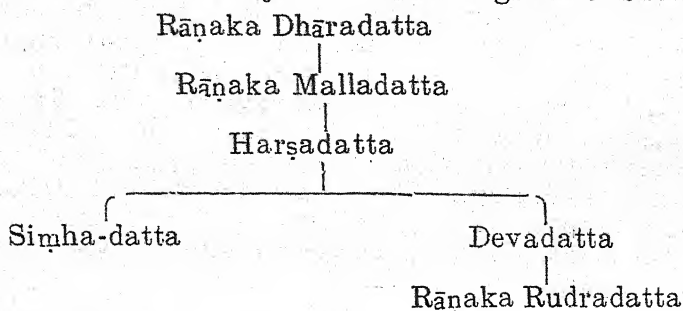
in J. B. O. R. S., Vol. II, page 52 ff which were issued by Mahāśivagupta-Yayātideva successor of Mahābhavagupta deva. The former speaks of himself here svabhujopārjjita-Trikāṇḍhipati; Lord of the Trikaṇḍa (country) acquired through his own arms. 'Evidently he was the first king of the dynasty of Trikaṇḍa, and must be taken as the father and not the son of Mahābhavagupta wrongly taken as the first king by Banerji. It is true that the Jatesinga-Dungri plates couple the titles of the supreme ruler not only with the son of Mahāśivagupta but also with the father, Mahābhavagupta. The first, however, made himself the founder of the Trikaṇḍa family. The father no doubt, was an overlord, but must have ruled elsewhere. There is a nominative termination after svabhujopārjjita-Trikāṇḍhipati which has been ignored, but which shows that it is an epithet of Mahāśivagupta. The transcript of Mr. Mazumdar is quite clear on the point, and is in entire agreement with the facsimile which accompanied his article.'²

On the other hand specific mention has been made in the inscriptions of the year 24 and 28 of Yayāti, the year 3 of Bhimaratha and the year 4 and 18 of Udyotakesari that Janamejaya was the founder of the family and Dr. Bhandarkar has ignored this point. When the contemporary family records give the name of Janamejaya Mahābhavagupta as the founder of the family, I think Mr. R. D. Banerji was right in taking Janamejaya as the founder of the family and Dr. Bhandarkar's argument on his own interpretation of the attributive Svabhujopārjjita-Trikāṇḍhipati is untenable on the grounds discussed below.

There are altogether 22 inscriptions of the Soma-Kuṇḍ Kings up to July 1942 and these are arranged in the appendix chronologically according to Balijhari and Brahmeswar inscriptions. Against the name of each ruler are given the year of the inscription, place of issue or the residence and name of the Sandhivigrahi. It is generally found that the post of the Sandhivigrahi is hereditary and in this dynasty the names of Sandhivigrahis help us to know the chronological position of each ruler. Pandit Binayak Misra discussed this point in the paper of Balijhari copper plate in 1930-31 and in his book entitled *'the Dynasties of Mediaeval Orissa'*. I have verified the names of Sandhivigrahis from the facsimile prints. The genealogical table given above is prepared from the inscriptions arranged according to the chronological order.

In the inscription of Janamejaya, Malladatta, son of Dhāradatta is the Sandhivigrahi. Malladatta is again found to be a Rāṇaka in the inscriptions dated the 31st year of the donor. The inscription No. 9—12 were issued with the knowledge of Sandhivigrahi Rāṇaka Dhāradatta and the inscription No. 13 of the year 28 of the donor

was issued by Sāndhivigrahi Siṃhadatta who is also the Sāndhivigrahi of Bhimaratha. It seems that Dhāradatta survived his son Malladatta and as he was very old, these grants were issued by Mahākṣapṭaṭika with his knowledge. Rudradatta was the son of Devadatta, the brother of Siṃhadatta and grandson of Harṣadatta. It seems that Harṣadatta was the son of Malladatta and so the genealogical table of the family of the Sāndhivigrahi is as follows :—



As Rudradatta served three kings named Naghusa Mahābhavagupta III, Yayāti II Mahāśivagupta IV and Udyotakeśari Mahābhavagupta IV, it seems that he began his service early and lived long just like his great-grand-father Dhāradatta.

It is interesting to find that the inscription Nos. 1557, 1570 and 1556 of Bhandarkar's list were issued in the 3rd year or reign of Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya, Mahābhavagupta II Bhimaratha and Mahāśivagupta IV Yayāti II respectively. When Janamejaya possesses the title of Trikaṇḍadhipati in his earliest record, it seems that he assumed it himself and not inherited it from his father Sivagupta or Mahāśivagupta.

The inscription of the year 8 of Janamejaya mentions Mahāśivagupta and other inscriptions mention Sivagupta who had no title of Trikaṇḍadhipati attached to his name. In the inscriptions Nos. 5-14 and 18 the title of Trikaṇḍadhipati occurs twice before the name of the donor, first in the genealogical portion and then in the text showing the Samvat or regnal year of the donor. In the inscriptions Nos. 10-14 the title of Trikaṇḍadhipati is found attached to the name of the predecessors of the donors. In the grant Nos. 16 this title only once occurs before the name of the donor and in the grant No. 17 the title has an epithet of Svabhujopārjita. The use of the title of Trikaṇḍadhipati without any epithet in all other inscriptions makes it difficult to explain the necessity of the new epithet in a single inscription and we must wait for the further discovery of similar inscriptions when it may be possible to find out any further clue to the significance of its use.

In the Jatesinga dungri copper plate of Yayāti II there are many new *virudas* which not found in the copper plates granted by his predecessors, and these *virudas* are all recorded in the

inscription before "Svabhujopārjita Trikaṇḍhipati". If Svabhujopārjita is separated from Trikaṇḍhipati, it cannot be connected with the preceding virudas which are really acquired Yayāti II: The *viruda* Trikaṇḍhipati was assumed by all his predecessors and even by his father. The only possible interpretation of Svabhujopārjita as an adjective to Trikaṇḍhipati seems to be this that the re-establishment of former powers of his predecessors along with his own conquest of countries after the attack of Rajendrachola is due to Yayāti II who perhaps was the head of the army during the life time of his father in whose copper plate the title of Trikaṇḍhipati was used according to the family tradition. When Yayāti II succeeded him he not only introduced the new *virduas* but put an adjective Svabhujopārjita to the family title Trikaṇḍhipati by virtue of his actual reconquest of the lost territories.

P.S.—In the Indian Historical Quarterly Vol. XX pp. 76-82 Dr. D. C. Sircar has published a paper on the genealogy of the Somakuli Kings, but it has not been possible for me to include his points in my paper.

Appendix—Chronological table of inscription of Somakuli kings.

No.	Name and title of the king with that of the pre- decessor.	No. of inscrip- tions.	Samvat.	Place of issue or residence.	Name of Mahasnadhi Vigrahi.	Reference in L. N. I. I. & E. I.
I	P. M. P. Sri Sivaguptadeva Padanudhata P. P. M. P. Somakulatilaka Trikalanga- dhipati Sri Mahabhava- gupta-rajadeva. The por- tion dealing with the Sam- vat records the name Sri Janamejayadeva.	1	3	Suvarnapura	Name not given ...	E. I. Vol. XI. p. 94. No. 1557.
	Same as No. 1 with Parames- vara before Sri Maha- bhavagupta-deva.	2	6	Murasima ...	Malla (datta) son of Dhara datta.	J. & P. A. S. B. Vol. I p. 12 No. 1558.
	Same as No. 1 ...	3	6	Do. ...	Do.	E. I. Vol. III. p. 341. No. 1559.
	P. M. P. Sri Mahasivagupta- rajadeva Padanudhyata and then follows as No. 1.	4	8	Do. ...	Ranaka Malla datta son of Dharadatta.	E. I. Vol. VIII. P. 141 No. 1560.
	Same as No. 1 but title of Trikalangadhipati is at- tached to the name Jana- mejaya in the portion of	5	17	Arama ...	Malladatta ...	E. I. Vol. XXIII. P. 248 f.

II	the text referring to Samvat.	...	6-8	31	Vijaya Kataka	Ranaka Malla datta	E. I. Vol. III. p. 3, 7 No. 1562-64.
	Do.	do.	9	8	Vinitapura Kataka.	Ranaka Dharadatta	J. & P. A. S. B. Vol. I P. 14 No. 1565.
	P. P. M. Sri Mahabhavagupta rajadeva Padanudhyayi P. P. M. P. Somakulatilaka Trikalingadhipati Sri Ma- hasivagupta rajadeva.— In the Samvat portion Trikalingadhipati is at- tached to Srimat Yayati devaraja.		10	9	Do.	...	E. I. Vol. III. p. 351. No. 1566.
	Same as No. 9 with the excep- tion that Trikingadhi- pati is attached to Maha- bhavagupta-rajadeva.		11	15	Do.	Do.	E. I. Vol. XI. p. 96 No. 1567.
	Same as No. 10	...	12	24	Yayatinagara	Do.	J. & P. A. S. B. p. 16 No. 1568.
III	Same as No. 10	...	13	28	Do.	Simhadatta	J. & P. A. S. B. Vol. I p. 19 No. 1569.
	P. P. M. P. Somakulatilaka Trikalingadhipati Maha- sivagupta-rajadeva Pada- nudhyata P. P. M. P. So- makula Tilaka-Trikalinga-		14	3	Do.	Do.	E. I. Vol. III. p. 356 No. 1570.

No.	Name and title of the king with that of the pre- decessor.	No. of inscrip- tions.	Sambat.	Place of issue or residence.	Name of Mahasradhi Vigrahi.	Reference in L. N. I. I. & E. I.
	dhapati Sri Mahabhava- gupta-rajadeva and in the portion of the Sambat P. P. M. P. S. T. are attached to the name Bhimaratha.	15	13	Yayatinagara	...	E. I. Vol. IV. p. 258 No. 1561.
IV	Mahasivagupta III Dharma- ratha.	...	...	...	...	No inscription.
V	Paramamahesvara Matapitri Padanudhyata Maharaja- dhiraia Paramesvara Par- amabhataraka Somakula- tilaka Trikingadhipati Sri Mahabhavagupta-rajac- deva. No title or name in the text referring to the Samvat.	16	11	Kesarakella- vijayakataka.	Rudradatta son of Devadatta.	E. I. Vol. XXII, p. 135- 138.
VI	Svabhujoparjita-Trikalingadhi- pati P. P. Sri Mahabhava- gupta Padanudhyata M. P. Pranamita Rajanyopase- vita Padaravinda Yugala	17	3	Suvarnapura	Ranaka Rudradatta son of Simha- datta's brother and G. S. of Harsa- datto.	J. B. & O. R. S. Vol. II No. 1576.

VII	Sri Mahasivagupta. No title in the portion of the text giving Samvat.	18	4	Yayatinagara	Rudradatta	...	J. B. & O. R. S. Vol. XVII. p. 15 No. 2076.
	P. P. M. P. S. T. Trikalinga- dhipati Sri Mahasivagupta- rajadeva Padanudhyata P. P. M. P. P. S. T. Trika- lingadhipati Sri Maha- bhavagupta-rajadeva Udyo- takesari rajadevah.	20	5	...	...	...	E. I. Vol. XIII. No. 1571.
	P. M. S. T. Udyotakesari ...	21	18	...	...	...	E. I. Vol. XIII. No. 1573.
	P. M. S. T. Trikalingsadhipati Srimad Udyotakesari Deva.	22	18	...	...	...	J. A. S. B. Vol. VII. p. 558. No. 1573.
		19	...	...	...	...	J. B. & O. R. S. Vol. XV. p. 209. No. 2077.

II. Chronology and Administration.

The verse 2 of the Brahmeswar temple inscription refers not only to the conquest of Odra by Janamejaya but also the capture of all the fortunes of the king of the Odra country. This reference of the conquest of Odra is corroborated by the Kaṭachuri inscriptions. The Kaṭachuri king Lakṣmaṇarāja of Dahala, son of Yuvarāja I, is said to have defeated the Lord of Kośaḷa (Kośaḷanātha) and took possession of jewels and gold which were obtained from the Odranripati.¹ This cross reference is very important for the date of the Somakoṭi kings as it furnishes an evidence that Janamejaya was the contemporary of Lakṣmaṇarāja.

In verse 3 of the above inscription Yayāti has been described as a king who possessed the seven attributes of the king—Septaṅgarājyesvara—from which it can be inferred that he was a powerful king. In his copper plate of the year 8 Yayāti is said to have defeated *Chedis* and made *Dahala* uninhabited.² It seems that after Janamejaya's defeat at the hands of Lakṣmaṇarāja, Yayāti took revenge and subdued Chedinātha. On this identification it can be inferred that Janamejaya and Yayāti flourished in the second quarter of the 10th century A. D.

In verse 6 of the Brahmeswar inscription it is found that after the death of Dharmaratha, his kingdom was devastated by various warriors. In the Tamil inscriptions of the years 13, 16, 17, and 19 of Rajendra Choḷa, Dharmaratha has been mentioned³. By this identification we are now in definite footing to know the date of Dharmaratha who died before 1025 A. D. and from this date the period of rule of the Somakoṭi kings of Kośaḷa and Utkāḷa can be ascertained with much accuracy.

In connection with the date of Somakoṭi kings the views of the previous writers are quoted or abridged below.

Fleet made a thorough study of the palaeographic considerations and came to the following conclusion :—

“The general result of the palaeographic considerations taken together, is, that these records cannot possibly be placed before A. D. 900. They may belong to any later period. But on the whole, I should say that the charters are of the 11th century and that the kings mentioned in them are to be placed somewhere between A. D. 1000 and 1100.”⁴

These arguments fully corroborates our conclusion which is now based on the date then wanting.

1. D. H. N. I, Vol. II, p. 764.

2. J. & P. A. S. B., Vol. I., p. 7.

3. J. I. H. 1941, p. 1-11.

4. E. I. Vol. III, 1894-95, p. 333.

Kielhorn writes that "th s inscription cannot have been written earlier than about first half of the 12th century⁵ A. D. Kielhorn's view is found to be far from truth.

Ganagamahan Laskar did not discuss the date of the inscriptions which he edited in the Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal Vol. 1. in 1905.

Hiralal accepted the views of Fleet and so also B. C. Mazumdar in E. I. Vol. XI.

Pandit Binayak Misra's views are quoted below :—

"If Janamejaya be placed in the last decade of the 9th century A. D., the commencement of Yayāti II's reign falls between 960-70⁶ A. C." In order to arrive at this date he allotted 26 years to Janamejaya, 24 years to Yayāti I, 10 years to Bhimaratha and 10 years to Dharmaratha and Nahuṣa and got 70 years after the date of Janamejaya. Elsewhere he writes that "Udyotakeshari may be assigned to the beginning of the 11th Century⁷ A. C." He again has discussed the date of Somakuḷi kings in his book entitled "*Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*" at pages 71-74 and writes that Udyotakeshari can be assigned therefore to 1020 A. D. at the latest and allotting 25 years for his precessors he suggests the date of Janamejaya is 895 (wrongly printed 995).

Dr. H. C. Ray writes as follows on the date of these inscriptions :—

"As we have dates recorded of his (Janamejaya) reigns upto the 31st year, we can approximately assign him to the period 975-1010 A.D. If this period for him is correct, he may have been the *Kosalanatha* who was defeated by Tripuri Kaḷachuri Lakṣmaṇarāja".⁸

"As his (Yayati's) grants record his 28th year, he may have flourished during the period c. 1010-1050 A.D. He was thus a contemporary of Rājendra Coḷa, and must have witnessed the later's northern expedition, which was undertaken sometime between 1022 and 1025⁹ A.D."

On the date of Bhimaratha, Dr. Ray writes "His inscriptions show that he ruled for at least 13 years. On palaeographical evidence we may refer him approximately to the period 1050 to 1075 A. D."¹⁰

5. *Ibid*, Vol. IV, 1896 97, p. 256.

6. J. B. & O. R. S. Vol XVII, p. 14.

7. *Ibid*, p. 12.

8. D. H. N. I. Vol. I, 1931, p. 401.

9. *Ibid*, p. 405.

10. *Ibid*, p. 405.

The above assumptions of Pandit B. Misra and Dr. H. C. Ray are untenable for reason that Bhimaratha's successor Dharmaratha was living before 1025 A. D. and so the period of rule of his predecessors Janamejaya, Yayāti and Bhimaratha is undoubtedly earlier than 1025 A. D. The total of actual years of reign of Janamejaya, Yayāti I and Bhimaratha is $(31+28+13)$ 72 years and if we take it as 75, we get the earliest date of Janamejaya as 950 A. D. by deducting 75 from 1025 or a decade earlier. This date is corroborated by that assigned long ago by Dr. Fleet approximately. As the name of the king of Odradeśa who was defeated by Janamejaya, is not given, it is not possible to know about the dynasty to which he belonged. It is not definitely known if this vanquished king Odra belong to the Bhauma dynasty or to some other dynasty after the fall of the Bhaumas. The copper plate inscriptions go to prove that there were Bhanja, Tunga, Sthambha, Nanda and Varāha families in Orissa in the period who had no royal titles such as Paramamahesvara Paramabhattacharaka etc., but they issued copper plate grants. The mention of Siḷābhanjapati¹¹ Viṣaya in Odra in the inscription of Yayāti suggests that the Bhanja rulers were there before the advent of the Somakuli kings in Orissa as the name of the Viṣaya is derived from the name of Siḷā Bhanja. The dates 288 and 293 of the copper plates of Raṇabhanja Deva of Khijjingakotta (Modern Khiching in Mayurbhanj) gives us the dates 894 A. D. 899 A. D. according to the calculation of the Harṣa era. On the other hand we get the date of one of the copper plate grant of Dandimahadevi of the Bhauma dynasty as 187 which gives us the date of the grant as 793-94 A. D. according to Harṣa era as accepted by Pandit B. Misra¹² and Dr. R. C. Mazumdar.¹³

As no other inscriptions of the Bhauma kings after Dandi Mahadevi is known, there is no harm to suppose that the Bhauma dynasty ceased to rule after her and as there was no supreme authority in the beginning of the 9th century A. D. in Toṣaḷa or Utkala. Govinda III of the Rāstrakuta family (who ruled from 794-813¹⁴ A. D.) is said to have invaded Orissa and this invasion perhaps crushed the Bhauma power in Toṣaḷa. In the 1st. decade of 9th century Devapāla of the Pala dynasty of Gauda defeated the Utkalas of S. W. Bengal.¹⁵ From Tārānāth's account it is found that there was political chaos in Orissa in the 9th century A. D. when several ruling families tried to maintain their independence. The copper plate grants of Bhanja, Sthambha etc., fully support the account of Tārānātha about the condition of

11. E. I. Vol. III, p. 351.

12. Orissa under the Bhauma kings, p. 78-79.

13. Out line of the History of the Bhanja kings of Orissa, p. 21.

14. E. I. Vol. III, App. II, p. 3.

15. Pala of Bengal, p. 56.

of Orissa in the early part of the 9th century A. D. and so the conquest of Orissa by Janamejaya from west was not at all a difficult thing.

The date of the successors of Dharmaratha namely Nahuṣa Yayāti II and Udyotakeśari can thus be assigned to a period later than 1025 A. D. and if we allot 45 to 50 years, we get the date of Udyotakeśari somewhere in 1070 A. D. The inscriptions of Yayāti II and Udyotakeśari make reference to their power and conquest. It is found from the description of the route of expedition of Rajendra Choḷa that there were several small but powerful principalities situated in the region of the N. E. of Chakrakotta in Baster and to the S. W. of the river Ganges in Bengal. Let us see what was the political condition of eastern India from 1025 to 1125 A. D. and how it helped the consolidation of power of Yayāti II and Udyotakeśari:

I. On the Bengal and Bihar frontier there were the following Pala kings:—

Mahipāla I (c. 992-1040 A.D.), Nayapāla (c. 1040-1055 A.D.) Vigrahapāla III (c. 1055-1081 A.D.) and Rāmapāla (c. 1014-1126 A.D.)¹⁶

II. On the *Central Provinces side* there were (a) Kalachurl Kings of Tuhmaṇa and (b) Dahala.

(a) Kings of Tuhmana are Kamalarāja who defeated the *Utkalanripa*, Ratnarāja I, Prithvirāja (1079 A. D.) and Jajalla deva I (1114 A. D.)¹⁷

Kings of Dahala are Gāngeyadeva Vikramāditya (C. 1030-41 A. D.) who defeated the ruler of Utkāḷa, Lakṣmi-Karṇa (C. 1041-70 A. D.), Yasakarṇa (C. 1073-1125 A. D.)¹⁸

III. On the Kalinga or southern side are the Ganga kings of Kalinganagara such as Vajrahasta V. (C. 1038-70 A. D.) who assumed the title of Trikingādhpati, Rājārāja I (1070-76) who defeated the king of Utkāḷa and Kosala* and Anantavarma Chodaganga (1076-1147 A. D.) who finally occupied Orissa from the last Keśari king.¹⁹

16. D. H. N. I., Vol. I, p. 785.

17. *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 818.

18. *Ibid*, p. 813.

*Dr. Ray writes at page 461 that "The Utkala or (Odda) ruler was probably one of the later karas of Tasali while the ruler of Kosala was possibly a scion of the Somavamsis of that country." But this is not tenable as we find that there was only one king in Utkala and Kosala in that time.

19. *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 501.

It seems that the king of Utkala who was defeated by Kamalaraja of Tuhmana and Gangeyadeva Vikramaditya of Dahala and Vajrahasta of Kalinganagara, was the same person as the elder brother of Nahusa who was jointly attacked by Haihayas of Tuhmana and Dahala, and then by the Ganga king Vjrahasta ; and this date may be assigned to a period a little before 1040 A.D. During this attack the kings of Dahala and Kalinganagara occupied a portion of Utkala and Kosala and such an occupation is proved by the use of the title of Trikalingadhipati by Laksmikarna, the son of Gangeyadeva of Dahala, and vajrahasta V. After the attack of the Kalachuris and the Gangas Nahusa occupied the throne of Utkala but there was no king in Kosala. The Balijhari copper plate of Udyotakesari mentions about Nahusa's rule in Utkala but the Brahmeswar inscription is silent about him.

The verse 7 of the Brahmeswar inscription mentions that Chandihara was made king by all the ministers and the verse 8 mentions that he ably administered both the kingdoms. The contents of verse 8 are found in the verses written in lines 21 to 25 of the Balijhari inscription of Udyatakesari.

The Ganga king Rajaraja I defeated the king of Utkala or Odra in 1075-70 A. D. and so the period of 35 years is to be allotted for the reign of Nahusa, Yayati II and Udyotakesari. In this period no powerful kings are found in Gauda, Tuhmana, Dahala and Kalinga and therefore it seems that Yayati II and Udyotakesari both were able to recover the position lost by their predecessors. The Jatesinga Dungri copper plate grant of Yayati II shows that he enjoyed supremacy over many kingdoms. The Balijhari inscription of Udyotakesari of the 4th year does not mention his special activity, but the verse 9 and 10 of the Brahmesvara inscription are very eloquent in citing his famous deeds and illustrious character and the conquest of Dahala and Gauda* and then the subjugation of many other kings. The copper plate grant of Yayati II and Udyotakesari were issued from Suvarnapura and Yayatinagara respectively and it is inferred that their capital was in the western Orissa. Taking advantage of this long distance, a ruler of Odra probably belonging to the Bhanja dynasty tried to establish independence but was again subdued by Udyotakesari. The construction of the Brahmesvara temple by his mother at Bhubaneswar goes to show that he had his capital in eastern Orissa in the 18th year of his reign. So it seems that the period of rule of Yayati II and Udyotakesari was most glorious.

*The text was read as *Simhalam Chodagaudau* in verse 10 of the Brahmesvara inscription, but the impression gives the reading of *Duhalam-chodra-gaudau*. I have prepared a revised text of Brahmesvara inscription which will be published in some Journal,

As no interpretation has been given by any one of the Virudas of the Jatesinga Dhungri inscription, it is given below :—The text of Jatesinga dungri copper plate (Murajamara character of Mahasivagupta Yayati) is in prose from the beginning to the end excluding the imprecatory verses and it resembles Kadamvari in style. Mr. B. C. Mazumdar was not able to decipher correctly the text, but due to his physical infirmities under which he undertook the task he deserves full admiration of all. The correct reading of the Virudas of Yayati II is given below :—

“Atiṣayorjjita-pratāpa-bhāraṇanata-samasta nṛpati-Kadamva*-chudāmani-parichumbita pāda-pītha Prathitaneka-Naḷa-Nahuṣa-Mandhātṛi-Dilipa-Bharata Bhagirathādi rāja-charitah-karnāta-Lāta-Gurjaresvara dahajvara†-bhu-vitakaḷatraḥ Kāñchi-Kalāpā-bharana lampatah Kalinga-Kongadotkaḷaka-Kośala-svayaṃvara-prasidha Gauda Rādhāṃvara-prakaraṣanodghāta mārutah Sītāṃsuvaṃśa vimalāṃvara-purnachandrah svabhujoparjitta Trikaḷiṅgādhipati Paramamāheswara Paramabhattacharakah Sri Mahābhavagupta-pādānudyāta Mahārājādhirāja Parameswara Praṇamita-rājanyo-pasevita-pādaravinda-yugalaḥ Sri Mahāśivagupta Sri Yayatideva.”

The Virudas and the translation thereof of the text quoted above are noted below ;—

1. Atiṣayorjjita-pratāpa-bhāraṇanata-samasta-nṛpati Kadamva-chudāmani-parichumbita-pādapītha.

Yayati's footstool is kissed by the crest-jewels of the group feudatory kings who were subdued by the exceedingly powerful prowess.

2. Prathitaneka-Naḷa-Nahuṣa-Māndhatri-Dilipa-Bharata-Bhagirathādirajacharitah'.

Who in character resembles such renowned kings as Nala, Nahuṣa, Māndhātṛa, Dilipa, Bharata and Bhagiratha.

3. Karnāta-Lāta-Gurjaresvara-dahajvara-bhu-vita Kaḷatra-Kāñchi-Kalāpā-bharana-lampatah.

*Mr. Mazumdar's reading is Kurumba, but the vowel sing if 'K' is not found in the facsimile of the plate and the letter 'da' is clear.

†Mr. Mazumdar read 'Dahajvart' and he suggested it to be the 'Dravidajaya'. But the reading of Dahajvaro is clear. In *Subhasitaratna bhandagaram*, p. 112. There is a verse on one Hamira which runs as follows:—“Garva garñthila-Gurjara-jvarkarah Karnnata-Karnatavi davagnir dravidendra-vijaya dalao-Gaudendra nidrohara”. The association of jvara (fever) attributed by poets to Gujjara is thus corroborated.

‡It was read as 'Kanat'

I verified the plate in January, 1944 at Patna and the 're' is written below the line between the space 'rja' and 'sva'. Dr. D. C. Sircar has also given a correct reading of the passage in the *Indian Historical quarterly* vol. XIX, 1944, p. 81-82.

Who, as the *lampatah*, has taken away the ornaments such as *Kanchi*, and *Kalapa* of the girdle of the chasteless lady earth belonging to the king who was the scorching fever of the kings of Karnāta, Lāta and Gurjara countries.

In simple language he conquered the lands of the king who was overlord of Karnāta, Lāta and Gurjara. This passage perhaps refers to the conquest of Yayāti of the lands owned by the Kalachuri kings of Dāhala.

4. Kalinga-Kongodatkaḷaka-kośaḷa-svayamvara-prasidha who was the supreme lord in svayamvara (election) by the people of Kalinga, Kongada, Utkala and Kośaḷa.

This fact is evident from the Balijhari copper plate grant and the Brahmeswar inscription.

5. Gauda-Rādhāmvara-prokars, Manodghāta Mārutah. Who like the strong wind, blown off the (clothes) of the ladies of Gauda and Rādha.

This viruda has a bearing on the conquest of Gauda and Rādha countries.

6. Sitaṁśu Vaṁśa-vimalamvara-purna chandra'=who is the fullmoon of the dynasty of the moon.

7. Svabhujopārjita Trikaḷiṅgādhipati,'=who has become the lord of Trikaḷinga by the conquest of his own arms.

8. Paramamaheswarah Paramabhāttarakah, Sri Mahābhanugupta pādanudhyata Mahārājādhirāja Paramesvara=who is Mahārājādhirāja Paramesvara and who meditates on the feet of Paramamahesvara, Paramabhāttaraka Sri Mahābhavagupta,

9. Pranamita-rajanyopasevita Padāravinda Yugala' whose lotus-like feet is worshipped by the princes while bowing down their heads.

10. Sri Mahāśivagupta Sri Yayātidevah kusali. His name is Mahasivagupta Yayātideva who, lives in peace.

The attributives '*Lampatah*' '*Svayamvara-prasiddha*' and '*Amvara-prokarsanodghata-maruta*' under 4, 5, and 6 above respectively seem to be eulogistic but real and similar to the attributives of Yuvarājadeva I Keyurvarṣa of the Kalachuri dynasty of Dāhala or Tripuri as are met with in the text of the Bilhari inscription which is quoted below for the sake of comparison.

Keyurvarṣa "who fulfilled the ardent wishes of the minds of the women of Gauda, who was a deer to sport on those pleasure hills the breasts of the camels of Karnāta and ornamented the fore-head of the women of Lāta."²¹

According to the light of above interpretation the attributes of Yayati II do not seem to be entirely hollow and high sounding as interpreted by Mr. B. C. Mazumdar²² and R. D. Banerji.²³

“ON THE IDENTIFICATION OF HARIKELA”

BY

DR. P. C. CHAKRAVARTI, Mayurbhanj.

Harikela¹ as the name of a geographical area or political unit is mentioned in a number of ancient and medieval works, in the accounts of the Chinese pilgrim, I-tsing, and in at least three inscriptions of early medieval Bengal. Regarding its identification, however, scholars seem to hold most divergent views. According to one school of opinion it was synonymous with Vanga;² according to another it was “the coastland between Samatata and Orissa”.³ One writer has identified it with “some portion of Bakerganj and Noakhali districts”,⁴ another with Chittagong,⁵ and still another with “a tract roughly covering the southern part of the district of Tipperah”.⁶

Among the authorities which mention Harikela as a definite geographical or political unit, the earliest in date is the account of the Chinese pilgrim, I-tsing (c. 673-95 A. D.). In his work entitled *Kau-fa-kao-sang-chuen*, I-tsing mentions two Chinese priests who visited O-li-ki-lo or A-li-ki-lo (=Harikela) in eastern India. One of them, named Tan-Kwang, is said to have found such favour with “the king or that country” that, having “got a temple built and

22 J. B. & O. R. S., Vol. II p. 50.

23. *History of Orissa*. Vol. I. p. 217-18.

1. Harikela (Chittagong Pl. of Kantileva, *Modern Review*, 1922, pp. 621 ff., Harikeli (Hemacandra, *Abhidhana-chintamani*, v. 257), Harikeli *Kalpadrakosa*. G. O. S., Vol. I, No. XIII, p. 7; Harikella (Foucher, *Icon. Boud. l'Inde*, Vol. I, p. 200), Harikola (Dacca University M.S. No. 1451, folio 15A; No. 2141B, fol. 1) appear to be variants of the same name.

2. *Modern Review*, Nov., 1922, p. 613; I. H. Q. II, 322; *ibid.* XIX, 220.

3. *History of Bengal*, Vol. I (University of Dacca), pp. 134-5.

4. P. L. Paul, *Early History of Bengal*, Vol. I, pp. III-IV.

5. N. K. Bhattasali, *Ananda Bazar Patrika*, Saradiya Smukhya, 1353 B. S.

6. I. H. Q. XX, 5.

books and images" procured, he continued to stay there till his death.¹ Another named Wu-hing (Prajñadeva) stayed there for one year before he went to Mahābodhi and Nālandā.² Both these priests came to Harikela by the southern sea-route, the *latter journeying from Ceylon in a north east direction for a month.*

This is a definite statement of which the full significance does not seem to have been recognised by scholars. A voyage from Ceylon to the Bengal coast in those days usually took a much shorter period than a month. Pliny, who probably based his account on the Indica of Megasthenes, writes that whereas "in former days" the island of Ceylon was thought to be twenty days' sail "from the country of the Prasioi", the distance came afterwards to be reckoned at seven days' sail, according to the rate of speed of our ships".³ In the early years of the fifth century A. D., Fa-hien embarked on board a merchant vessel at Tāmralipti and sailed to Ceylon, the voyage taking "fourteen days and nights". It is not unreasonable to hold, therefore, that in the seventh century also a voyage from Tāmralipti to Ceylon or *vice versa* did not normally take more than a fortnight. I-tsing himself does not say so in clear language; but he makes certain statements in connection with his own voyage and that of another Chinese priest named Hiuen-ta which strengthen the above inference. Hiuen-ta was a priest of Kung-chow, who came to India by the southern sea-route. We are told that he first went to Sri-bhoja; thence to Quedah; then to the "country of the naked men", which has been rightly identified with the Nicobar island; and then "going for half a month in a north-west direction," he came to Tāmralipti.⁴ I-tsing himself followed the same route in his journey to India, and the time he took in reaching Tāmralipti from the Nicobar islands was also the same.⁵ Now, the distance between the Nicobar islands and the Ganges mouth is virtually the same as that between the Ganges mouth and Ceylon. The conclusion is, therefore, irresistible that the normal period required by a sea-going vessel reaching the Bengal coast from Ceylon was about a fortnight. But Wu-hing, according to the testimony of I-tsing, took double that time—a month—in his journey from Ceylon to Harikela. It is permissible to infer, therefore, that Harikela was not a coastal country as most writers on the subject assert⁶, but lay considerably farther inland.

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1. Beal, *Life*, Introd. xxxix.
 2. *Ibid.* xxxi; Takakusu, Introd. xlv.
 3. McCrindle, *Ancient India*, p. 103.
 4. Beal, *Life*, Introd. p. xxx.
 5. Takakusu, Introd. xxxi.
 6. E. g. Mr. P. L. Paul says:—"It was a coastal country and there was direct communication between Harikela and Ceylon" (E. H. B. I.,

This inference derives additional strength from certain other relevant statements of I-tsing. He says, for instance, that whereas Tamralipti formed the "southern limit" of East India¹, Harikela constituted its "eastern limit"², and that the former lay some "forty *yojanns* south (south-west) from the eastern limit of Indla".³ In other words, Harikela was situated some forty *yojanas* to the north (north-east ?) of Tamralipti, and as such could not possibly be a coastal country.

The distance of forty *yojanas*, as mentioned by I-tsing, can not, however, be reduced to terms of modern measurement. The reason for this is that the extent of I-tsing's *yojana* cannot be determined with any precision. I find no authority for the statement made by some recent writers that Harikela was 100 *yojanas* to the east Nālandā.⁴ All that I-tsing says is that Tamralipti was about 60 *yojanas* from Mahābodhi and Nālandā⁵, and Harikela some forty *yojanas* to the north (north-east ?) of Tamralipti. From this it does not follow that Harikela was 100 *yojanas* from Nālandā. On the contrary, I-tsing makes the following remark in describing the distance between Nālandā and the eastern frontier of India: "Going east from the Nālandā monastery 500 *yojanas*, all the country is called the Eastern Frontier".⁶ As Harikela lay along the eastern frontier ("eastern limit of East-India"), its distance from Nālandā, according to I-tsing, should be somewhere in the neighbourhood of these 500 *yojanas*. What these 500 *yojanas* will come up to in terms of modern measurement is extremely doubtful. It is clear, however, that if any reliance is to be placed on I-tsing's account, we must look for Harikela considerably to the north-east of Tamralipti, probably in the modern districts of Sylhet, Tippera, Mymensingh and Decca. From the wide geographical limits thus indicated we may exclude those regions (e. g. a large part of Tippera) which are known to have formed a part of Samatāṭa, for I-tsing seems

Introd. p. iv). Mr. D. C. Bhattacharyya writes:—"Harikela's proximity to the sea indicated by Wu-hing's account precludes the possibility of its lying farther up in the north" (I. H. Q. XX, 2). Dr. R. C. Majumdar also appears to share the same view. (See *History of Bengal* (Dacca University), Vol. I, pp. 134-5).

1. Takakusu, Introd. xxxi.

2. Beal, *Life*, Introd. xxxi; Takakusu, Introd. xlv.

3. Takakusu, Introd. xxxiii. I-tsing's directions are not always exact. For instance, he says that in his journey from Tamralipti to Nālandā and Mahābodhi, he travelled "westwards", taking the road which goes "straight to the west", Takakusu, Introd. xxxi.

4. See P. L. Paul, *Early History of Bengal*, I, Introd. III-IV; I. H. Q. XX, 2.

5. Beal, *Life*, Introd. xxx; Takakusu, Introd. xxxiii.

6. Takakusu, Introd. p. 9.

to have known it as a distinct or separate territorial unit, as is evidenced by his reference to it in connection with the itinerary of another Chinese priest named Sang-chi.¹

II

Of the other texts bearing on the subject under discussion much is made of a statement contained in Hemacandra's *Abhidāna-cintāmaṇi* (12th century A. D.), which identifies Harikela with Vaṅga (*Vaṅgastu Harikelīyāh*).² As Vaṅga is usually taken to mean Central and East Bengal with the Dhaleswari on the north, the Meghna on the east, the Madhumati on the west and the sea towards the south. most recent writers point to this region, on the strength of the above statement of Hemacandra, as the country of Harikela.³ In other words, their contention appears to be that the kingdom of Harikela did not comprise any regions to the east of the Meghna and lay wholly on the west of that river. Two considerations, however, militate against this supposition. One of these is I-tsing's mention of Samatāṭa, and his concurrent and specific statement that Harikela was situated along the eastern frontier of East India. Taken together, this would mean that the latter stretched in certain part at any rate even beyond Samatāṭa towards the east. Now, if, as is well known, Samatāṭa included large parts of the Tippera district, the conclusion becomes irresistible that Harikela, which in all probability extended eastward even beyond Samatāṭa, must have included extensive regions to the east of the Meghna.

The other consideration which militates against the view, referred to above, is the indefiniteness and elasticity of Vaṅga as a geographical appellation. The frontiers of Vaṅga, it is well known, varied from age to age. One ancient authority, for instance, makes it extend westward beyond the Hooghly so as to include Tamralipti (Tamluk),⁴ while another authority, (Yaśodhara), belonging to a later age (the thirteenth century), places it eastward beyond the Brahmaputra (*Vaṅga Lohityat purvena*).⁵ As Hemacandra flourished in the twelfth century, it is not improbable that geographical traditions (not facts) were much the same in his time as in that Yaśodhare. In other words, it is not impossible that Hemacandra believed, as Yaśodhara did, that Vaṅga included vast tracts of the

1. Beal, *Life*. Introd. xxx.

2. Abhi, p. 382; Yadava-prakasa's *Vaijayanti* (Oppert, p. 37, L. 62) also contains the same statement.

3. I. H. Q. XIX, 220.

4. The Jaina Upaṅga styled the *Prajnapana* mentions Tamralipti as a city of the Vangas. See *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, (University of Dacca, p. 15).

5. The *Jayamangala* of Yasodhara, edited by Damodara Goswami. (VI, 5, 25; p. 294).

plains lying to the east of the old course of the Brahmaputra, and possibly to the east of the Meghna as well. And if that were so, there is no contradiction between I-tsing and Hemacandra, between the former's clear indications and the latter's nebulous statement. In any case, as Hemacandra does not define either the frontiers of Vaṅga or those of Harikela, it will be unsafe to build any theory merely on the basis of his statement.

III

Of the other texts bearing on this subject, some are of direct, and some of indirect importance. We quote below a few of these so that the reader may judge for himself whether they contradict or corroborate the hypothesis we have tried to set forth above :

- (१) जय पूर्वदिगङ्गनाभुजङ्ग चम्पा-चम्पकपूर्णं
लीलानिर्जितराढादेश विक्रमाक्रान्तकामरूपस्य
हरिकेली - केलिकारक अवमानित - कर्णसुवर्णदान
Karpūra-mañjuri (New Ed. p. 13).

- (२) असुराणां भवेद् वाचा गौडपौण्ड्रोद्भवा सदा ।
यथा गौडजनश्रेष्ठं रुतं शब्दविभूषितम् ॥
.....
यत्त्राक्षसप्रेतानां नागांश्चापि सपूतनाम् ।
सर्वेषामसुरपक्षाणां वङ्गसामतयाश्रयात् ॥
हरिकेले कलशमुख्ये च चर्मरङ्गे ह्यशेषतः ।
सर्वेषां जनपदां वा तथा तेषां तु कल्पेत् ॥
Ārya-mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa (T. S. S. No. LXX), pp. 232-3.

- (३) तथा वङ्गे समा जाता या वाचा प्रवर्तते ।
किन्नराणां तथा वाचा सा वाचा परिकल्पिता ॥
.....
ऋषीणां तु कामरूपी तु वाचा विश्वरूपिणाम् ।
पञ्चाभिज्ञं तु सा वाचा ऋषीणां परिकल्पिता ॥
या तु सामातटी वाचा या च वाचा हरिकेलिका ।
अव्यक्तां स्फुटां चैव ङकारपरिनिश्चिता ॥
Ibid p. 332.

- (४) त्रिपुरस्य वधे काले रुद्रस्याक्षोऽपतंस्तु ये ।
अश्रवो विन्दवस्ते तु रुद्राक्षा अमवन् भुवि ॥
मुद्रवामाक्षिसम्भूतं रुद्राक्षं कामरूपके ।
दाक्षेणाक्ष्यश्रुसम्भूतं हरिकोलोद्भवं विदुः ॥

The extract quoted from the Karpūramañjuri seems to imply that Rāḍha, Kāmarūpa, Karna-suvarṇa and Harikeli were all eastern countries and yet separate from one another. The verses cited from the Ārya-Mañjuśrī mūlakalpa further suggest that Harikela as a geographical entity was different from Gauḍa, Paundra and Kāmarūpa on the one hand, Carmaraṅga (Karmaraṅga), Samataṭa and Vaṅga on the other, and yet was adjacent to the last two (*Vaṅga-samatatasrayat . Harikele*). Obviously the Vaṅga of the Ārya-Mañjuśrī-Mūlakalpa was not the Vaṅga of Hemacandra's conception. Karmaraṅga has been defined in another verse as an island where cocoa-nut trees grew in plenty (*Karmaraṅgakhya-dvipesu ladikerasamudbhava*). It is thus difficult to see what other area could have been meant by Harikela apart from the one we have indicated above, viz., the modern district of Sylhet and the territories adjoining it towards the west and the south-west forming parts of the districts of Tippera, Dacca and Mymensingh.

But the two verses cited from the Rudrākṣa-māhātmya clinch the issue still further. Here the god Rudra is spoken of as shedding tears; and tears issuing from his left eye are said to have dropped on Kāmarūpa and got condensed into one variety of Elacocarpus ganitrus, while those issuing from his right eye fell on Harikola (or Harikela) and were solidified into another species of this berry. We may well imagine that as is the case of a man, so in the case of the god, there was a nose between the two eyes. This nose or nasal barrier was obviously constituted by the range of hills now known as the Garo and the Khasi Hills. To the north of this range lay the kingdom of Kāmarūpa, to the south lay the territory called Harikela or Harikola. This is quite in consonance with what we learn from I-tsing. But to leave no room for doubt, as it were, the scribe of the Rudrākṣa-māhātmya has added the note: '*Harikolah Srihattadesah*'.

A similar Statement identifying Harikela with Srihaṭṭa has also been traced in another work—a lexicon in manuscript—entitled Rūpacintāmaṇi composed in Saka 1515; A. D. 1593 (Dacca University Ms. No. 1451, fol. 15a). The author of this work, Yādavananda Dāsa, was himself an inhabitant of Sylhet, and there can hardly be any doubt that a genuine tradition identifying Harikola with Srihaṭṭa survived in the district down to the end of the sixteenth century. Could a tradition of this kind grow and continue unless there was some solid historical fact behind it?

It may be argued that the texts mentioned above refer to Harikola and not Harikela or Harikeli, and therefore no conclusion regarding the identification of the latter can be drawn from them. To this an answer is provided by another work called Kalpadrukoṣa (G. O. S. Vol. I, p. 7), which contains the same line as in the Rūpacintāmaṇi, but with the reading Harikeli for Harikola (*Srihatto Harikelih Syaechrhato pi kvacid-bhavet*). It is clear therefore, that Harikela and Harikola were interchangeable terms,

and were used indiscriminately to denote the same geographical area. It is also clear that the modern district or Sylhet was included in the ancient kingdom of Harikela. But besides Sylhet, Harikela in all probability comprised portions of other neighbouring districts which lay to the east of the Brahmaputra. It is also not improbable that the frontiers of Harikela, like the frontiers of Vaṅga, varied from age to age, and that Sylhet was the region to which the name clung before it went out of existence.

IV

Before we conclude, it is necessary to examine what bearings the proposed identification of Harikela has on the history of Kāntideva and the Candras. As already stated, Harikela as the name of a kingdom or geographical unit occurs in three inscriptions of early medieval Bengal. Of these the earliest in date is the unfinished Chittagong Plate of Mahārājādhirāja Kāntideva, which has been assigned on paleographical grounds roughly to the period 850-950 A. D. It appears from this inscription that Kāntideva was the ruler of a territorial division called Harikelā-maṇḍala unless, of course, *maṇḍala* has been used here in the Kauṭilyan sense of a "(circle of states)", and that his headquarters (*vijaya-skandhavana*) was at a place called Vardhamānapura. On the supposed identification of Vardhamānapura with modern Burdwan and of Harikela with the "coastland between Samatāṭa and Orissa", Dr. R. C. Majumdar has propounded the theory that Kāntideva's kingdom comprised "a portion of south and west Bengal."¹ It may be pointed out, however, that the evidence in favour of locating Harikela along the eastern frontier of Bengal is too strong to be lightly brushed aside, and Vardhamānapura, being a popular name for cities in ancient times,² may have been the designation of a township in Eastern Bengal of which all memory has lost. In any case, the mere mention of Vardhamānapura as the "camp of victory" of Kāntideva does not, in our view, justify the assumption that his authority extended from the "eastern limit of East India" to so far west as modern Burdwan. There is no evidence to support the contention that he wielded sway over so extensive an area. On the

1. *History of Bengal* (Dacca University), Vol. I, pp. 134-5. A little later, however, Dr. Majumdar writes: "It is very likely that Kāntideva flourished during the decadent period that set in after the death of Devapala, and took advantage of the weakness of the central authority to found an independent kingdom in Eastern Bengal. Ultimately he extended his authority over Southern Bengal and probably even a part of Western Bengal". (ib. p. 135). If Harikelā-maṇḍala was "the coastland between Samatāṭa and Orissa", and Vardhamānapura identical with modern Burdwan, it is difficult to see how Kāntideva founded a kingdom in Eastern Bengal.

2. See B. C. Sen, *Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal*. (1942), pp. 60-61.

contrary, the fact that he addresses the future rulers of Harikela mandala seems to prove that his rule was confined to that territorial division only.

The two other inscriptions which mention Harikela as a territorial designation are the Rampāl and Dhulīa Plates of Sri-candra,¹ assigned on paleographical grounds to the close of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century. The passage in which the name occurs is written in a highly ornate and involved style; but it has such an important bearing on the history of the Candra dynasty that it is better to quote it before we proceed further in our discussion. The passage runs thus:

आधारो हरिकेल-राजककुद च्चत्रस्मितानां स्त्रियां ।

यः चन्द्रोपपदे वभूव नृपतिद्वोपे दिलीपोपमः ॥

Most writers have taken the view that, stripped of all metaphor, the first line in the above passage means that Trailokyacandra became the king of Harikela.² The question, therefore, naturally arises—did he become king of Harikela by right of heredity or by right of conquest? According to Dr. D. C. Ganguly, "The inscription states that Sri-candra's father, Trailokya-candra, who was the king of Harikela, became the ruler of Candradvipa".³ What he probably means to imply is that Harikela formed the hereditary dominion of Trailokya-candra, and to it he added Candra-dvipa at a later stage. But the inscriptions, referred to above, clearly state that Rohitāgiri constituted the paternal dominion of the Candras, and that both Puṇa-candra and Suvarṇa-candra—the two immediate predecessors of Trailokya-candra—seem to have ruled over this territory alone. In the time of Trailokyacandra, however, the sway of the dynasty was extended by the establishment of its paramountcy over Harikela on the one hand, and by the annexation of Candra-dvipa on the other. From the language employed in the epigraph in describing this expansion of the Candra dominion, it seems clear that there was some difference in degree in the control exercised by Trailokya-candra over Candra-dvipa and Harikela. Of the former he definitely became the king (*vabhuvah nrpatih*); of the latter he became the 'support or repository' (*adharah*) of "fortune goddesses (of other kings) smiling at the umbrella which was the royal insignia", that is to say, the suzerain or lord paramount.

Regarding the identification of Rohitāgiri, opinion is divided. But there is much to be said in favour of the view, first expressed by Dr. N. K. Bhattasali and later endorsed by Dr. R. C. Majumdar, that it was probably the Sanskritised form of Lal-māṭi and identical with the Lalmai Hills near Comilla. From this ancestral

1. N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, pp. 1 ff. 165-6.

2. Cf. *e.g.*, I. H. Q. XX, 3.

3. I. H. Q. XIX, p. 200.

dominion, Trailokya-candra, who is described in the Kedārpur Plate as "animated by the ambition of conquering the Earth bounded by the four waters", seems to have launched a series of operations both north-ward and south-ward which resulted in the acquisition of the territories mentioned above.

In the time of Trailokya-candra's successor, Sri candra, the kingdom seems to have expanded still further by the acquisition of fresh territories towards the west. Although there is no specific evidence to prove this, we may infer it from Sri-candra's assumption of full imperial titles and the epithets used about him in the inscriptions. The Rāmpil Plate, for instance, describes him as a conqueror who "put him enemies in prison-houses" and "made the Earth decorated with one single umbrella". The Kedārpur Plate refers to "the multitude of dust raised by that conqueror in battles". We may infer it also from the transference of the capital from Rohitāgiri to Vikramapura, which in all probability took place in his time. Lastly, we may infer it from the details of some of his land-grants.¹

THE LADA CHIEFS OF THE TAMIL COUNTRY

BY

MR. V. VENKATASUBBA AYYAR, Ootacamund.

Among the families that settled in South India but claimed a habitat further north, may be mentioned the Lāḍas of the Tamil country. What necessitated their movement is not clear, but by the 9th century A.D. we find them well settled in life and identifying themselves with the land of their settlement having marriage alliances with the local ruling chiefs. Their history is to be reconstructed, though desultorily at present, with the aid of a few inscriptions referring to them, found mainly in the North and South Arcot districts.

In inscriptions these chiefs are variously referred to as Ilādarāyar, Ilālar, IlāDaigal, Lāḍar, etc., and they claim to have hailed from Virāṭa¹ which may probably be identified with the

1. *E.g.* the Edilpur Plate of Sricandra records the grant of a piece of land in the Kumaratālaka-maṇḍala situated in the Satata-Padmavativishaya. It is said that the latter refers to the river Padma, and that the name of the *maṇḍala* is probably derived from the river Kumara, and is possibly preserved in Kumarkhali, in the Faridpur district.

1. A. R. No. 324 of 1906.

region comprising the present Hāṅgal¹ in the Dharwnr district of the Bombay Presidency.² The word *lada* or *Ilada*³ distinguishing these chiefs must therefore be traced to 'Virāṭa' and not to Lāṭa (*i.e.*) southern Gujarat.

These chiefs are mostly found in the present region of the North Arcot district holding positions of authority, but their peregrination can be traced even beyond this territory, and if place name is an indication, the mention of Ilāḍaippādi in Nāni-naḍu in a record⁴ of Saḍaiya-Māraṇ who may be identified with the donor of the bigger Sinnamanūr plates and the existence of a village called Lāḍapuram near Padmanābhapuram point to their influence in the distant Travancore state in the 10th century A. D.⁵ Nearer still, we find villages called Lāḍapuram and Ilāḍaippādi⁶ in the Permbalur and Tirukkoyilur taluks of the Trichinopoly and South Arcot districts respectively. Members of this family figure in the South Arcot district *viz.*, Lāḍavaraiyan Araiyaṇ Koṇariaraiyaṇ who dug a tank at Melvālai (South Arcot district) and endowed lands for its upkeep in the 5th year of the reign of the Chōla king Āditya I⁷ (c. 375 A. D.) and another Ilāḍavaraiyan *alias* Pormukha-Kaṇchipperaiyaṇ, in a record of the 24th year of Kaṇṇaradeva⁸ (962 A. D.) from the same village. A person named Ilāḍadittaṇ is noticed in an inscription dated S. 880⁹ from Sojanaḍu making a gift to the temple at Brahmaḍeśam (North Arcot district), and more than a century later, the wife of Indaḍadeva of Talaigrama in Virāṭadeśa figures as donor to the temple at Tiruvaṇṇiyur¹⁰ (Chinglepet district). Further, a Vilāḍarāyar is introduced in an epigraph of the Pāṇḍya king Jat. Vira-Pāṇḍya from Tiruvaraṅguḷam¹¹ in the Pudukkottai state

1. Hāṅgal, the capital of the later Kadambas was in ancient times known as Viratapura, Viratanagara or Viratanakote: *Dyn. of Kan. Dists.*, Fleet, p. 558. The kingdom of the Virata king mentioned in the *Mahabharata* included parts of Alwar, Jaipur and Bharatpur: Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, p. 53.

2. It may be mentioned that Radha, a division of Bengal is referred to as Lada in the inscriptions of the Chola king Rajendra-Chola I (A. D. 1012-1044).

3. Tattaladigal, member of this family is called Viratarajan Tattaladigal in one inscription (A. R. No. 324 of 1906) and Iladarayar Tattaladigal in another (A. R. No. 267 of 1906).

4. From Parakkai near Nagercoil in the Travancore State.

5. *Trav Arch Series*, Vol. VI., p. 108.

6. A. R. for 1936, p. II. para. 36.

7. A. R. No. 52 of 1936.

8. A. R. No. 53 of 1936.

9. A. R. No. 203 of 1915.

10. A. R. No. 138 of 1912.

11. A. R. No. 307 of 1914.

and at Kalahasti (Chittoor district) in S. 1285,¹ These references cumulatively may be taken to indicate that the influence of the Lāḍa chiefs was not confined to their original territory in the North Arcot district, but had gradually extended throughout South India.

The earliest reference to members of this family in inscriptions is found in a record of Kampavarman dated in the 17th year from Tippiasamudram² about 8 miles from Solapuram (North Arcot district) which is known to have been included in Paṅgaḷa-nāḍu.³ The present inscription, though it does not specifically mention Paṅgaḷa-nāḍu, states the the ruler os this *nadu* (*in-nadudaiya*) viz., Pṛithivigaṅgaraiyar and his consort Ilāḍapperun-devi, constructed a feeder channel called 'Viḷupperaraiyan' from the river (evidently the Pālār) to the lake at Valivalakkamāṅgalam (for the merit of) their daughter Ayyakkuṭṭi. From the wording of the inscription, it is clear that the parents of Ayyakkuṭṭi were alive in the 17th year of Kampavarman and that Pṛithivigaṅgaraiyar mentioned in the record is identical with the Paṅgaḷa-nāḍu chief of the name; because as stated above, he is clearly distinguished by the epithet *in-nadudaiya*. One difficulty confronts us here, because in the Solapuram record⁴ of the same king Kampavarman, it is stated that Rajaditya built in the 8th years of the king, a tomb on, the spot where his father Pṛithivigaṅgaraiyar had been buried. If Pṛithivigaṅgaraiyar had died by the 8th year of Kampavarman, he cannot be referred to the sense of being alive 9 years later (*i.e.*,) 17th year of the same king in the Tippiasamudram record mentioned above. If the regnal year 17 is taken as correct, because it is given in words, the Pṛithivigaṅgaraiyar⁵ mentioned in the inscription may be taken as a general family name for the local Gāṅga chieftain, or the epigraph itself may be interpreted as a later recording of an event that occurred prior to the 8th year of Kampavarman.

No connected genealogy of the Lāḍa chiefs is possible in the present state of our knowledge, but the following tables are given with the hope that they may be found useful for linking and improving them in the light of future discoveries.

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1. A. R. No. 188 of 1903.
 2. A. R. No. 174 of 1939-40.
 3. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VII, p. 193.
 4. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VII, p. 193.

5. His identity with Sembiyan Pṛithivigaṅgaraiyar, son of Rajaditya-Mahadeva (A. R. No. 177 of 1928) may be considered, but it has to be mentioned that the latter's known date (*i. e.*) A. D. 896 is more than 40 years after the 17th year of Kampavarman (*i.e.*, Tippiasamudram record mentioned above).

A.

Ilādarāyar.

Ilādappperundevi m Prithivigaṅgaraiyar (of *Pangala-nadu*).

Rajāditya

(Kampavarman

8th year: *Ep. Ind.* Vol., VII, 193).Ayyakkuṭṭi.¹

(Kampavarman

17th year: No. 174 of 1939-40).

B.

Ilādarāyar.

Araiyaṛ Rajādittan
Pugalvip̄pavargandan;
Ep. Ind. Vol. VII, p.
134; probably, also
known as Soḷaśikhā-
maṇi—Pallavaraiyaṇ
(Parāntaka I—35th
year (A. R. Nos. 168
of 1912 and 423 of
1903).

Māhadevaḍigaḷ
m
Rajaditya, son of
Parantaka I
Ep. Ind. Vol. VII,
p. 134.

Nangai Kulamānikkattar
m. *Vanakovaraiyaṛ*
(Parakesari—5th year,
Ep. Ind. Vol. VII,
p. 141, *probably s. a.*
Keṇi Naṅgai m.
Vāṇakovaraiyaḍ Toṅgal
Maṛavaṇ *alias*
Mummadichola Vāṇa-
kovaraiyaṇ (Rajakesari
—3rd year: probably
Gandarāditya;
A. R. No. 63 of 1936)
and
Aṇikovaṇ Oṛṇiyūpirāṭṭi
m.
Vayiramegha
Vāṇakovaraiyaṛ
(no overlord mentioned:
A. R. No. 233 of 35).

1. Her position in the genealogy will have to be adjusted in the light of the identification of her father Prithivigaṅgaraiyar.

*All these records are from the Tirukkoyilur taluk of the South Arcot district.

C.¹

Guṇaratnasindhu (of the family of Sagara-Virāṭa)

|
Anigopa|
Kampaḍigaḷ|
Taṭṭaḷar|
Anaiyamaṇ or Anaiyamman Paramaṇḍalādittan (mentioned in the
12th and 13th years of Pārthivendravarman).

From the tables given above, it will be evident that the Lāḍas had marriage alliances with the Paṅgaḷa-nāḍu chiefs, the Bāṇas or the Vāṇakovaraiyars and with the Choḷa sovereigns. Even the great Choḷa king Rājārāja I took for a queen a princess from this family named Lāḍamahādeviyār and her benefactions and the installation of the image of Paśupatamārti in the temple at Tanjore are found recorded on its walls.² These chiefs were in power continuously in the region round the Pañchapāṇḍavamalai in the North Arcot district from the time of Kampavarman down to the reign of the Choḷa sovereign Rājārāja I. and thereafter, reference to them in inscriptions gets meagre.

The Pañchapāṇḍavamalai inscription of the 8th year of Rājārāja I³ refers to these chiefs as "*Kūḷppagalanda Iladarajargal' i. e., the Laṭarājas who reigned (this region) in former days.*" This record states that Virasoḷar,⁴ son of Uḍaiyār Iladarajar Pugal-vippavargaṇḍan, remitted, at the request of his queen Ilādamahādeviyār, certain taxes in favour of the (Jaina) deity at Tirup-pāṇmalai, when both of them paid a visit to the temple.⁵ Though the record indicates the leaning of Virasoḷar to Jainism, we find that during his time a Siva temple known as 'Virasoḷa', evidently called after his name was raised at Puṅgaṇūr,⁶ about 5 miles from Pañchapāṇḍavamalai and that his queen Ilādamahādeviyār made benefactions to it. The Siva temple at Tirumālper⁷ was build by Anayamaṇ *alias* Paramaṇḍalādittan of table C above, and the Anigopanāthsvara and Anigopavinṇagarāḷvar⁸ temples at

1. A. R. Nos. 267 and 324 of 1906.

2. S. I. I. Vol. II, Int. (7); p. 34; 459.

3. Ep. Ind. Vol. IV, p. 139.

4. This Virasolar also figures as donor to the Siva temple at Tiruverumbur in the Trichinopoly district in the 7th year of Rājārāja I (A. R. No. 116 of 1914).

5. The wording of the inscription "Tiruppan-malai devara-ittiruvadi-ttolodu elundaruli irukka ivar deviyar" etc.

6. A. R. No. 9 of 1940-41.

7. A. R. No. 267 of 1906.

8. A. R. No. 1 of 1940-41.

Kaṇṇiyanūr were also constructed during the rule of these Lāḍa chiefs, thus testifying to the eclecticism of their religious faith.

A record from Puṅgaṇūr referring to Āṇaiyamman mentioned above is helpful in studying the chronology of Parthivendravarman whose period of rule has not so far been exactly determined. On the identity of titles such as 'Parke-sarivarman', 'Vira-Pāṇḍyaṇ-talaikonda' etc., this chief has been taken to be a contemporary of and even identical with the Chōḷa King Aditya II, but the late Mr. Krishna Sastriar doubted if Aditya II and Parthivendravarman could be assigned to the same period, as records of neither of them supply names which give a clue to their contemporaneity.¹ The Puṅgaṇūr record noticed above may be said to be helpful in this direction. It is dated in Saka year 9² and states that Āṇaiyamman, son of Ilāḍarāyaṇ Tattāḷaṇ constructed a lake at Puṅgaṇūr called 'Paramaṇḍalā-dittappereri' and that he made provision for its maintenance. Adjoining this is another inscription³ dated in S. 888 stating that Īśvarapichchan of Tīśaiyayira-taiṇṇūrū-nagara released the lake at Puṅgaṇūr by giving gold to the *uravar* of the village. Since both these records refer to the same lake at Puṅgaṇūr, and since one of them is definitely dated in S. 888, we have to construe Saka year 9⁴ in the other record as an engraver's mistake for S. 889. If this interpretation is correct, it has to be understood that in S. 888, the lake which was originally dug by Āṇaiyamman⁵ but which in the meanwhile had fallen into other hands, was redeemed by Īśvarapichchan and that in the next year, the chief Āṇaiyamman himself endowed certain specified taxes for its upkeep. In this record Āṇaiyamman does not quote any overlord, but he figures as a subordinate in the 12th and 13th years of Parthivendravarman.⁶ The 12th and 13th years of this chief must therefore have preceded or succeeded S. 889 (*i.e.*) 967 A. D. They could not be placed before, because in this and the surrounding region we find records dated in S. 875 and 876⁷ acknowledging no overlord. We have therefore to conclude that Parthivendravarman's rule commenced late in 967 A. D. or thereafter when he should have brought Āṇaiyamman under his sway. This corroborates the

1. A. R. for 1910, part II, para. 17.

2. A. R. No. 14 of 1940-41.

3. A. R. No. 13 of 1940-41.

4. The possibility of taking 9 as regnal year is to be eliminated because of the mention of the word *Sagara-yandu*.

5. The actual wording of the inscription is "Punganur nan-kanda Paramandaladittappererikku". The other record of S. 888 from the same place runs: "Punganur urkku pon kuduttu uravar eri vidivichchen."

6. A. R. Nos. 267, 304 and 323 of 1906. The regnal year 3 sums to be a mistake for 13 in the A. R. No. 267 of 1906.

7. Nos. 346 of 01 and 356 of 02 and 358 of 02: also *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VII. pp. 95. 136 and 137.

conclusion arrived at independently by my friend the late Mr. A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar, that Āditya II killed Vira-Pāṇḍya by about 966 A. D. which gave him the occasion to assume the title 'Vira-Pāṇḍiyaṇ-talaikonda' in common with his feudatories Parthivendravarman and the Koḍumbāḷur chief Bhūti Vikramakesari¹

The title 'Pugaḷvippavargaṇḍaṇ' assumed by Araiyaṇ Rājādittan, the father of Viraśoḷa in table B above is of importance for the chronology of the Choḷa king Āditya II. This title was assumed by the Bāṇa chief Vijayāditya and by a certain Vikkiyaṇṇan of the Chaḷukki family.² In the list of Bāṇa chiefs given by Kielhorn while editing the Udayendiram plates of the Bāṇa king Vikramāditya II, figure Prabhumeru, his son Vikramāditya, his son Vijayāditya II Pugaḷvippavargaṇḍaṇ and his son Vikramāditya II.³ My father, the late Rai Bahadur Venkayya in his article on the 'Five Bāṇa inscriptions from Guḍimallam,'⁴ assigned the Saka dates 820, 827 and 831 to Vijayāditya (Pugaḷvippavargaṇḍa), the predecessor of Vikramāditya (II) mentioned above. Dr. Hultzsch while editing the Guḍimallam plates of the Bāṇa king Vikramāditya II⁵ has revised the above list as follows :

Prabhumeru (Vijayāditya II),
|
Vikramāditya (II).
|
Vijayāditya (III) Pugaḷvippavargaṇḍa.
|
Vikramāditya (III).

Thus the title Pugaḷvippavargaṇḍa (*i. e.*) 'the disgracer of vainglorious kings', was assumed by Vijayāditya III and not by Vijayāditya II with Saka dates 827 and 831 and this is corroborated by a record⁶ secured from Srimushnam in the South Arcot district. This is dated in Kali 4060 which would correspond to S. 881 (*i. e.*) A. D. 959 and it states that the middle sluice in the tank of Vindhamahādevippereri constructed by Iruṅgolarkoṇ' *alias* Nārāyaṇaṇ Pugaḷuyppavargaṇḍaṇ was named 'Vijayādittan' (evidently in honour of that chief). Since from the Udayendiram plates

1. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXV, p. 36.

2. A. R. No. 375 of 1911.

3. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. III, p. 74 ff.

4. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XI, p. 235.

5. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XVII, p. 3.

6. A. R. No. 240 of 1916.

7. In the *An Rep. on Epy.* for 1916, p. 150, it is surmised that the title 'Iruṅgolarkon' was assumed by Nārāyaṇan to indicate his lordship over the district of Iruṅgolappadi in which Srimushnam was situated. His relationship to the Lada chief Rajaditya of table B above is also suggested in the same Report.

mentioned above, we know that Vijayāditya had the title 'Pugaḷ-vippavarganḍan', the Srimushṇam record must be assigned to the period of this chief. This Bāṇa chief (with the title Pugaḷvip-pavarganḍan) must have flourished about S. 881 (*i.e.*) 959 A. D. Curiously enough this Irūṅḷarkon Pugaḷvippavarganḍan noticed above figures as donor in a record of the 2nd year of Parakesari-varman, 'who took the head of Vīra Pāṇḍya' (*i.e.*) Āditya II, from Uyyakondan Tifumalai.' Since in S. 881 (A. D. 959) the date of the Srimushṇam record, Irūṅḷarkon does not mention any overlord while he acknowledges the Choḷa king in the other, it may be concluded that Āditya II's rule commenced only after 959 A. D. and not before, especially in view of the fact that Uttama-choḷa's initial date is known to be 969-970 A. D.² and that the latter's predecessor on the Choḷa throne was Āditya II. The contemporaneity of Āditya II and Pārthivendravarman will now be evident.

The Lāḍas seem to have dispersed from their original settlement in the North Arcot district after the time of Rājārāja I and we hear of them now and again afterwards in the South Arcot, Tanjore and Trichinopoly districts.³

The Lāḍa country would answer to the description given by Marco Polo of Lārike or Lārdeśa which he locates to the west of the place where the body of Saint Thomas lies⁴ (*i.e.*) St. Thomas Mount near Madras.⁵ Walajpet Taluk⁶ of the North Arcot district which formed the nucleus of the territory of the Lāḍa chieftains is exactly to the west of Madras. Marco Polo's Lārike must not be confounded with Lāṭa-deśa⁷ (*i.e.*) Southern-Gujarat or the western sea board known as the Sea of Lār in early Muhammadan times.

There was a colony of Lāḍa Brahmins settled in Paḍaiviḍu-rajya and an interesting question of social law is found recorded in an inscription of the Vijayanagara king Devarāya dated in S. 1347, from Viriñchipuram.⁸ It states that the Brāhmaṇas of this rajya *viz.*, Kannaḍigas, Tamiḷas, Teluṅgas and Ilāḷas (*i.e.*) Lāḍas had bound themselves to celebrate marriages among their community

1. S. I. I. Vol. III, p. 376.

2. S. I. I. Vol. III, p. 284.

3. Iladattaraiyar was an officer under Kopperunjinga at Kattumannarkoyil in the South Arcot district (No. 534 of 1920) and a Viladarayar is mentioned in a record of Jat-Vira-Pandya in the Pudukkottai state (No. 307 of 1914). A Viratarayan also figures in a record from Tanjore attributable to the Chola king Rutottunga-Chola III (S. I. I. Vol. II, p. 111).

4. Marco Polo: Yule, Vol. II, p. 363.

5. See also *History of Madras*, Srinivasachari, p. 69.

6. Panchapandavamalai is in this taluk.

7. For an account of Lata-deśa, see '*The Glory that was Gurjaradesa*': K. M. Munshi, pp. 31-32.

8. S. I. I. Vol. I, p. 83.

by the rite of *Kanyadana* (i.e.) giving away the bride as a sacred gift, on pain of royal punishment and even social ostracism if they broke their pledges. We meet with a town named Lāṭapuri to the north of Sira in the Mysore state but its connection with the Lāḍas of the Tamil country is not known.¹ Though the origin and history of these chiefs is still obscure, they are now chiefly remembered in such place names as Līḍavaram, Līḍambāḍi, Āṇaimallūr² and Lāṭapuri and by the several temples built by them in the North Arcot district which stand to this day silently proclaiming the liberality and catholicity of their Lāḍa originators.

THE RISE OF TAILAPA II AHAVAMALLA 973—997 A. D.

BY

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The circumstances which led to the fall of the grand Rāshṭra-kūṭa empire and the rise of the later Cālukyas are no longer obscure. The last quarter of the tenth century A. D., was a period of great changes in the history of the Deccan. The great king, Krishṇa III died sometime in 968 A. D., and within a few years after him, in 973 A. D., the empire easily fell a prey into the hands of the Cālukyan chief Tailapa. What is interesting is the ease with which the mighty empire changed hands. The seeds of disruption and the process of decay of the Rāshṭrakūṭa empire are to be seen from the days of Krishṇa himself. His very activities indicate the restlessness in the empire which was fast breaking away.

Among the feudatories of the Rāshṭrakūṭas, the Ganga king, Mārasimha alone was faithful to the imperial family and tried to keep up the fast falling empire by his expeditions against the enemies of his patron and emperor, both in the north and in the south. He attained the title of "the king of the Gūrjaras" when he led an expedition against them and conquered them for Krishṇa III at his orders. [E. I. V. 18]. He dispersed all the forest bands of the Kirāṭas that were living on the outskirts of the forests of the Vindhyaś after a victory on the banks of the Tāpi [*Ibid*]. The Praśasti makes it clear that the throne and the royal insignia of Gaṇḍa Mārtāṇḍa (i.e., Krishna) had to be protected by the might of Mārasimha. After the death of Krishna

1. *Mys. Rep* 1918, p. 12.

2. In the North Arcot district; Evidently named after the Lāḍa chief Anaiyaman,

he maintained his loyalty to his successor Khottiga during whose reign the very capital, Mānyakheta, was threatened with destruction by the Paramāras, Khottiga, a younger brother of Krishna III, was not a powerful ruler and he ruled from 968 A. D. to 972 A. D. Siyaka Harsha, the Paramāra, defeated Khottiga and father claims to have plundered Mānyakheta. [E. I. I. p. 235]. Dhanapāla, the author of the Paiyalachchi informs us that his work was written at Dhārā in V. S. 1029 *i.e.*, 972-73 A. D., when Mānyakheta was being plundered by the king of Malwa (E. I. XIII, p. 480) (Paiyalachchi V 276). Once again it was the strong arm of Mārasimha that protected Mānyakheta from utter ruin. [E. C. XI]. Things within the empire had gone from bad to worse. The capital had to be protected constantly and enemies were daily striking at the doors. The imperial house was feeble and Mārasimha was making desperate attempts to save the city and the empire.

Khottiga seems to have died sometime after his defeat. It was a troublesome period and his successor appears to have come to the throne sometime in 972-3 A. D. As Mārasimha claims to have saved the capital from destruction it is likely that Harkka was anointed in the city of his forefathers and subsequent events confirm this. Harkka soon lost his capital and his life too in spite of the protection of Mārasimha, for, we find Tailapa, a scion of the Caḷukya family defeating Karkka along with a certain Raṇa-kambha. Karkka had a short period of rule, perhaps less than a year but his Khārda grant says that he was a terror to the Pandyas, fought with the Hunas, defeated the armies of the Coḷas and Gurjaras [I. A. XII, p. 263]. This statement should be taken to mean that he had a busy period of fighting which terminated in his death on the battle-field. Mārasimha in his epitaph asserts that he ejected some enemy from Mānyakheta and crowned Indra IV as king in that very city with much eclat. [E. I. V. No. 18]. This enemy could have been no other than Tailapa himself.

Taila is the most conspicuous of the enemies of Karkka. He was governing the Tarddavādi 1000 Dt., as a subordinate of the Rashtrakuta, Krishna III in 957 A.D., without any titles. [B. K. 113 of 1929-30]. By 965 A.D., we find him styled as Mahā Sāmantādhipati, Caḷukya-Rāma, Āhavamalla Tailaparasa of the Satyaśaya family, enjoying the same place as* 'Anuga-Jivita' *i.e.*, an estate in lieu of his salary [B. K. I-1. 140]. He appears to have gained in importance within these years and finding the fall of the empire inevitable seems to have felt the necessity of establishing his own power. His records and those of his successors

*An Anuga is a retainer specially dependent upon his master, the king, being a companion at arms with certain specified obligations towards his master. Velavali, Jotavali and Leṅkavali J. O. R.

say that he protected the earth from trouble like the Ādi Varāha. But he seems to have had the assistance of some of the enemies of Krishna III. Among the many of the enemies of Mārasimha mention is made of a certain Dhalla* who was an opponent of Vanagajamalla (*i. e.* Krishna III [E. I. V. 18 ll. 8 9.] It is stated that this Dhalla was a strong man and stood as a rival champion (Prati Malla) to Krishna. There is Brahman Minister Dhalla closely associated with Tailapa and was the 'very foundation' of Tailapa's empire. A Brahman of the Vāji family, he distinguished himself as a great warrior and administrator. He was the head of Tailapa's revenue department and was called the 'Mahāmantra Akshapatala Adhipati.' There was nothing to differentiate between him and the king Abavamalla except that the latter was seated on the throne [B. K. I-1.52]. He subdued the entire country for his master and attained the title of 'Manadala Siddhi' and being a statesman 'Viveka Brihaspati.' He became the Chief Minister *i. e.*, 'Sachivottama' being found pure by the four Upadhas and was an intelligent man in arranging the court of Tailapa. [Ajitapurāna. Introduction]. It is likely that Dhalla, an enemy of Krishna, being defeated by Mārasimha joined hands with Tailapa and rendered the latter all help in overthrowing the Rāshtrakūta empire. We also find, subsequently, the entire family of Dhalla in high service under Tailapa. Among the subordinates of Krishna who joined Taila a certain Sobbanarasa is to be seen. He bears the title of 'Kannana Banta' *i. e.*, servant of Krishna and figures as the subordinate of Tailapa [B. K. I-1. 45.]

Tailapa and his Minister Dhalla should have found their opportunity to overthrow the weakened Rāshtrakutas sometime after the plunder of Malkhed in 972-73 A. D., for the year Srimukha is counted as the first year of Tailapa's reign. The manner of the conquest is quite clear. There was an open battle and Tailapa came out successful. [The Kharepatan grant E. I. III. p. 292]; the Kauthem plates I. A. XVI p. 15]. It is neither possible to identify Raṇakambha who was the ally of Karkka nor to locate the site of the battle.

Mārasimha could not look upon these events with a tranquil eye. He espoused the cause of Indra IV who was his own sister's son and grandson of Krishna III. Mānyakheṭa was in the hands of Tailapa. Besides this the Nōlambas who were the feudatories of the Rāshtrakūtas appear to have set up the standard of rebellion and defied Mārasimha who is said to have destroyed in war the kings of the Nōlambas who misconducted themselves through self-conceit in consequence of the arrogance of the strength of

*Dr. Fleet reads as Alla but Mr. Rice as Dalla [E. C. II 28] which seems to be correct. There is none among the contemporary figures called Alla whereas Dhalla was a famous one.

arms of hundreds of princes and the pride of troops of elephants. [E. C. II. 281]. The battle was fought in the open fields outside Gonur and Camuṇḍarāya, the Minister of Mārasimha, distinguished himself in it and obtained the title of 'Vīramārtanda' [Cāvaṇḍarāya Purāṇa]. The Ajitapurāṇa of Ranna Kavi gives a graphic description of the achievements of Ponnamayya and Nāgadeva or Nāgamayya who took part in the battle for Tailapa. Ponnamayya distinguished himself at this great battle called 'Kumāra Lodhra Samara' and pleased his Master, Nāgamayya, the son of Dhalla, cut to pieces the elephants of the enemies in the presence of his Master at this battle of the Kumāras. He also came into contact with the Angarakkas (body-guards) of the enemy and drove them away, [Ājitapurāṇa].

The term Kumāra refers not only to the son of a king but also to any Khatriya prince raised to that status by favour. The Anugas or Lenkas were also called Kumaras. They were the Ankakaṇas of the kings and belonged to high royal families. The Noḷambas kept a reserve of such a body-guard to serve their kingdom. We have very clear evidence that during the time of Someśvara I Trailokyamalla Ahavamalla, the Noḷambas kept an army of Lenkas one thousand strong. A certain Daṇḍanayaka Tikanna is to be seen at their head and they found the pillars of protection of the Pallava kingdom. [S. I. I. IX-I, 101, 104.] In the fight with Mārasimha these Kumāras who formed perhaps the 'Mūlabala' of the Noḷambas appear to have fought bravely. As the Noḷambas are to be seen a little later as the subordinates of the Čaḷukyas and even entered into matrimonial alliances with them it is likely that Tailapa took the side of the Noḷambas and allowed his best men to fight in the field. There is nothing to doubt the identification of the Noḷamba battle with that of the Kumaras.

Mārasimha claims a victory in this battle and mentions next his celebration of the coronation of Indra IV at Mānyakheta after ejecting the enemy who was in possession of it. The coronation of Indra should have taken place before July 974 A. D., when Mārasimha's death was heard. [E. C. X Mb. 684]. These events happened in quick succession from June 973 A. D., the last known date for Karkka [I. A. XII, p. 270]. But with all these efforts of Mārasimha the spirit of defiance was not at an end. A certain Rajāditya, a Čaḷukyan prince, openly defied Indra at the time of his coronation [E. C. II 281] and was pursued and defeated, single handed, by Camuṇḍarāya at the orders of Mārasimha, at the fort of Uchchangi [Cāvundarāya Purāṇa].

There appears to have been a little respite for a few days after these events for we find Mārasimha retiring from active politics and joining the Jaina Monastery at Srāvana Belgola where he died of Sallekhana in 974 A. D. [E. C. II Sb 38; E. C. X

Bb. 84.]. He should have felt the line clear and entrusted matters to the care of his able Minister Cāvundarāya.

But the position of Indra IV was in no way secure. After Mārasimha there was none to take an equal interest in his affairs. The later events led Cāvundarāya to take care of the Ganga throne and leave Indra to his fate. Immediately following the death of Mārasimha Cāvundarāya appears to have supported the claims of Govindara, a younger brother of Mārasimha. He was made to enter the fort of Bāgeyur with the help of Cāvundarāya who killed a certain Tribhuvana Vira for the purpose and obtained the title of 'Vairikula Kāladāṇḍa' [Cāvundarāya Purāṇa I prose passage before V. 21]. That Govindara ruled for some time is clear from his title 'Nītimarga' and the term 'Narendra' applied to him. [E. C. VIII Nagar 35]. This Govindara was an enemy of Tailapa. When, having joined with the sinful deserters (parama drohas) Govindara came to fight with Tailapa, Pounamayya, the great brahman soldier, crying at the top of his voice, "long live king Tailapa" rushed into the thick of the battle and after slaughtering many died on the field on the banks of the Cauvery. Ajitapurana I 36]. Nothing is known of this Govindara after this event and it is likely that he died soon after as there are others in the run for the Ganga throne. Mudurācaya, a scion of the Ganga family aspired to the lordship of the Gangamandala and would have succeeded but for the powerful resistance of Cāvundarāya who killed him with vengeance. [Cāvundarāya Purāṇa V, 21]. These events happened after the death of Mārasimha in 974 A. D., and before 975 A. D., when Racamalla IV was crowned as Ganga king.

So long as Cāvundarāya was alive Tailapa could not conquer the Gangas. But simultaneous with the attack of Mudurācaya on the Gangas a certain Pāñcalādava who was a Mahāsāmanta under Mārasimha governing Puligere and Beļvoļa in 972 A. D. [I. A. XII 225], taking opportunity of the confusion in the state and the retirement of Mārasimha appears to have made a bold bid for power in 974-75 A. D. [E. I. VI, 257]. He is called a Mahāsāmanta in all his records and the moment he asserted himself Tailapa was upon him and Pāñchaladeva's title 'Caļukya Pāñcānana' indicates that he was competing with Tailapa for the imperial position. As he is nowhere called an independent prince and there is no indication that he ever rebelled against the Gangas it is likely that he was an accomplice of Cāvundarāya against Tailapa. The Caļukyas records mention the defeat of Pāñcalādava at the hands of Tailapa as a great event in the history of the latter. [I. A. Vol. XXI, p. 167 Gadag record]. Nāgadeva, the son of Dhalla, scattered on the battle-field the cavalry and elephantry of Pāñchalādava and drove them away like cattle. [Ajit Purāṇa I. b. 44]. It is said that Buteyadeva decapitated Pāñchāla and became a Mahāmaṇḍalesvara with the title

'Ahavamalla.' [I. A. XII, p. 98]. After 975 A. D., we do not hear anything of Pāñcaladeva and hence it is clear that he is not Rācamalla IV as stated in the H. I. S. I.

The position of Tailapa appears to have become secure after 975 A. D. In the year Bhāva 976 A. D., he is seen with full regal titles [S. I. I. IX-I 73] whereas his earlier records do not mention them. He had a busy period of warfare ever since he defeated Karkka and finally overcame all difficulties by 975 A. D. The Rashtrakutas at this time were either a divided house or acquiesced to the power of Tailapa for his queen was Jakavvā, daughter of Bammaha Ratta. Though this alliance is a good title to the throne his records and those of his successors clearly state he restored the ancient Čalukyan family to power after driving away the Rāshtrakūṭa usurpers.

Tailapa wanted to bring the entire Rāshtrakuta empire under his control. The Silāharas of Konkan with their territory between the Western Ghats and the western Sea, a naturally safe position, did not easily submit to Tailapa. The Mahāmunda-lesvara Aparajita could not reconcile his mind to the fall of Karkka and the rise of Taila [E. I. III p. 269 Bhadana grant]. Tailapa sent an army against him under the leadership of his able son, the crown prince, Satyāsraya. The city of Aparāditya was burnt and his army was cornered between the sea and the oceanlike army of Satyāsraya [Gadaguddham I. V. 22, 23, 24, 25]. It was an overwhelming victory to the Čalukyās and Satyāsraya was helped by a Mādhavarāja and his son Kāsavarāja [B. K. I—1, 76]. The Rattas of Saṇḍatti were another power that defied Tailapa. Though Saṇṭivarman the Ratta Chieftain of Saṇḍatti ignored the Čalukyās until about 980 A. D., [E. I. XVI p. 1, J. B. B. R. A. S. X p. 204] his successors are seen professing allegiance to the newly risen power. The yadavas do not seem to have shown any sign of resistance but were on good terms with Tailapa from the beginning. The Mahāsāmanta Bhilla II was a feudatory of Tailapa and is reputed to have killed the Paramāra king, Munja, for Tail . [D. K. D. p. 430]. Tailapa has the title 'Yadavāmbara Dyumani' [Gadaguddham]. The Nolamba pallavas joined Tailapa during the troublous times and after the fall of the Rashtrakutas. In the year 981 A. D., while Tailapa was confirming certain stānomanyas in the Bellary Dt. the territory of the Nolambas, Revaladevi, the queen of Vira Nolamba Pallava Permanadi, granted lands to the deities of the place in the presence of Tailapa. [E. C. IX Hb III].

In the matter of foreign policy Tailapa's reign was almost a continuation of that of the Rāshtrakutas. The war with the Čolas and the Paramaras are instances. The earliest reference to the Čola attack upon the Čalukyās is to be seen in the year 980 A. D. [Socal Ins. E. I. XVI, p. 1] where and how this happened is not known. With the accession of Rajarāja the Čola power

began to revive. The Gangapādi and the Nōḷambapadi formed something like a buffer state between the Coḷas and the Cāḷukyas. Cāvundarāya had died by this time and the Gangas were a declining house. The Nōḷambas were also not powerful. Rājarāja directed his attacks on the Gangas and the Nōḷambas and these campaigns are mentioned in the records of his 8th and 9th years [97 of 1921. Coḷas I, p. 207].

The motives that prompted the actions of Rājarāja are not quite clear but the events that were happening in the Eastern Cāḷukyas kingdom, Vengi, might have had some influence on him. Jata Coḍa Bhāna, the ruler Pedakallu in the Kurnool Dt., killed Dānārṇava in battle and took Vengi, Renādu and Pattapi in 973 A. D., the same year when Tailapa defeated Karkka. The sons of Dānārṇava, Saktivarman and Vimalāditya naturally went to the Cola court for help. Rājarāja being ambitious, took up their cause. Besides this he had to recover the lost territory of Tondaimandalam. Both Tailapa and Jata Coda Bhima were his enemies and possession of the Tondaimandalam, Nōḷambapadi and the Gangapadi territories would not only strengthen the position of Rājarāja but prevent any alliance between Taila and Bhima.

We have no direct evidence to show that Taila and Bhima were allies. There are clear indications that the officers of Taila interfered in the affairs of Vengi. The great minister Dhalla made Vengi to be afraid of him and his son Nagadeva captured the Anahra in battle. [Attimabba's record B. K. I. 1.52. Dhāliyoḷ Andhrānam Piḍidapem]. This Nagadeva was dead by 993 A.D., when the Ajitapurāṇa was completed by Ranna and even therein it is mentioned as an event of the past. Padevaḷa Taila was a child at the time of his father's death and was a grown up youth and in the office of Padwala in 993 A. D. [Ajit. Purāṇa I. V. 47 etc.] Hence the death of Nagadeva might have taken place sometime about 980 A. D. This event of capturing the Andhra has, accordingly to be placed before this date. Just as the same date the Sogal record of Tailapa says that he conquered the Coḷas, whether a Telugu Coḷa chief is meant or the imperial Coḷas are means it is not possible to say. Subsequent history makes it clear that the Western Cāḷukyas always either directed their attacks on Vengi or assisted some rival claimant to that throne in order to divert the attention of the Coḷas.

The Coḷas had by 991 A. D. (S 913) occupied the Mysore country. [M. A. R. 1917 p. 42] Tailapa was quite alive to the situation and had an engagement with the Coḷas in A. D. 992 at Rodda (Modern Roddam) Penugonda Tq. of the Anantapur Dt.) where he not only gained a decisive victory but captured one hundred and fifty elephants belonging to the Coḷas. [S. I.1 IX-I. 77] Rodda lay in the centre of Nōḷambapadi and the Coḷas could not conquer the entire Nōḷambapādi and step into the Cāḷukyan

territory. The northern part of the Nōlamba territory was in the hands of the Nōlamba family who were the subordinates of the Čaḷukyas. Even in 997 A. D. the Čoḷas were in possession of the southern Nōlamba territory and their records are found at Hosakote [E. C. IX Hb. 111.]

In the north, Tailapa came into conflict with the Paramāra, Vakpati Muṇja. Ascending the throne sometime in 974 A. D., (V. S. 1031), almost within a year of the rise of Taila, Munja spent the greater part of his life in Military activity. The accounts of his attacks on Tailapa differ. The Prabandhachintamani gives a romantic story about the fate of Muṇja at the hands of Tailapa. Though Muṇja conquered Tailapa six times, sixteen according to some, he fell a prisoner into the hands of his enemy the last time owing to evil fate when he crossed the Godavary and entered the Karnatak much against the pleadings of his wise minister Rudraditya. It is said that Muṇja was kept in close confinement and Mṛṇālavati, and sister of Taila who cultivated the friendship of Muṇja learning his plans betrayed him to her brother. Thereupon treating him with great harshness Tailapa tortured him to death.

There is no doubt that Muṇja died in his campaigns in the Deccan with Tailapa. The Nilgund insn of Tailapa dated A. D. 982. [E. I. IV, p. 206 ll. 7, 8, 9] says that Tailapa imprisoned Utpala. The records of the descendants of Tailapa simply repeat this verse and give us no additional information. Here Muṇja is referred to as Utpala and the identity is established clearly by Dr. Ganguly [History of the Paramaras p. 47]. But it is nowhere mentioned in contemporary records that Muṇja lost his life at the hands of Tailapa. The episode of Mṛṇālavati seems to be a myth and has no support from the Čaḷukyan records. She does not figure anywhere in the Čaḷukyan genealogies and no record mentions any sister to Tailapa. He appears to have been the only child of his parents. Merutunga, a later writer of about 1304 A. D., appears to have either drawn freely from his imagination or the later legendary growth round the name of those great heroes. The Sangamnar grant states that Muṇja was killed in battle by the Yadava Bhillama II of Seunadesa. [E. I. Vol. II, p. 218.] This confirms in a way the story of the repeated expeditions of Muṇja upon the territory of Tailapa but contradicts the statement of Merutunga that he died in prison at the hands of Tailapa. Rāṇna, the contemporary court poet of Tailapa and of his own Satyaśraya does not mention anything of the events connected with Muṇja but describes at great length Tailapa's conquest of Gujerat (Gurjara). It is said that Satyaśraya conquered the elephant band of the Gūrjaras with only one elephant [Gadayuddha I-16; II 47]. It is said that Attimabbe, the daughter-in-law of Dhalla and the widow of Nagadeva took the permission of Tailapa to construct Jaina temples after the kings return from

his triumphal conquest of the entire Gurjara ('Sakala Gūjara Digvijāyānantara') [B. K. I-1. 52]. The Paramaras belonged to the Gurjara clan and the Coja records mention Utpala (Munja) as a Gurjara [E. C. IX Dg. 76; S. 1. 1. VII. 1046] who was killed by Tailapa. The probable date of these events as fixed by Dr. Buhler. [E. I. I. p. 228] is sometime between 994-997 A. D., the last known date for Munja being 993-'4 A. D., when Amitagati was writing his Subhāshita Ratna Sandoha and the last known date for Tailapa being ('S919) 997-'98 A. D. The Ajitapurāṇa of Rauna dated 993 A. D., makes no mention of any of these events; neither does it mention Satyasraya's conquest of Konkana and Aparaditya. Dhalla's son had no part in these, whereas Satyasraya is predominant. Tailapa appears to have turned his attention to the north after his conquest of the Cojas in 992 A. D., at Roddam and finally conquered his enemy towards the end of his reign.

It is doubtful whether Tailapa conquered the Gujerat country and Lata, the southern Gujerat. The Solankis of Anhilwad had come to power in Gujerat and Mularaja was ruling from A. D. 941-42 to 996-97 A. D. The Rāsamāla mentions that Gujerat was invaded by Barp a general of Tailapa who was the sovereign of Telingana. But there is much confusion about this Barappa and his identity. The Kirtikaumudi calls him a general of Laṭa, whereas the Sukrita Sankirtana represents him as the general of a king of Kanauj. The Surat grants of Kirtirāja C. 1018 A. D. and of Trilocanapāla C. 1051 A. D., mention Barappa as the grandfather of Kirtirāja. Excepting the statement in the Sogal ins. [E. I. XVI p. 1] that he conquered the Laṭa there is no other reference to Tailapa's victory over them.

It is said that Nagadeva led expeditions into the Karahata and pursued a certain Malla on the field to the pleasure of Tailapa. [Ajitapurāṇa I. 45] Rama mentions many other places as conquered by Tailapa as Pallikota, Bhadraka, and Krakalika. It is difficult to identify these names whether of places or persons. Tailapa acquired the entire land ruled by the Rashtrakutas a fact borne out by his records. He is mentioned as the lord of Kuntala and Narapati. The Godavary appears to have been the northern limit of his empire and Taila's men were fighting there [B. K. I. 1. 76]. It is not known whether Vemulavada was within his empire but the Arikesari line had disappeared and Tailapa is called the king of Telingana in the Prabandhachintamani of Merutunga.

Malkhed was his capital for he seems to have regained there sometime after the death of Marasimha and in 993 A. D., was in actual possession of it. [B. K. 170 of 1933-34]. A powerful monarch like Tailapa would not have allowed it to remain in enemy hands in the heart of his empire. Tailapa ruled for nearly twenty-five years and was succeeded by his able son Satyasraya in or about 997 A. D.

PANCAVISAYA OF THE EARLY GĀṅGA GRANTS OF KALINGA.

BY

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We come across the terms *Panca Visayadhipati* and *Panca Visaya mandalesvara* in the Parlakimedi plates of Vajrahastadeva, the Mandasa plates of Anantavarmadeva and the Simhipura plates of Devendravarmadeva of Kalinga. The term *visaya* in ancient records denotes a territory or a geographical division. The term *panca-visayadhipati*, therefore, means the lord or governor of a territorial division called Pañca or of a group of geographical divisions bearing the name Pañca.

During the reign of king, Vajrahastadeva of the undated Parlakimedi plates¹ Daraparaja, son of Coṭṭa Kamadiraja of the Gāṅga family was the governor of Pañcaviṣaya.

In the time of king Devendravarmadeva of the Simhipura plates,² dated in the 520th year of the Gāṅga era, the governor of this Pañca Viṣaya (*Panca Visaya-mandalesvara*) was Rāṇaka Sri Dharmakheḍi, son of Bhimakheḍi, and grandson of Rāṇaka Sri Niyāṇavadeva of the Kadamba family. These Simhipura plates refer to officials and servants of the king such *asamatya-pancapatra rajapadopa-jivinah-brahmana-purusavara-rathakuta-visaya-pradhana*³ etc.

1. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 223, 11. 9 11 :

"*Sri Vajrahastadevaḥ Tasuḥ rajye pvrāmamahesvaro Gangamalakula-tilakah Panca Visayadhipatiḥ Sri Cotta Kamadirajasya priyatanayah sakala-gunaganagarah Srīmad Daraparajo.....*"

The editor of the inscription read the name of the father of Daraparaja wrongly as Cola Kamadiraja. It is not Cola but Cotta.

2. *Jour. Andh. Hist. Res. Soc.*, Vol. III, pp. 171 ff.

"*Jayantyapuravasina-Pancaviṣa[ya]-mandalesvara Sri Mahendradhipati-Kadambakulavamsodbhava-ananta-turyaravotrasitaraticakra-mahamandalesvara Rāṇaka Sri Niyāṇavasyasutah-Rāṇaka Sri Bhimakheḍiḥ asyasuta-Rāṇaka Dharmakheḍi.....*" The text contains many mistakes.

3. "*Prakṛti ramatya-pancapatra-rajapadopajivinah brahmana-purusa (va)ra-samabaji Rathakutavisaya-praddhanasya*"—11, 17 and 18, p. 179. The term Rathakuta in this passage was correctly amended as Rastrakuta by the editor, Mr. Satyanarayana Rajaguru. About this he writes "According to this inscription (L. 18) we learn that Rathakuta (Rastrakuta) was a district of Kalinga. As the king promulgated this grant before all the 300 villagers or the district of 'Mahendrabhoga' and the Rastrakuta (i.e. the chief of Rastrakuta), we may suppose that 'Rastrakuta' and 'Mahendrabhoga' were the neighbouring districts. In the Phulsara C. P. grant of Kirtirajadeva (See Vol. III, part 1, p. 30) also the place 'Rastrakuta' is mentioned. I think Rastrakutavisaya of Kalinga

Rānaka Sri Dharmakhedi was the *adhipati* or governor of Pañca-Viṣaya during the rule of king Anantavarmadeva also of the Mandasa plates. He was given here the title *mahamandasvara*. These plates record his grant of the village or Madhipatharakhaṇḍa in the Mahendrabhoga by Anantavarmadeva who addresses his order to officials like *pancapatra-visayapradhanis*, *samasta rajapadopa* jivins⁴ etc. Anantavarmadeva of these plates is identical⁵ with king Vajrahastadeva of the Narsipatam plates⁶ who ascended the throne in A. D. 1038.

was located in the border-land of two kingdoms. The word 'Triakuta' means the place where three villages meet, and this word is frequently used in the copper-plate grants of Ganga kings of Kalinga. So also the word 'Rastrakuta' may be referred to the place where two 'Rastras' (i.e., kingdoms) meet. On the above analogy we can infer that two kingdoms met at Mahendragiri of Ganjam in the time of Raja Dharmakhedi. But definitely we do not know what these kingdoms were. However, I think that one of the two was the kingdom of 'Kongada', which was then ruled by the Sailodbhava kings of Orissa and which extended from Khorda upto Mahendragiri. And the other kingdom is Kalinga which extended to the south from Mahendragiri. And probably the district of Rastrakuta which is mentioned in this inscription was situated near Mahendragiri of Ganjam, separating the two kingdoms of Kongada and Kalinga."— (pp. 174-5).

In fact, there is no need at all for the above discussion. There is no reference either in this inscription or in the Phulsara grant to Rastrakutavisaya. The passage in the Simhipura grant in which alone the term Rathakuta (Rastrakuta) occurs, was quoted above. The passage refers to officers of kings, servants of the state and cultivators. In the passage quoted above the terms *Rastrakuta* and *Visayapradhana* have to be separated from each other. The term *visaya* goes with *Pradhana* and not with *Rastrakuta*. The term *Rastrakuta* occurs in the grant of the Eastern Calukyas also *Rastrakutapramukhan kutumbinah*. *Rastrakuta* is the Sanskritised form of the *Desi* term Rattakudi of the early Telugu inscriptions and means the Ratta cultivators (*kudiynn* in Tamil means a husbandman). The term *Rastrakutapramukha* means a leader of the cultivating class. It was customary for kings in ancient times to address the leaders of the cultivating class while granting a piece of land or a village in their district to any brahman or brahmins and inform them of the gift made. The Phulsara grant endorses this view. The passage in this grant containing the term *Rastrakutapramukha* reads thus :

"*Khinvadagrame! Samanti-Samabayi-rastrakutapramukha-samasta-nivasi-janapadan-samajnapayati.*" I quote this passage without any emendation. This is the only passage in the Phulsara grant wherein we find the term *Rastrakutapramukha*. Hence, it is evident that the above discussion regarding *Rastrakuta visaya* and its location is unwarranted. Further comment is unnecessary.

4. Jour. Bi. Or. Res. Soc., Vol. XVII, p. 135, ll. 18-21.

5. Jour. Andh. Hist. Res. Soc., Vol. XII, pp. 21 ff.

6. Ep. Ind., Vol. XI, pp. 147 ff.

Again the same Pañcaviṣaya is mentioned in the very faulty Kambakāya plates of Devendravarṃmadeva, dated in '*Sakavdasa-hasramekasatatrāyadhikam*.' Devendravarṃmadeva's Kadaṃba subordinate mahāmaṇḍalika Udayāditya, son of *mahāmaṇḍalika* Sri Dhamakheḍi makes a grant of the village of Reveniji in the Pañcaviṣaya to a certain Nārāyaṇa Nāyaka.⁷ This village is unidentifiable.

The phrase *Pancavisaya-mandalesvara* in the Simhipura plates referred to above, clearly shows that Pañcaviṣaya was a single territorial unit. The term *Pancapatras* denoting five officials which finds mention in the Simhipura and the Mandasa plates, suggests that this province of Pañcaviṣaya comprised of five divisions and that each division was placed under the charge of an official, called *ṭatra*. "From the present inscription", writes Mr. Satyanarayana Rajaguru, "we clearly know that Pañcadātra is referred to five pātras, i.e., the five ministers of the country. The title *patra* is still in use in Orissa and Ganjam among the Oriya people; and still the Oriya rājāhs use the title *patra* to their dewans. Pācapātra, therefore, means here the five executive officers or ministers."⁸ Mr. G. Ramadas, the editor of the Mandasa plates wrongly takes the term *Pancapatravisaṃsaya* as the proper name of the district. Again interpreting it as *Pancapaththaravisaya* (paththara means a rock) he states that "it must have extended from the river Mahendratanaya in the south to what is now called the Cikaṭi Zamindāri in the north and from the sea in the east to the Vamsadhara river in the west" embracing "within its limits the five rocky regions known as the estates of Mandasa and Jurada."⁹

The extracts quoted above from the articles of Mr. Satyanarayana Rajaguru and Mr. G. Ramadas, make it clear that the province or territory of Pañcaviṣaya comprised of five divisions. The earliest grant to mention this Pañcaviṣaya is the undated Parlakimedi plates of king Vajranastadeva who, according to my study of the Early Gāṅga grants, comes to about the first quarter of the fourth century of the Gāṅga era.¹⁰ It will be interesting here to note in this connection that king Vajrahastadeva, one of the ancestors of Anantavarṃmadeva Vajrahasta who ascended the throne in 1038 A. D., is credited to have united the

7. Bharati, 1027.

8. Jour. Andh. Hist. Res. Soc., Vol. III, p. 173.

9. Jour. Bi. Or. Res. Soc., Vol. XVIII, p. 183. The terms *Pancapatra* and *Visaya* occur in the passage in which the donor addresses his officials such as *Pancapatras*, *Visayapradhanas* etc. ("*Pancapatra-Visaya-pradhana-samastarajapadopaḥvinam-janapada*."—LL. 20-21,

10. Jour. Andh. Hist. Res. Soc. Vol. XIII, pp. 93 ff. See my paper "*A study of the grants of the Early Gangas*"

whole earth into one which had been formerly divided into five parts and enjoyed by five kings, and to have ruled it for forty-four years after defeating hosts of enemies by the prowess of his arms.¹¹ It is likely that the five divisions which are said to have been united into one district or province by Vajrahastadeva were identical with the five parts or Pañcaviṣayas which were formerly ruled by five kings who no doubt belonged to the Gāṅga family.

The Kornī¹² and the Vizagapatam¹³ copper-plate grants of Anantavarman Coḍa Gaṅga which furnish the complete geneology of the Gāṅga kings of Kaṭiṅga inform us that Kāmārṇava I came to Kaṭiṅga along with his four brothers Dānārṇava, Guṇārṇava, Mārasimha and Vajrahasta, won by his prowess a considerable tract of country and dividing it into five parts, gave each of his brothers a kingdom.¹⁴ He is said to have appointed his brother Dānārṇava heir-apparent as he had probably no male issue to succeed him on the throne. In this way prince Dānārṇava, after his brother's death, succeeded to his throne also.

Now, it is not unlikely that the Pañcaviṣayas referred to in the Gāṅga grants or Kaṭiṅga, were originally the five Gāṅga kingdoms and represent the countries in Kaṭiṅga—conquered by king Kāmārṇava and his brothers. The Vizagapatam and the Kornī grants of the twelfth century which were referred to before, mention the names of the of three kingdoms, Āmbavaḍiṣaya of Guṇārṇava, Sedāmaṇḍala of Mārasimha, and Kaṇṭakavartani of Vajrahasta, but they do not furnish the names of those ruled by Kāmārṇava and his second brother Dānārṇava. It must, however, be admitted that there is no reference even to the three kingdoms mentioned above in any of the Early Gāṅga grants, though we come to know from them the names of many districts or territorial divisions of Kaṭiṅga during the rule of the Early Gāṅga monarchs.

The Kornī and the Vizagapatam copper-plate grates, referred to above, were issued by the Later Gāṅga monarch, Anantavarman Coḍa Gaṅga who ruled Kaṭiṅga nearly six or seven hundred years after the establishment of the Gāṅga kingdom there. Within this long period of six centuries it is quite possible for the original names to get changed or replaced by others. Āmbavaḍi, Sedāmaṇḍala and Kaṇṭakavartani were probably later names of

11. Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, p. 189, v. i.

12. Jour. Andh. Hist. Res. Soc., Vol.

13. Ind. Ant., Vol. XVIII, pp. 165 ff. (LL. 49-52, pp. 167-8).

14. Though the grants alluded to above mention only three kingdoms which Kāmārṇava gave to each of the last three of his brothers it is evident that he gave one to his second brother Dānārṇava also and ruled one himself since it is stated that he divided the conquered country into five parts.

old tracts of country which went by some other appellations. Unless we know their old names it is not possible to identify these five tracts with the help of the Early Gāṅga grants. These five tracts or Pañcaviṣayas, the original five kingdoms, ruled by the five founder-brothers of the Gāṅga kingdom, will, if identified, enable us to know the original territory in Kaṭiṅga conquered by them.

The term Pañcaviṣaya itself seems to furnish the clue to identify these original five districts or kingdoms. What are these Pañcaviṣayas? *Viṣaya* which is skin to *rastra* means a country, a well demarcated territory or district like Veṅgi Viṣaya, ḷāka-viṣaya, Kammaviṣaya and so on. If *Viṣaya* means a country or a district does the term *Panca*, like Veṅgi, Paka, and Kamma, represent a particular territorial division, or does it denote a group of five territorial divisions or districts? It appears to me that the term applies both. The term *Panca* represents a proper name and the numeral five as well, indicating five districts. It seems to be the surviving relic signifying the very ancient term *Pancali* of the Early Gāṅga grants.

The Early Gāṅga grants of Kaṭiṅga bring to our notice four territorial divisions or districts, the name of each of which ends with *Pancali*. They are (i) Korasodaka Pañcālī, (ii) Puṣyagiri Pañcālī, (iii) Devanna Pañcālī and (iv) Cikhalī Pañcālī.

Korasodaka Pancali.

The earliest mention of the orasodaka Pañcālī is found in the very early Korashanda plates¹⁵ of Viśakhavarman. Again we find mention of the same district in the Chicacole plates¹⁶ of Indravarman, dated in the 138th year and the Tekkali plates¹⁷ of Devendravarman dated in the 192nd year of the Gāṅga era. Of these three grants the first one registers the gift of the village of Tampoyaka in the district of Korasodaka Pañcālī to some brahmins of the Ātreya gotra. Koroshanda, the village in which these plates were discovered, is, according to Mr. P. Satyanarayana Rajaguru, two miles from Uppalāḍa, north-east of Parlakimedi,¹⁸ but according to Mr. G. Ramadas, six miles to the south of Parlakimedi.¹⁹

15. Ep. Ind., Vol. XXI, pp. 23 ff.

16. Ind. Ant. Vol. XIII, pp. 122 ff. The date was corrected to 138 (See Ep. Ind. Vol. XVIII, p. 308).

17. Ind. Hist. Quart., Vol. XI, pp. 301-02. These plates were recently reedited in the same journal (Vol. XX, pp. 232 ff) by Mr. R. K. Ghoshal under the caption "Tirlingi inscription of Devendravarman, son of Gunarnava (Ganga) year 192".

18. Jour. Andh. Hist. Res. Soc., Vol. X, p. 164.

19. Ep. Ind. Vol. XXI, p. 24.

which appears to be evidently wrong. Both these scholars identify Korāsoḍaka after which the Pañcālī took its name, with the present village of Koroshāṇḍa, the place of discovery of these plates because of the similarity in their names. This identification is untenable for this reason. A study of the old place names reveals the fact that the *anunasikas* (nasals) found in the early forms of names of persons or villages generally either retain, drop or are subject to other philological changes in their transformation into modern ones and that they are not newly developed if they are entirely absent in the early forms. Of the two names under discussion Korāsoḍaka is the early form and Koroshāṇḍa, the modern one. So Korāsoḍa (ka) which is devoid of an *anunasika* can never become Koroshāṇḍa²⁰ according to the above dictum. Moreover, Koroshāṇḍa which is two miles distant from Uppalāḍa, must be said to have been situated in the Puṣyagiri Pañcālī Viṣaya as will be shown later on and not in the Korāsoḍaka Pañcālī Viṣaya.²¹ Neither Mr. P. Satyanarayana Rajaguru nor Mr. G. Ramadas attempted to identify Tampoyaka.

The other two grants, the Chicacole plates of Indravarman and the Tekkali plates of Devendravarman record the gift of villages Talamūla and Navatulā respectively. Navatulā is correctly identified by Mr. R. K. Ghoshal with the hamlet of Nautala, situated about six miles to the south-west of Parlakimedi. Besides Navatula the Tekkali plates mention Kellaḍā, Tāmpuvā, and Maḷava among the boundaries of the village granted. These villages can now be easily identified. They are identical with the present villages of Kallāṭa, Tāmpa and Maḷuva respectively—all to the south or south-west of Parlakimedi in the taluk of the same name. Hence, it is certain that the Korāsoḍaka Pañcālīviṣaya lay to the south-west of Parlakimedi and not to its north-east as has been conjectured by Mr. P. Satyanarayana Rajaguru. I identify Korāsoḍaka which gave its name to the territory around it, with the village of Korasavāḍa, south of Parlakimedi and Tāmpoyaka of Viśākhavarman's grant with the modern village of Tāmpa-Tāmpuva of Devendravarman's grant.

Puṣyagiri Pañcālī.

This is referred to in a record²² of Devendravarman, son of Guṇārṇava, dated in the 184th year of the Gāṅga era—the same

20. Mr. R. K. Ghoshal also accepts the identification of Korasodaka with the modern Koroshanda—vide, Ind Hist. Quart, Vol. XX, p. 234.

21. Some of the Early Ganga grants suffix *Viṣaya* also to the term *Pancālī*. This adding of the term *Viṣaya* to *Pancālī* reminds us of the ancient usage of suffixing the synonymous terms *nadu* and *Viṣaya* also to proper names denoting geographical divisions, such as Venginandu Viṣaya, Velanandu Viṣaya and so on.

22. Jour. Andh. Hist. Res. Soc., Vol. II, pp. 275 ff; Ep. Ind. Vol. XXVI, pp. 62 ff.

king-donor of the Chicacole plates referred to above. These plates are said to have been discovered in the Dharmalingeśvara temple at Sudaba or Sudava according to Mr. G. K. Ghoshal and Aḍaba or Aḍava according to Mr. P. Satyanarayana Rajaguru. This record registers the grant of Huḍuvaka in the Puṣyagiri Pañcāliviṣaya to brahmans. Huḍuvaka, is rightly identified with Aḍaba or Aḍava, the place of discovery of these plates. Aḍaba is three miles distant to the east of Uppalāḍa which is again two miles distant from Koroshanda or Korosanda. So the territorial division of Puṣyagiri Pañcāliviṣaya which comprised Huḍuvaka or the present village of Aḍaba in it, may be safely located to the north-east of Parlakimedi, though its extent and boundaries cannot be precisely defined.

Cikhali Pañcali.

There are two more Pañcālīs—the Devanna Pañcālī and the Cikhali Pañcālī. The former district is mentioned in the Parlakimedi plates²³ of Indravarmadeva of the 91st year of the Gāṅga era, and the latter, in the Chicacole plates²⁴ of Madhukāmārnavadeva of the 528th year of the same era. The reading of the text of the latter inscription is full of mistakes. The passage containing the name of the district was read wrongly as "*Kalinjamandalaprativaddha - Trikhalipancatyastasti-cincali - Patyapura-paramesvara.*" Its correct reading is as follows: "*Kalingamandala-prativaddha (pratibaddha) Cikhali-pancalyani-sa ? sti (? Svasti) Cikhali-Patyapura-paramesvara.* It is difficult to locate Cikhali Pañcālī. These Chicacole plates register the grant of the three villages of Paḍugrama, Hoṇḍaravaḍa and Morakhini to a certain Vaiśya, named Erapa Nāyaka, an inhabitant of Dantapura but residing at Paḍugrama at the time of the grant. These villages were clubbed together and converted into a Vaiśyāgrahāra by the grantor, Lakṣmaṇa Rāmadeva, lord of Cikhali-Patyāpura²⁵ in the

23. Ind. Ant., Vol. XVI, pp. 131 ff.

24. Jour. Andh. Hist. Res. Soc., Vol. VIII. pp. 180-182 and 168-170 and C. P. No. 5 of 1918-19, Kalinga Sancika.

25. There is some difference of opinion regarding the reading of the name of this town, between Mr. G. Ramadas and Mr. P. Satyanarayana Rajaguru. While the former reads the concerned passage as "*Kalingamandala-pratwada Trikhali Pancalyastasi-Cincali-Patyapura paramesvara.*" and so on Mr. Satyanarayana Rajaguru corrects it as "*Kalingamandala-pratwaddha-Cikhali Pancolyastasti (stasta)-Cikhali-Patnapura-paramesvara...*" etc. On consulting the excellent plates (given in the Jour. Bi. Or. Res. Soc., Vol., XVIII between pages 294-95) I find that Mr. Rajaguru's reading of the passage is correct with the exception of Patnapura. The conjunct consonant 'tya' is very clear. Having read 'Patyapura' incorrectly as 'Patnapura' Mr. Satyanarayana Rajaguru makes certain identifications (vide, Jour. Andh. Res. Soc., Vol. X, pp. 164-168). I am unable to approve of them as they are based on wrong reading.

Cikhali Pañcālī, who was a subordinate of the Early Gāṅga king Madhukāmaṛṇava of the 528th year of the Gāṅga era. This village Pātyāpura seems to have been named Cikhali-Pātyāpura, that is, Pātyāpura or Paṭṭapura attached to or situated in Cikhali-Pañcālī. This village seems to have been called Cikhali-Pātyāpura in order to distinguish it from probably another Pātyāpura, situated elsewhere in the Kāṇḍa country. It appears likely that Pātyāpura or Paṭṭapura and Paḍugrāma are identical. I am further inclined to identify this Pātyāpura (Paṭṭapura and Paḍugrāma) and Hondaravaḍa with the present villages of Padda and Haḍdaravaḍa or Haḍdivaḍa in the Parlakimedi taluk. If these identifications are accepted then the region around the three villages may be taken to have corresponded to the ancient territorial division of Cikhali Pañcālī.

Devanna Pañcālī.

With the scanty material now available it is difficult to locate Devanna Pañcālī. No village by name Devanna is now known. There are two villages bearing the same name Devaḍa, one in the Tekkali taluk and the other in the Chicacole taluk, Ganjam district. It is not known if any one of these villages was called Devanna in ancient times. But it seems certain that because the three Pañcālīs, Korāsoḍaka, Puṣyagiri and Cikhali were adjacent to one another and that these were later on combined into a single administrative division it is therefore likely that this Devanna Pañcālī also must have been in their neighbourhood.

We thus come to know of four Pañcālīs. The term pañca in Pañcālī itself suggests that there should have been five territorial divisions and not four. This is, as has been known to us, further corroborated by the grants of the later Gāṅgas of Kāṇḍa which inform us that the original five countries were combined into a single administrative unit with an officer called Patra over each, supervised by a Rāṇaka, governor of the Pañcaviṣayas.

Dagha Pañcālī.

Happily a new copper-plate grant which was discovered a few years back in the Ganjam district, furnishes the name of the fifth Pañcālī. This grant belongs to king Śāmantavarman or Mahāśāmantavarman as he is also called, an Early Gāṅga ruler of Kāṇḍa, and registers the grant of Pratiṣṭhāpura in the Dagha Pañcālī viṣaya to some brahmans on the occasion of the sun's passage to the north (Uttarāyaṇa puṇyakāla) in the 64th year of the Gāṅga era. Pratiṣṭhāpura is unidentifiable. It seems probable that the name of the village is the Sanskritised form of some *desi* name like *Peruruperu* being equivalent to the Sanskrit word Pratiṣṭhā. This tendency to sanskritise ordinary village names in early times in Kāṇḍa may be observed from the time of Umavarman who issued the Brhatproṣṭha grant.²⁶

Daḡha Pañcali which comprised in it the village of Pratisthā-pura, must have also been adjacent to some one of the four Pañcalis mentioned above.

Pañcaviṣaya which was constituted into one administrative division by combining these five Pañcalis together, appears, therefore, to have comprised a major portion of the Parlakimedi taluk and probably portions of any one or more of its adjacent taluks in the Ganjam district.

LIFE AND TIMES OF ANANTAVARMA CHODAGANGA OF KALINGADESA, A. D. 1076-1147.

BY

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(1) *Sources*.—C. P. and Stone Inscriptions, Coins, Archæological remains and Literature.

(2) *Introduction*.—Parentage, early career, connection with Cholas and Chalukyas and Chedis. His father, *Devendravarma* Raja Raja I (A. D. 1069-1076) gained a great victory against the Dramilas (Tamils) or Cholas and married *Rajasundari*, the daughter of Rajendra Chola I (A. D. 1015-1042). He rescued Vijayaditya VII (the stepbrother of Raja Raja Narendra of Vengi (A. D. 1022 to 1063) from the hands of Vira Rajendra (A. D. 1063-70) who invaded Vengi and reinstated him on the throne. The Dirghasi Inscr. dated A. D. 1075 refers to Banapati, the Brahmin Minister and Commander of Raja Raja, as having conquered Vengi and a Draksha Rama Inscr. dated A. D. 1081 refers to his being a Minister in Anantavarma Chodaganga's reign also. Both these kings claim victories over Cholas when they invaded Vengi and refer to their help to Vijayaditya VII (A. D. 1063-1077).

Anantavarma Chodaganga got the throne when he was very young and ruled for 72 years. He had a long and victorious reign like that of Kulottunga Choda and Vikramaditya VI. Just like them he was a great warrior. He held several sovereign titles like Raja Parameswara, Parama Bhattaraka, Paramabrahmanya, Trikalingaadhipati, etc. He had several wives of whom two Cholahadevi (Jayamgondar) and Kasturikamodini were Chief queens (Pattamahishis). Kasturika son Kamarnava succeeded the father to the throne in A. D. 1147, and ruled till 1156. Another queen was named Indira and her son Raghava

succeeded Kamarnava and ruled from 1156 to 1170. Two sons of another wife Chandralekha then ruled successively: Raja Raja II from 1170 to 1194 and Aniyanka Bhima from 1194 to 1198. Thus, the father and his four sons ruled from A. D. 1076 to 1198 over the whole of Kalinga extending from R. Godavari in the south to R. Gangas in the north. This, I consider, is a unique feature. Anantavarma Chodaganga had a brother named Ulagiyamvamda Permadideva whose wife was named Pallava Mahadevi and the son born to them named Peddajiyyanayani Chodaganga was made a Mahāmandalika (Governor-in-chief of a Province) along with the father during the period A. D. 1132 to 1139.

(3) *Conquests*.—Chodaganga was a benevolent and absolute ruler served by several faithful generals, commanders and ministers. The Premier was Pinnayabhat, a learned and clever Brahmin. Banapati, a brahmin general who served his father in the Vengi campaigns took Kimidi, Kosala, Gidrisingi and Oddadesa and was made a Governor. The Foreign Secretary (Sandhi Vighrahi) was Sommula Rechana also a learned brahmin, Anantavarma Chodaganga was crowned in A. D. 1076 in Kalinga-nagara or Modern Mukhalingam in Parlakimidi Talug. From his own C. P. grants and those of his successors, we learn that his empire extended to R. Godavari in the south, the city of Midnapur in the north, the Bay of Bengal in the east and the E. Ghats in the west. From his Visal inscr. of S' 1040 we learn that he conquered Vengi and Utkala countries 1132 A. D. A Sreekurman insc. states that having subdued the Western, Northern and eastern countries, he satisfied Devas, Rsis, Pitrus and Brahmanas with rich gifts. He changed his capital to Cuttack in A. D. 1135 from which time he took up the title of Paramavaishnava and Chakravarti. The *Madalapān̄ji* states that he defeated Suvarna, the last of Kesain kings and succeeded to Utkala. He was defeated by Ratnadeva of Chedi Line who bears the title of Trikalinga-adhipati but soon Anantavarma won back his supremacy. The Pittapur Inscr. states that, after Kulottunga Chola's death in A. D. 1118 when his son Vikramachola left the Vengi Viceroyalty in the hands of Velnati Cholas and retired to the south, Vengi suffered from internal strife and foreign invasions. It was then that Chodaganga conquered that part of Vengi lying to the north of R. Godavari called South Kalinga. But this did not go without being challenged by Vikramaditya VI, the W. Chalukya Emperor and after him by Velnati chiefs who claim to have burnt Kalinga but Anantavarma finally conquered and annexed the country in A. D. 1135, when Vikramachola died as stated in Sreekurman Inscription. Hence the change of capital to Cuttack.

Administration.—His Inscriptions found in the Sreekurman and Mukhalingam Temples, published in S. I. I. Vol. V, Nos. 1005 to 1342, are the most important of all, as they throw a flood of light on the social and political conditions of the times. The

Empire was divided into several Mandalams or Provinces and each Mandala into several Nadas or Vishayas or Districts and each Vishaya into several gramas or villages. The army was also organised. There were several cities and towns. Several offices and officers are mentioned both civil and military. Thus, Gangaikonda Chola Valanandu, Guddavadinandu, Jantaru Nadu, Prolanadu, Pottapi Nadu, Pakanadu, Dimili Vishaya, Varaha Vartani, Vomkhara bhoga, Prakkinadu etc. etc. are all mentioned. Most of the villages or hamlets or aghahara granted to Brahmins or temples or ministers or commanders are found in these Nadus. Gifts were made with the knowledge of the Janapadas Ministers and Rashtrakuta Pramukhas and they were exempted from paying taxes or dues. Several officers like Karanam (village accountant) Purohit (Priest), Puravasi (Town head), Talavari (village policeman) Dandanayaka (Magistrate), Dandapasi (Police Inspector), Raja Guru (Royal Advisor), Maha Pradain (Chief Minister), Mahasandi Vighrahi (Secretary General for Peace and War), Mahasenapati (Commander-in-chief) Mahadandavasi (Inspector-General of Police) Mahamandalika (Governor-General), Mahapatra (Palatine Chief or Frontier Guard) and others are mentioned in inscriptions.

The King's Revenue was derived from Crown lands, customs dues, benevolences and tributes. Salt and abkari fetched a good sum, being Government monopolies. Royal expenditure was divided into four kinds: (1) administrative charges, (2) religious benefactions, (3) public Works, (4) household expenses. There was coinage of varied type and metal: Madas, Ganda—Madas, Malla Madas, Matsya Madas, Ganga Madas, Fanams, Chinuams, Tankas (gold, silver and copper) and Matsya Gadyas, etc. etc.

Conclusion.—Anantavarma was served by a hierarchy of military and civil feudatory officers called Maharajah, Maha Samantas, Yuvarajas, Mahapradhans, Maharanakas, Mahamandalikas, Mahasandhivighrahas, Mahamahattaras, Mahaclaukanayakas, Mahasenapatis, Mahapatras, etc.. etc. Similarly, there were Dt. and local officers. The minute administrative divisions and the army of officers of several grades would show that Choda Ganga Empire reached a state of perfect organisation in the 11th and 12th centuries. Chodaganga had also connections with foreign dynasties like Cholas, Chalukyas, Chedi Kalachuries and Kesaris and Senas of Bengal. The *Kalingpattu-Parani* states that Kuttotunga defeated the ruler of W. Kalinga but this was not Chodaganga. Kullotunga's conquest helped him to annex the country about 1135 A. D. He built many temples and tanks. He was a great Patron of art and letters. After a long and illustrious reign he died in 1147.

THEOCRACY IN MEDIAEVAL KERALA

BY

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From the beginning of the ninth to the end of the eighteenth century A. D. Kerala was under a theocracy such as that which a Hildebrand or an Innocent might have envied. Throughout this long period, the will of a small community of Brahmins, the Nampūtiris, was law in the land. The sanction behind it was not any armed force, but their supposed power as 'god-compellers' to secure divine favour for the obedient and bring down divine anger on the recalcitrant.

(1) *The Nampūtiris formed a separate order by themselves.* Like the clergy in the Middle Ages they lived a life of their own, apart from the rank and file of the people. As Brahmins they occupied the top of the social pyramid. And as Kerala Brahmins they had certain peculiarities and privileges denied to all other Brahmins. They were distinguished by their mode of living, dress, and fashions, primogamy or the restriction of marriage to the eldest son, consequent polygamy, impartibility of the family and seclusion of women. And on account of the custom of hopergamy the younger scions were eagerly sought after as consorts to the princesses of the royal families.

(2) *They were social dictators.* They were not only the priests or *purohitas* of the chiefs and noblemen, they gave the law also in all social and religious matters. Kerala owes its sixty-three *anacarams* or peculiar social customs to them.

(3) *The Nampūtiri's person was sacrosanct.* No one dared molest him. He had the free run of Kerala. So much so they had been found acting as spies and helping rival princes in the land.

(4) *No coronation was valid without their 'rice-pouring'.* No chieftain began his rule without their blessing conferred by pouring rice over his head. And every chieftain, before his formal installation, had to swear before Alvāñceri Tamprākkaḷ, who still officiates at the Muṛajapam ceremony in Travancore or Kal-pāñceri Tamprākkaḷ, whose family became extinct in the seventeenth century, that he would protect cow and Brahmins.

(5) *Their temple states constituted a large part of Kerala.* Even as much as a third of the land was ruled by their temple and village republics. Some not more than 2 sq. miles in area, a few not less than 400 sq. miles in extent, they constituted islands of spiritual states in the midst of secular princes and chiefs. And no king however powerful dared enter their limits without

their permission. In times of war they had served as sanctuaries for fugitive princes. Their government was carried on in the name of the deity. Not that here were not Brahmin chiefs like the princely bishops of Mediaeval Europe. But their authority was maintained by physical force rather than spiritual sanctions.

(6) *The chiefs fought out their quarrels.* Whenever dissensions arose amongs the Nampūtiris, like the Pope in the Middle Ages they caused the temporal chiefs, both Brahmin and Nayar, to espouse their cause. Thus arose the great political division in the land called the *Panniyurkur* and *Covarakkur*, the allies respectively of Panniyur and Covaram, two rival republics now in British Malabar.

(7) *These republics and the Nampūtiris in general defended their rights in the last resort by threatening to starve themselves to death.* The death of a Brahmin in these circumstances entailed the sin of *Brahmahatya* on the ruler concerned and he dared not incur it. Powerful chiefs had been compelled to make amends for their transgression by starvation, actual or threatened.

This was also the remedy when a Brahmin was the aggressor. The temporal chief was compelled to punish the guilty Brahmin by confiscating his land, if excommunication and other social penalties were deemed too light.

SECTION III
PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

BY

DR. MAULANA SAYYID SULAIMAN NADVI,
(Shibli Academy, Azamgarh)
delivered in

Section III (Early Medieval India from 1206 to 1526 A. D.)

Friends,

I am grateful to you for electing me to this Chair, and, in offering me this honour you have departed from your old traditions. For I do not formally belong to the fraternal group of your universities, nor have I been at all educated in a school or a college affiliated to any university. I have been brought up purely in institutions of oriental types and I represent that school of thought. So in selecting me for this presidential Chair, you have given ample proof of your large-heartedness, which is not only a matter of much appreciation but also a happy augury for joint collaborations of persons educated in eastern and western forms of instruction. And I hope that in future the differences of these divergent types of education will not be obstacles in the way of accomplishing commendable objects of literary and educational pursuits. We are living at such a fateful juncture of time when we must have love and regard for our own tongue, and must at the same time co-operate with the scholars, who are carrying on works in the language of their own country. And so my elevation to this chair shall, I hope, symbolise the unity of co-ordinate enterprises of literary workers, who are devoted to historical researches through the medium of Hindustani and English languages.

Before dealing with the real subject matter. I shall like to draw your attention to a particular point of view, with which the history of India is generally written. This point of view is saturated with the evils, which have not as yet been roundly denounced by an authoritative organisation. I am referring to the communal idiosyncracies, which are being adopted during the course of writing historical books. Politics has been dragged into the art

of researches of history also. This has inevitably led to estrangement and discord amongst various communities living in this country. A lot of materials could have been gleamed up for the brighter side of the Muslim rule in India, but the nation, which succeeded after their downfall, resorted to the dexterous device of extolling its own merits by either minimising or disparaging the statecraft of its predecessors. The department of public education, manned previously by the foreigners, was also utilised to serve this purpose. The glory of the present rule was eulogised in the text-books by presenting a horrid picture of the past regime. Indian historical text-books narrated and re-narrated in different ways the same story, which produced bitter effects in youthful hearts, and this bitterness has ever been the cause of disagreement in our every day life.

Some fifteen or sixteen years back I addressed in Trichinopoly a joint public meeting of the Hindus and the Muslims under the Chairmanship of a retired judge of the Madras High Court, and I asserted that communal canker originates in institutions, which begin with O, I mean, colleges and courts. This is not to be laughed at, and I shall ask you to ponder over the truth of it.

After the last Great War, education is under the direct supervision of our own countrymen. History of India is being taught by our own compatriots, who also compile various text-books, and conduct researches on the deeds and achievements of the Kings of different periods. But I regret to find that they are still treading upon the path of their foreign predecessors. And so the imperative need is to be guided by the pure motive of neutralising the evils of the previous system of writing and teaching history, and recasting it in order to create harmony and concord amongst the various peoples of this country. Historical facts are raw materials, which can be manufactured into any shape and form. A biased and unbiased historian can interpret one and the same historical incident in two different ways. Now-a-days it has become a popular practice to make fascicle generalisations out of sporadic events, although history began as an innocent art of recording facts in pure and simple ways. But this innocence has been converted into a clever ruse by making a plausible interpretation of an event and indulging at the same time in a lively discussion on it. So a historical account is depicted by two different historians in a manner, which suits and

serves their purpose. The history of the last Great War is a glaring example of this tendency. The members of the warring nations wrote its history from their own angle of vision. How the art of historical narration is being manipulated in the present war, can better be judged by the news broadcast from different countries. The study of history has therefore become a great factor in creating dissensions as well as nourishing cordial relations amongst the various nations. And so I shall request you, the historians of India, to realise the grave responsibility which lies upon you. You can plan out a brighter future for your country or carve out a darker one for it. We have to live and die together in this country. So it will be simply betraying our trust to the cause of country if we help to germinate hatred and enmity amongst ourselves by emphasising the harrowing tales of the past, and harbouring grievances for them.

There were two Muslim writers, whose high ideals of authorship are worthy of being imitated. One of them was ancestrally a Turk, but had in his heart a great love and admiration for the soil of India. I refer to Amir Khusro, who, by a mixture of Persian and Bhasha, tried to create a new language and a new cultural taste during the Muslim rule. It was he, who brought about harmony in Indian poetry by borrowing words from the languages of the ruler and the ruled, and it was he, who introduced a new tone in Indian music by interlinking some of its melody with those of the Iranian rythms. He also wrote in his mathnavi 'Nuh Siphar' a chapter on India, in which he has exhibited the excellence of his poetical talent in extolling the art, learning and literature of this country. The other scholar was Mir Ghulam Ali Azad Bilgrami, who died only 163 years back. A greater Muslim historian, and a more meritorious poet in Arabic has not been born in India. He was a poet in Hindi also, and he inherited the love of Hindi poetry from his family. One of his Arabic works, Sabh-at-ul-Marjan Fi Athar-i-Hindustan, the most vivid account of India from his pen, has made this land the envy of the world. The Muslim historians of the present age may be animated with the same sublimity of thoughts, which imbued the above two writers of the past.

A good number of books have been recently written by Indian scholars on the period, which will be discussed by us in to-day's deliberations. We are certainly obliged to the teaching staff of the various universities, who have

contributed greatly to the historical literature of this period. But the authorship of most of these works was inspired by the desire of earning some degree of a university, and so the list of these authors consists of either research students or some young members of a teaching staff. They have to undertake researches with the limitations of time and scope, and they have also to keep into consideration the personal inclinations or ideology of their academic guides. They are thus forced to agglomerate a mass of facts within a short duration of time. And so it is not a matter of much surprise if we find haphazard surmises, fascile generalisations and hasty conclusions in their historical researches. There are some scholars who, in spite of being not very adequately equipped with the knowledge in Persian, have built the edifices of their researches on the original sources of Persian text-books by seeking extraneous helps from others. There are some writers, who have not cared to go deep down into the principles and the fundamentals of the religion of the Muslim rulers, still they have formulated some theory of their own on the religious-political policy of the latter by either quoting or referring to the opinion of some literary luminaries. I am painfully surprised to find that in some historical researches Islamic Shari'at is expounded with the help of Encyclopædia of Islam; Islamic jurisprudence is explained with the aid of Macdonald's 'Muslim Theology and Jurisprudence', different aspects of Islam being discussed in the light of Rev. Hughe's 'Dictionary of Islam,' and the theories of Islamic politics, kingship and finances being delineated on the authority of Arnold and Aglinides. This erroneous method of researches casts sometimes a great aspersion on the religion of Muslim rulers, and some of such literary collaborations, instead of bearing an impressive character of historical truth, serve only to engender bitterness and acrimony of feelings amongst the readers. We undoubtedly owe a debt of gratitude to the European Orientalists, who have made appreciable contributions to Islamic learning and literature, but it is not at all advisable to rely entirely on their researches or points of view or opinions regarding the Islamic Shariat, dogmas and jurisprudences. If an investigator of truth tries to adjudge really the policy or behaviour of Muslim rulers in the light of their religion, he must have his knowledge direct from the original, trustworthy and authoritative works of Muslim divines and jurists. If it is not possible to derive benefits from these works, due to ignorance of languages in which they are

written, the luxury of authorship must not then be indulged in. For it is not advisable to discuss the trend of politics in the light of mis-intrepreted fundamentals and misconstrued laws of religion.

I shall request my friends to keep this always in their view that the kings of medieval India were, no doubt, Muslims but were not the representatives of Islam. As adherents of Islam they wielded the sceptre, but the ways of their kingship and models of their government were not exclusively based on Islamic principles. They were religiously fresh converts and were racially either Turks or Pathan or Hindus. So in spite of being Muslims for one or more generations, they could not make themselves perfect followers of Islam, nor did they try to govern their states according to Islamic conceptions of sovereignty, nor did their military commanders of expeditionary forces observe the Islamic ideals in treating their vanquished foes. This will be clear if we read in Ziauddin Barani's *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* the long discourse, which Sultan Alaaddin had with Qadi Mughithuddin or from studying the nature of Muhammad Taghulq's general massacre, in which he made no distinction between the Hindus and the Muslims. When Muhammad bin Qasim, along with his Arab army, stepped into Sind at the invitation of the Budhists, he clarified, at the very beginning of his rule, the political status of the Hindus under his regime, and they enjoyed the same privileges, which the Companions of the Holy Prophet had bestowed upon the Persians, after they were subdued. They were declared to be *شبه اهل کتاب* (resembling the People of the Book), and they, except in regulation of marriage and slaughter of animals, were to be accorded the same kind of treatment which the People of Book got under the Muslim rule. The temples of the Hindus were to enjoy the same position, which the Atashkada did in Persia, and as the Holy Companions did not demolish the latter, so the temples were also saved from being dismantled, and they remained, as they were, in Sind and Multan under the Muslim government till the 4th century A. H. Biladhuri and many Arab travellers have given their descriptions. But I regret to say that the Turkish conquerors in waging wars in India, overlooked the Islamic laws of war and peace, victory and booty as well as income and expenditure. Still their questionable behaviour is ascribed to the Islamic Shari'at, although Islam has provided a clear and definite code, which regulates how to deal with the Dhimis by mutual agreement. And according to Islamic jurisprudence

no old temples were to be demolished. But this sort of discussion is generally made an object 'of much confusion, and so the history of the Muslim rulers of India has dwindled into a confused mass of controversy. Their administration, along with their religious laws and injunctions, are depicted sometimes in a horrible manner. This has re-action amongst the other group of writers, who try to defend every deed and extol every action of the Muslim rulers. The virtue of researches is thus transformed into the vices of bitter criticisms in the historical works of the respective authors. There are, of course, some scholars, who hold balanced views on the merits and demerits of a Muslim ruler's administration. But there is a class of historians, who try to assume the role of an impartial writer by appreciating a few meritorious deeds of a Muslim King, and then, under the garb of this appreciation, indulge in adverse criticisms on various other aspects of his conduct and government. They thus prejudice their readers' minds and avoid at the same time being called biassed writers. This is however very misleading. Historical criticisms must be free from all imputed motives. Glorious deed of a king must be eulogised and not underrated, and their evil actions must be depreciated and not defended.

This must always be kept in view that the Muslim rulers were no doubt the temporal heads, but were not the spiritual luminaries and divines, who were expected to be free from all failings and shortcomings. If they committed some political errors or adopted some improper course, we do not need to offer any apology on their behalf, nor are we to feel ashamed of ourselves for their lapses. No nation can boast of having all of its rulers and conquerors as paragons of virtues. Each country in every age had good as well as bad kings. So it is quite erroneous to carp and cavil at a ruler's religion for this personal mistakes. This sort of criticism is avoided while dealing with the history of the Hindu rule in ancient India as well as the Christian rule in modern India. This is good. History must not be made a vehicle of propagating some or other thoughts. It is merely a tale of accidents and incidents, and a biography of nations. All the chronicles must be recorded accordingly. Is the history of England not replete with wars and battles? Did not the different sections inhabiting there have various civil quarrels and strifes since the days of the Roman conquest till the present days of Angol-Saxon rule? Was there no bloodshed between Scotland, Wales, Ireland and England? But the history of these

details is described in a manner, which glosses over all the acrimony and astrigency of the bygone days. England and France are knit together in a friendly tie for about a century and a half, but have they not ever remained blood-thirsty foes of each other? Still the historians wield their pen cautiously to avoid unpleasantness in the present cordial relations. The history of ancient India is also a story of internecine wars and conquering raids to this and that part of India. The Budhists, the Jains, the Brahmins, the Aryans and the Scythians, and the old inhabitants of this country had political quibbles as well as religious differences, but the modern historians are not wasting their time and energy in narrating these factious episodes. This is praiseworthy, but the same commendable and tolerant attitude must be assumed in writing the history of Muslim rule also.

I am growing perhaps unwieldy in the preliminary discourse of my address, and some of my remarks may seem to have a tinge of harshness. But I hope, you will hear them with the same sympathetic feelings, which have impelled me to express my thoughts to you, for we could not get a better gathering and a more congenial atmosphere than this to say sincerely and hear patiently the contents of our hearts.

Now let us have a talk on the historical literature of the period, which is a subject of to-day's discussion. The greatest obstacle for a scholar, trying to deal with some or other aspects of this period, is the paucity of contemporary historical sources. Like the Timurites, the rulers of this age did not have any full-fledged department for recording chronicles and events of their rule. Some men-of-letters were urged by their own accord to write history, which represented chiefly their own view points. At present we do not want much the details of chivalrous fights in battle-fields or the adventurous tales of a conqueror. We require description of civilization, culture, society, learning, literature, architecture as well as the commercial, industrial and economic conditions of a people, without which their history cannot be faithfully written. But in former days the historians tried to write history, in which they represented purely their own tastes and idiosyncracies. So a historical feature, which they thought to be significant, is a matter of little or no consideration for us, and the things, which are regarded highly important by us, were either brushed aside or described very succinctly by them.

Still, however, the present historians can get lots of materials from the extant contemporary sources, if they can only afford to labour hard with a genuine desire to make a real contribution to the art of writing history. My illustrious and revered teacher, late Maulana Shibli Nomani said very often that during the course of his researches, he prepares sweets by gathering crystals of sugar out of ants' mouth. So if a scholar makes a similar kind of endeavour, there is no reason why he should not get ample materials for his subject matter. But the modern scholars, owing to multifarious activities in the different phases of their life, have not been able to give much time to their literary collaborations. Their efforts are therefore confined mainly to the transformation of historical details and descriptions, from the Persian original sources to English, Urdu and Hindi languages with a little bit of their own comments and criticisms. In this way these languages are being greatly enriched by a mass of literature, or a literary man of mediocre taste gets some books for pleasure reading or a large number of text-books are made available to the student of different universities. But this sort of historical literature fails to quench the literary thirst of the intellectuals, nor does it help the present succeeding generations of the past rulers to visualise a hopeful future by reading a glorious record of their ancestors. For the resplendant glories of the past infuse not only a sense of pride in a nation but also serve as great incentive for making its future brighter. And it is therefore a very effective device to bring ruin upon a nation is to present before it a vilified and woeful account of its past deeds, which makes it consciously or unconsciously hate and despise its historical and cultural traditions. The contemporary literature of the period under review can be dextrously utilized for this purpose.

All the historical books of the period were written in a chivalrous age after the Iranian models. The greatest merit in a person at that time was his sterling qualities in soldiership. Every individual tried to glorify himself by performing some heroic deeds in battle-fields. The men-of-letters, who could not, like the wielders of sword, afford to take part in battles, tried to pour out their military spirits and warlike passions in the pages of their historical works, and they revelled in presenting the vivid pictures of wars and battles. And to-day when a casual reader peruses it, he finds it a catalogue of slaughter and bloodshed. This personal leaning of the historians has been a cause

of many important historical aspects being altogether neglected, and it appears that the rulers of this age did not do anything, but waged wars and fought battles only. This impression was made deeper through the perusal of Sir H. M. Elliot's History of India as told by its own historians'. We owe a great debt to Sir H. M. Elliot for he undertook extra-ordinary amount of pains and labour in finding out rare and valuable manuscripts of Persian history as well as Arabic Geography, and preserved their translations and extracts in his book, which is of inestimable help to many scholars. But I must say, without any fear of contradiction, that Sir H. M. Elliot has not been very honest in translating the passages and extracts of the various books. Some of the books from which he had selected passages for translation, had a sufficient amount of literary, cultural, sociological and non-political details also, but he deliberately glossed them over, and those, who depended exclusively on Sir H. Elliot's History of India for their researches, found the entire history of Muslim period an era of "tyranny and capriciousness of despotic rulers". This had a very baneful and pernicious effect, which has been found difficult to be obliterated. Sir H. Elliot came to India as one of the apostles of the British administration in this country, so he took upon himself the task of fostering in the hearts of 'native subjects' 'a love and admiration of his country and its venerable institutions'. He also wanted to make them 'more sensible of the immense advantages accruing to them under the mildness and equity of the present rule (vide Preface in Sir H. M. Elliot's History of India). And he could, rather did, accomplish this task by drawing a woeful picture of the previous rulers' regime.

I asserted just now that the Muslim historians of the period compiled their history after the Iranian model. Different historians, by writing various books, have chained together the political events into a connected whole, but these writers did not try to look into things beyond those of the royal court. The Arab historians differ from the Iranian ones in their angles of vision from. The former do not confine themselves to the precincts of the royal court only, but they try to write the history of the age. So they, instead of arranging the historical events according to the successive reigns of various kings, classify them year by year. Tabari, Ibn Athir, Abul Fida etc. have adopted the same model in compiling their well known historical works. The chief characteristic of an Arab historian is that he does not only give the accounts the war

and peace of the kings, but also describes the cultural, literary and economic conditions of the time, although these details are sometimes not recorded in an orderly manner. For example, the most vivid and the most elaborate description of Muhammad Taghluq's days is available to us through Ibn Batutah, who hailed from the Far West. No other historian has given a more graphic picture of the reign of any other Sultan. Ibn Batutah has also recorded some such political particulars as are not to be found in the contemporary history written in Persian. But these particulars have been found to be true by recent researches. He referred to a Muslim State of Mabbar (Coromondol) under the sovereignty of Hassan Kaithli. The coins discovered by the Archaeological departments have also given proof to the existence of this state, and Hakim Shamsullah Qadri of Hyderabad has thus been able to write a good treatise namely 'Salatin-i-M'abar' in 1928 A. D. It was through Ibn Batutah, that the educational institution of Multan could be known to us. He also gave us the first hand information of the Somar kings of Sind. His Rehela is a valuable source of knowledge for the commercial transactions between India and China through the naval routes. He has described Bengal in three of four Persian words *جہنم نو از رحمت* 'Hell full of graces'. The Turks of Turkestan also speak of Bengal in the same words. Again, it was Batutah, who told us of the Muslim colony of Malabar, the Arab kingdom of Sindapur (Goa), the Arab Sultan of Honor in the vicinity of Bombay, and the Hindu Rajabs of Malabar and other islands.

Muhammad Taghluq had cordial relations with the Abbasid Caliphs of Egypt, so there was a great influx of travellers, scholars and ambassadors from Egypt to India. This also provided the Arab historians with a great amount of materials on Indian history. Accordingly the Egyptian historian Ibn F. dlullah (died 749 A. H./1248 A. D.) in his works Masalik-ul-Absar Fi Mamalik-ul Amsar has given elaborate details of the cultural, commercial and economic conditions of the time, which are very difficult to find in contemporary historical books written in Persian. We do not find in any of these books the system of education and number of educational institutions which existed in the days of the Sultans of Delhi, but Ibn Fadlullah writes that in Muhammad Taghluq's reign there were in Delhi one thousand Madrasas, one hundred and seventy hospitals, and two thousand Khanqahs. The well-known educational institution, which was founded after a munificent expenditure

by Firoz Shah Taqhlāq, has no doubt been described by Ziauddin Barani, but he strives to bewitch us more by the glamour and flourishes of his style than to give useful informations of the nature of education imparted by the different illustrious teachers of the Madrasa. Bādr Chāch and Muthhar Kara مطهر كرا have also made glowing references to this institution in his Qasaid, which make us still more curious to know its full particulars. The chapters of Masalik-ul-Absaroon India, have been translated into French and English. This is a tribute to the erudition the Arab historians. Another Egyptian historian Abul Abbas Qalqashandi (died 821 A. H.) has also reproduced the above portion of Masalik-ul-Absar in Subh-ul-Ashafi San'at-il-Insha, صبح الاشفي في صناعة الانشا and our Shibli Academy had published its translation fourteen years back in our journal M'arif (December 1930). Many Arab biographers of this age viz. Ibn Hajar of Egypt in الدرر الكامنة في اعيان المائة الشامنة and Shaukani of Yemen in الدرر الطالع في القرن التاسع have, during the course of writing biography of eminent persons and men of letters, given also the account of some contemporary Muslim rulers of India. This shows that some of these rulers were held in great regard for their learning and scholarship.

If there had been an Ibn Batutah, an Ibn Fadlullah, and an Abul Abbas Ahmad Qalqashandi in every age, the history of India would have been told in an altogether different manner. The regime of the Timurite dynasty is generally regarded as brighter and more glorious than that of the Sultans of Delhi, and this is not because the latter were rulers of comparatively mediocre merit or had not the same elaborate and admirable type of administration, which the succeeding dynasty had. The chief reason is that no historian was born to paint a true and faithful picture of their political greatness and cultural contributions, nor did they make any effort to keep records of their glorious achievements, which they made under their rule. If there had been at least an Abul Fadl, or an Abdul Hamid Lahori, or an Abdul Baqi Nehawandi, or a Muhammad Kazim, the history of the Sultans of Delhi would have been presented in the same grandiloquent and pictursque manner, as it really deserved.

But it now devolves upon the modern scholars to fill up the gap, which has been left by the previous writers of history. A great hindrance in the way of researches on this period lies, no doubt, also in the fact that the few

contemporary historical text books, which have been spared to us by the ravages of time, are not easily available. Most of these books are still unprinted and their manuscripts are being preserved in some libraries of India and Europe only to provide delightful spectacle to casual visitors. And if any writer takes the trouble of making use of these manuscripts, we have to make ourselves feel satisfied with the information he gives us. We cannot make any comment on the genuineness of his information, nor can we throw any light on the way he tried to utilise it. So the useful manuscripts need to be printed, after which the labour of the scholars will get lighter and easier.

We are indebted to the Bengal Asiatic Society, Calcutta for publishing a good number of valuable books. Some of the members of the staff of the Muslim University, Aligarh, deserve our thanks for editing many manuscripts. We owe gratitude to certain scholars of the Agra University, Oriental College, Lahore and Hyderabad also for the great labour they have undertaken in bringing out the unprinted works of the period. Yet in spite of it, there is still a lot of contemporary literature, which are not easily available by scholars. So it will be highly advisable, if the Indian Historical Congress or any other institution makes a provision for finding out rare manuscripts, and publish either their texts or facsimiles, after getting them duly edited. For instance, Hassan Nizami wrote *Taj-ul-M'athir*, which treats of the accounts of some slave kings, but its historical importance has been reduced due to the "exuberant vein" of the author's style, and so this book has not yet been published. It may not be exceedingly rich in historical details, yet in between "the rhapsodical and topological stuffs" of the book, we get some materials which help us to know some social, cultural and sociological aspects of the time. The style of the book represents the literary taste of the period also. *Adab-ul-Harb wa Shuj'a* written in Sultan Iltutmish's reign, is a valuable source for the art of war during the period. The Oriental College, Lahore has published a part of it, but the want of the entire text of the book is badly felt. Muhammad 'Awfi, a courtier of Sultan Iltutmish wrote *Jam'ul-Hikayat wa Lawama'ur Rawayat*. It consists no doubt of tales and fictions, but these fictitious tales give some useful informations regarding the society of the age. Ziauddin Barani in his *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, besides mentioning the names of the authors of *Tabaqat Nasiri*, *Tajul Mathir*, refers also to *Tajuddin Iraqi*, who compiled the history of Allauddin's conquests.

But this book has not yet been traced out. One of the works of Izzuddin Khalid Khani is *Dala'il-i Feroz Shahi*. This deals with philosophy. Sujan Rai, a historian of the later Timurite period, mentions in his bibliography of *Khulasat ut-Tawarikh*, خلاصۃ التواریخ, a book, named *Tarikh-i-Feroz Shahi* by Izzuddin Khalid Khani, which too, is untraceable. 'Manaqib-i-Sultan Muhammad' had been written by Shams Seraj Aff, the author of *Tarikh-i-Feroz Shahi*. This also is not available. A copy of *Sirat-i-Feroz Shahi*, by an unknown author, is in the Khuda Bakhsh Khan Oriental Library, Patna, but no scholar or institution has yet taken the trouble of publishing it. The authorship of two books *Malfuzat-i-Taimuri* and *Tuzuk-i-Taimuri* is assigned to Timur, but there is much difference between the Bombay edition of *Tuzuk-i-Taimuri*, and the excerpts given from *Malfuzat-i-Taimuri* by Sir H. M. Elliot in *History of India* Vol. III. The *Mulfuzat-i-Taimuri*, translated by Abu Talib Hussaini, has been found to be a spurious one, but whether the Bombay edition of *Tuzuk-i-Taimuri* is authentic, has yet to be ascertained. No contemporary history of the Lodis is known to us. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, *Tarikh-i-Firishta*, *Waqat Mushtaqi* and *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, written in the Timurite period deal, however, with the history of this dynasty. We would not feel inclined to believe that no history of the Sur kings was written in their time. The contemporary history of this period is either still lying somewhere un-noticed or has been lost altogether. But their history, however, can be known from *Makhzan-i-Afghanan* (by Namatullah), *Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi* (by Abbas Khan Sarawani), and *Tarikh-i-Daudi* (by Abdullah). The latter two books are still unprinted, although they are highly useful historical literature on the Sur dynasty. For the history of Babur, his own *Tuzuk* and the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, written by his cousin, Mirza Haider Daughlat, are works of great importance. A. S. Beveridge has published the English translation of Babur's *Tuzuk* with useful marginal notes. But the publication of the Persian translation of the *Tuzuk* which Abdur Rahim Khan Khana did for Akbar is still needed. The *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* is an account of the Moghuls of Central Asia and particularly of the Chaghtais but this book, written in India, contains some useful informations about Babur and Humayun also. Mr. Denison Ross, by translating it into English, has rendered the original Persian text not worthy of such notice. But to rely entirely on translations, howsoever reliable and authoritative they may be, is to lower the high standard of

research and enquiry. The misunderstandings, which have some times been caused due to deficient and faulty translations, can better be realized by a study of Mr. Hodiwalla's book, "Studies in Indo-Muslim History". A research scholar would lose his absolute confidence in Elliot's "History of India" after finding the latter's mistakes which Mr. Hodiwalla has sifted in his book. Strong criticisms levelled against the English translations of Tarikh-i-Yamini, Tabaqat-i-Nasri and Tarikh-i-Firishta also, prove that it is not safe to rely mainly on translations in research works.

Gentlemen,

Previously your attention might have been drawn from this chair to the fact that the history of the dynasties which ruled over the different provinces, does not deserve to be ignored. The accounts of the multifarious achievements of the various provincial governors require special study. Again, the history of the rival and tributary states to the central governments need a comprehensive and fuller treatment. The Bahmani dynasty of Hasanabad and Gulburga, the Adilshahi Sultans of Bijapur, the Qutub Shahi kings of Telang, the Imad Shahis of Berar and Bareed Shahi rulers of Bidar have left a deep impression on the politics, society, culture, civilization and art of the Southern India. The brilliant achievements of the Khaljis in Malwa and Mandu, the Faruqis in Burhanpur and Muzaffer Shahis in Gujrat cannot be forgotten. The independent kingdom of Gujrat was far superior to the central government at Delhi in educational, commercial and naval advancements. Similarly the history of Vijayanagar needs our due attention. It is interesting to find out that in the fighting forces of this Hindu State, Muslim soldiers enjoyed a privileged position. In Thatta and Sind, the courts of Tajuddin Yalduz and Nasiruddin Qubacha were on no account inferior in grandeur and magnificence to the courts of Aibak and Iltutmish at Delhi. After Nasiruddin Qubaicha the rulers of the Jam dynasty were masters of Sind. Their history also deserves our notice. The Lankah Sultans of Multan were always given much importance for the strategical position of their capital. The accounts of the kings of Kashmir afford also interesting matter for historical literature.

For the compilation of the history of the above mentioned kingdoms our modern scholars have, of late, given proof of their interest. Some members of the staff of the Osmania University are trying to write the history of some

of the Deccan states, especially, the Bahmani dynasty. The Anglo-Vernacular Society of Ahmedabad is compiling also the history of Gujrat during the Muslim rule. It is learnt that the history of early Muslim kings of Bengal is also being prepared under Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar's guidance.

One great difficulty in writing the history of the provincial kingdom is that contemporary sources are very few. Their history is gathered from their books, which were written in the Timurite period. Firishta in describing the sources of the history of the Bahmani dynasty has referred to Haji Muhammad Qandhari's Bahman Nama, Mulla Daud Bidari's Tuhfat-us-Salatin and Mulla Abdul Karim Sindhi's Sawanih Mahmud Gawan. Firishta has also mentioned the name of a historian, named Shah Khur, who wrote Waqa-i-Qutub Shahi after coming from Iraq to India in Ibrahim Qutub Shah's reign. But these books are to be found no where. A contemporary history of Gujrat is the Tarikh-i-Muhammad Shahi which gives its accounts from 863 A. H. to 917 A. H. There is also a book by an unknown author on the siege of Mandu laid by Muzaffar Shah II of Gujerat. It was probably written in the same period. But these books have so far remained unpublished. Besides these two books, the contemporary records of the Muzaffar Shahi dynasty are not known. There is only one book "Nasir Shahi" on the history of Malwa. It deals with the historical events which took place from 906 to 916 A. H. during the regime of Nasiruddin Abdul Qadir Shah, the ruler of Malwa. But this too is still a manuscript. There are also no contemporary records of the reign of the king of Sind, Kashmir, Multan, Bengal and Jaunpur and Adil Shai, Bareed Shahi and Imad Shahi dynasties. But if contemporary sources are not to be found, the history of the different provincial states should be written with the help of the authoritative books which were written later on. But some of these works also have not yet been printed, so it is imperative that their manuscripts should be published and made easily accessible.

For the preparation of the history of the period under survey, the works of the poets and the writings of the theologians and mystics can also be made of great use in researches. Great importance is attached to the political deeds of kings, but history is not simply the record of the achievement of kings. A valuation of the literary, cultural, social, moral conditions of every age is an important subject

matter of history. Therefore if a critical analysis of the poetical works of Nasri Khorasani, Muhammad Awfi, Amir Ruhani Samarqandi, Abul Farj Runi, Tajuddin Dabeer, Shahab Mohmara, Amir Fakhruddin Amidi, Badar Chach, Muthar Karha, Khusro, Hassan Sajzi, Ubaid, Issuddin Khalid Khani and Shamsuddin, be made, we shall be able not only to estimate the literary progress of the period, but get also a glimpse of historical events in between the couplets. But we regret to find that there are only few fortunate poets, whose works have been published. For this very reason, no appreciable effort has been made so far to carry on research work with the help of their writings. The works of Amir Khusro, which have been published are indeed being utilised in historical investigations.

The works of the great mystics of India are also highly valuable for knowing the religious, social and moral conditions of India. During the Muslim rule in India, there were always two sovereigns, who had parallel suzerainty over the people. One of them reigned by having sceptre and crown, and the other ruled by living in the quiet corner of cloisters. If one conquered lands with swords and guns, the other won hearts and minds with their lofty standard of moral qualities. And it will be difficult to say to-day whose influences have been greater. But it must be confessed that even to this day the literary works of these great mystics give peace and tranquillity to a distracted mind, solace and comfort to an uneasy heart and serve at the same as spiritual light to those who transgress the path of righteousness. Their works may, therefore be rightly regarded as a precious treasure, and the history of this period can not be considered complete unless we understand fully the great revolutions which the mystics brought about in religion, code of ethics and social laws. If enquiries are made into the works and writings of Khwaja Moinuddin Chishti, Khwaja Bakhtiyar Kaki, Khwaja Fariduddin Ganj Shakar, Khwaja Shahabuddin Ali Hamdani, Khwaja Nizamuddin Ahmad Badaoni, Khwaja Nasiruddin Chiragh Dehlavi, Bu Ali Qalander, Diauddin Nakhshabi Khwaja Rukun-uddin Kashani, Hadrat Sharfuddin Yahya Manairi, Khwaja Gesu Daraz, Sheikh Abdul Quddoos Gangobi, Hadrat Ashraf Jahangir Samnani, Muhammad Ghaus Gwaliori, Mir Khurd Dahlavi, and Abdullah Shahzori, much information can be gathered on the various social and moral aspects of the period. But the scholars have not given attention to these works hence

their enquiries too have been confined to the bloodshed and wars waged by the kings.

The Ulema, too, along with the great Sufis, have contributed greatly in enriching India with their intellectual and literary achievements. During the period under review, men of accomplishments hailed in great number from Arabia, Iran and Central Asia, and it was due to their cultural activities that India became the seat of learning and literature. Most of the works, written in different languages by these Ulema, contain either in their end, or in their beginning some useful references to the contemporary kings. For example we can get such references in *Nisab-ul-Ihtasab*, *Fatawa-i-Tatar Khani*, *Tafair-i-Tatari*, *Tafair Bahr-i-Mawwaj Daulatabadi*, *Tib-i-Madanush-shafa Sikandari*, *Tasawuff Ayn-ul-Hayat*, *Tarjuma-i-Amri Kund*, and *Dastur-ul-ulema* by Mulla Abdun Nabi etc. etc.

The attention of our modern writers has hitherto been wholly absorbed in describing the political, military and administrative achievements of the kings. The architectural glories of the time have, of course, been duly admired by some European writers. But the progress made in literature, education, culture, society, public works, agriculture, animal husbandry, industry and commerce has not so far been fully dealt with. A member of the staff of the Calcutta University has thrown some light on the cultivation of art and literature of this age in a few chapters of his book 'The promotion of learning in India during the Muhammadan rule.' A lecturer of the Patna University has made a critical study of some poets of the period. The present Chairman of the Arabic Department in Lucknow University wrote sometimes back a book on Amir Khusro. The Head of the Department of Arabic and Persian in the University of Nagpur has produced a book entitled 'Pre-Mughal Persian in Hindustan.' But even then the true picture of the literary progress of this age has not yet been drawn. A sketch of educational institutions and curriculum is obtained by 'Hindustan ki Qadeem Islami Darasgahain (old Islamic educational institutions of India), a publication of our Shibli Academy, Azamgarh. One of the former secretaries of Nadwat-ul-Ulema, late Maulana Sayyed Abdul Hai, had, after twenty years of hard labour, collected in ten volumes the accounts of the great theologians from the conquest of Sind to the end of the Muslim rule. It is an invaluable treasure, which, if published, will save many

years of the lives of researchers from being wasted. One volume of this, which deals with the theologians of the 8th century A. H., has been published by Dairat-ul-M'arif, Hyderabad. And very recently, the Head of the Theology Department, Osmania University, Hyderabad, had compiled a very informative book in Urdu on Muslim educational system in India, in which he has given useful descriptions of the modes and principles of education, which existed ever since the beginning of Muslim rule to the present day. A good epitome of the social, economic and commercial conditions of the period can be read in 'Life and condition of the people of Hindustan,' which has been published by the Bengal Asiatic Society, Calcutta. 'The Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi' by the present Reader in History, Delhi University is a praise-worthy attempt to give faithfully the correct estimate of the Muslim rule in India.

The different aspects of the civilization of this period are described by modern writers very succinctly either in a few paragraphs or utmost in a chapter. This has created an impression that these are too poor in details to be discussed elaborately. This is however not true. It requires an extra-ordinary amount of labour, patience, and insight to glean and cull such details from different sources. But no scholar has yet thought it worth-while to prove himself equal to the task, and so we have not been able to have a true account of the civilization, which existed in the past. And our history is therefore, mostly a narration of unpleasant facts, which we have to read with pain and worry. Realising this, fourteen years back, I decided, on behalf of the Shibli Academy, Azamgarh, to have an exhaustive history of India written in ten or twelve volumes. The main object of this is to describe fully the contributions of Muslims towards the material well-beings and cultural advancement in India. The work is in progress, and two volumes have already been compiled. The cultural achievements have been dealt in two separate volumes, which will be followed by some more complimentary ones.

It is pleasing to note that the imperative need of re-writing the history of India is keenly felt everywhere. The Muslim University, Aligarh, has founded Indian Historical Institute for the purpose and the Bharat Itihas Prashad, Benares, has also the same object in view. We have heard it with great pleasure that the Indian Historical Congress has also resolved to have a history of India written, for which His Exalted Highness, the Nizam of

Hyderabad has given a handsome donation. I wish every success to these different institutions in their laudable pursuits. But before I conclude, I will repeat the same thing, which I said in the beginning. The aim of writing the history of India must be to unite and not to disunite the different peoples living in this country. The present should not be allowed to be embittered by the rancorous memories of the past, and thus let us not make the future inglorious.

Historians of India !

Do not only write history of India, but make its history by your noble examples. Start with an honest motive and God will help you.

STATUS OF MUSLIMS IN THE VIJAYANAGARA EMPIRE

BY

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Long before Ala-ud-din Khalji's dashing raid into the Deccan in 1294 A. D., Persian and Arab Mussalmān traders and soldiers of fortune, scholars and saints, founded their small colonies on the western and southern coast of India. Writing about 1292 A. D., John of Montecorvino states 'In the regions by the sea are many Saracens, and they have great influence'. They enjoyed complete religious freedom and pursued their avocations without any molestation by the rulers of the land.¹ But when the Turkish Sultans of Delhi drew the sword, the clash of creeds and races commenced. By 1327 A. D. practically the entire peninsula from the Tapti to Cape Camorin, was conquered by the Turks. The Hindus, who were not unaccustomed to political revolutions and change of dynasties, would have passively accepted the new masters, if the latter had remained content with the acquisition of mere political power. But the soldiers of the Turkish conquerors behaved as crusading warriors. Their anxiety to achieve quick victory and their greed of gold clouded their moral vision as

1. Tarachand : Influence of Islam on Indian culture, pp. 31-45; K. A. Nilakanta Sastri : Foreign Notices of South India, p. 188; S. M. H. Nainar : Arab Geographer's knowledge of Southern India, pp. 162-4.

generally happens in all wars of aggression. The handful of Mussalmāns who rushed into hostile lands far away from their base employed all possible forms of terrorism to cow down the resistance of the Hindus. Political adventurers and bigoted theologians of the Muslim camp had no scruples to rouse the unholy enthusiasm of their ignorant and rapacious followers by distorting and exploiting the sublime idea of Jihād to further their own selfish ends. The Hindus associated the callous cruelty of their despoilers with the message of the Prophet, and could not reconcile themselves to the new dispensation. Both the Mussalman and Hindu records give heart-rending account of the plight of the people during these dark days.

Vijayanagara was founded about 1336 A. D. to champion the cause of the Hindus, and to recover and revive from ruin all that the dwellers in the south held most dear—their religion and culture. It was faced with two tremendous problems; firstly, the elimination of Turkish political power from the south, and secondly the restoration of the harmony between various creeds and races that inhabited the land. It tackled both of them very creditably. While using the armed might of the state to crush the political domination of the Mussalman powers, it did not molest the peaceful Mussalman settlements in the empire. There is no evidence to show that the *Rajas* of the Vijayanagara empire imposed any special disabilities on them in retaliation for the devastations caused by their co-religionists of the north in the preceding and succeeding decades. No Mussalman chronicler has mentioned any kind of oppression of the followers of Islām in the empire among the causes of the numerous wars waged against it by the Bahmani Sultans. There was brisk trade between ports of Vijayanagara and those of Muslim lands. Foreign travellers who visited the empire have noticed the existence of flourishing settlements of 'Moors' at Honāwar, Bhatkal, Mangalore, Negapatam, Mailapur and Pulicat. Ibn Batuta,³ who was in India from 1333 to 1342 A. D. states that in his day the Mussalman chief of Honāwar was subject to Harihara, the first ruler of Vijayanagara. By the beginning of the sixteenth century, according to Poies,⁴ a separate Mussalman quarter grew up at the end of the capital city and many of them were 'natives of the country'. In rural areas also there were some Mussalmāns. Duarte Barbosa⁵ while describing the empire about the same time says 'All these villages and hamlets are inhabited by Heathen, among whom dwell a few

2. Malik Khusrāu: *Khazain-ul-Futuh*; Ganga Devi: *Kamparaya-caritam*, Canto viii.

3. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri: *Op. Cit.*, p. 234.

4. Sewell: *Forg. Emp.*, p. 256.

5. The Book of Duarte Barbosa. (Eng. Trans. by M. L. Dames), Vol. I, p. 200.

Moors (Mussalmāns)'. The same traveller mentions the existence of many mosques at Mangalore and gives a high tribute to the spirit of toleration prevailing in Vijayanagara; 'The King allows such freedom that every man may come and go, and live according to his own creed without suffering any annoyance, and without enquiry, whether he is a Christian, Jew, Moor or Heathen'.

Deva Raya II enlisted Mussalmāns in large numbers in his army. According to an inscription of 1430 A. D., he had 10,000 *Turuska* horsemen in his service.⁶ Ferishta says that the *Raya* explored the causes of the success of the Bahmani Sultāns in various wars, and came to the conclusion that the superiority of the latter arose from their better horses and archers. Accordingly, he issued orders 'for the entertainment of Mussalmāns in his service', allotted them *jagirs*, erected a mosque for their use in the city and ordered a copy of Qurān to be placed before his throne, on a rich desk, for their obeisance in his presence without violation of their laws. Soon he had two thousand Mussalmāns, and sixty thousand Hindus well skilled in archery, besides eighty thousand horse and two hundred thousand foot.⁷ As horses did not thrive in southern India, they were imported from Sindh, Persia and Arabia. The Arab merchants had a monopoly of horse-trade at this time and so they came to acquire a status of some importance in the commercial life of the country. Once, in 1469 A. D., they appear to have abused their position by being partial to 'the Moors of the Deccan' in their supply of horses. This conduct exasperated Virūpākṣa Rāya, who ordered his vassal at Honāwar 'to kill all those Moors as far as possible, and frighten the rest away'. Ten thousand Mussalmāns were massacred and the survivors fled and settled themselves at Goa.⁸ Saḷuva Nara-simha, who occupied the throne shortly after Virupākṣa Rāya, realised the criminal folly of the latter, and tried his best to undo the mischief. He gave every encouragement to the Arab merchants to revive old connections and even paid for those horses that perished at sea. Kṛṣṇa-deva Rāya advocated a very generous treatment of the foreign horse-dealers.⁹ Thus Mussalmān officers and soldiers became an integral part of the Vijayanagara military machine. Many of them were 'natives of the country', and served in the royal guard. Paes describes a review of troops on the occasion of the Mahānavami festival at the capital when the 'moors' turned up 'with their shields, javelins, and Turkish bows, with many bombs and spears and fire-missiles'.¹⁰ Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya had such great confidence in them that he sent them to lead

6. *Ep. Carn.*, III. Sr. 15.

7. Ferishta (Briggs), II, pp. 430-2.

8. Sewell: *Op. Cit.*, p. 99.

9. *Ibid*, p. 307; *Amuktamalyada*, canto iv, verse 258.

10. *Ibid*, p. 277;

the *van* during his Raichur campaign, and even deputed one, Ismail Khan, to subdue the Hindu Chief of Gandikota.¹¹

Rāma Rāya, the chief minister of Sadāśiva Rāya, appears to have surpassed all the other previous rulers in his liberal policy towards the Mussalmāns. At any rate greater details are available regarding his fair dealings with the minority community. A copper-plate states that a number of Turuṣkas sought admission into his army.¹² Ferishta says that he took into his service three thousand of the Mussalmān officers who had been discharged by Ibrahim Adil Shāh due to their Shia faith and gave them such freedom of worship and conscience as was done by Deva Rāya II. Names of a few of his Mussalmān officers have come down to us: Ambur Khan, who was given a *Jagir* for his maintenance; Ain-ul-Mulk Gilany, who was addressed as 'brother' by him; and Dilwar Khan, who was his *Karya-Karta*.¹³ The sincerity of his policy was put to test when the Mussalmāns sacrificed cows in a mosque in their own locality of the city. The excited Hindus led by his own brother urged him to forbid them from slaughtering cows. But he not only refused to yield to their clamour, but also rebuked them saying that the Turks had come to serve, but not to give up their religion.¹⁴ It is a tragedy that such robust sympathy and confidence should have been ill-requitted by two of his trusted Mussalmān Generals, who in 565 A. D. went over to the side of the enemies of the empire at a critical moment of its history on the plains of Raksas-Tagdi.¹⁵ Perhaps, the memory of the callous cruelty of their master towards their co-religionists of Ahmadnagara kingdom during previous wars,¹⁶ made them, in a moment of weakness, prove false to their unsuspecting benefactor.

However, most of the Mussalmāns seem to have confined themselves to commercial and military pursuits. In civil administration, they do not appear to have gained any important status. There is very little evidence to show that they rose to even a modicum of influence in state affairs as some of the Hindus did under the later Sultāns of Ahmadnagar and Golconda. Perhaps, their small number and limited avocations did not warrant any such gain, especially in the state where the idea of *varnashrama-dharma* was the guiding principle.

But this does not mean that they were completely cut off from civil life of their surroundings. In 1440 A. D. Ahmad Khan,

11. *Ibid*, p. 329; L. R. 18, p. 231.

12. *Ep. Carn.*, viii, Pl. 5.

13. Ferishta (Briggs), III, pp. 78-9, 328, 381; *Ep. Carn.* x, Kl. 147.

14. Jr. B. B. R. A. S., XXII, p. 28—Extract from Raffiuddin Shiraji's

History of Bijapur.

15. Heras: The Aravidu Dynasty, pp. 211-12.

16. Ferishta (Briggs), III, p. 120-21, 244.

a servant of Deva Raya II, constructed a well.¹⁷ Saluva Narasimha and some of his successors granted some villages to the *Darga* of a famous Mussalmān saint, called Babayya in Penugonda.¹⁸ In A. D. 1537 a Hindu constructed a mosque for the use of the Mussalmāns.¹⁹ In 1551 A. D. Ain-ul-Mulk secured the grant of the village of Bevinahalli for some Brāhmaṇas.²⁰ In 1555 A. D. *Devadana* village was granted to a mosque.²¹

These are only a few available recorded instances of what might have been of common occurrence in those days, proving harmonious relations between the two communities. While we have evidence of sectarian disputes among Hindus involving even bloodshed and royal intervention, there is not a single record of such unseemly scenes between the Hindus and the Mussalmāns. If there had been any such squabbles or if the Mussalmān community had been under any special disadvantage it would at least have been mentioned by foreign travellers, especially, Abdur Razzak. On the contrary, the latter mentions a Mussalmān resident of Mangalore, who had been for many years an object of veneration to the members of both the communities.²²

The status of the Mussalmāns in the Hindu empire, however, may not be judged by the offices they held under it or by a few reciprocal acts of charity, but by the manner in which justice was administered to them, because it affected every individual member of the community. In this respect too, it appears that there was no invidious distinction. Describing the cosmopolitan concourse of the people who took part in the commercial life of the city, Barbosa²³ says 'great equity and justice is observed to all, not only by the rulers, but by the people, one to another'. Judicial authorities were accessible to every one. Abdur Razzak says 'every man who comes upon any business.....offers a small present.....and the Daiang (*Dannayaka*) pronounces his opinion according to principles of justice adopted in his kingdom'. The same writer tells us how promptly the guards of the locality compensated his companions for the loss of their slaves.²⁴ Nuniz says that when any one suffered wrong, he would complain to the king even while he was riding and secure justice.²⁵ For the most part civil disputes were settled by the elders of the community according to their customs and practices. In the matter

17. V. R. : *Top. List*, By. 356.

18. *Ep. Rep.* for 1911, p. 88.

19. *Ep. Carn.* IV, Kr. 72.

20. *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 210.

21. 538 of 1917.

22. R. H. Major : *India in the Fifteenth Century*, I, 44.

23. *Loc. cit.*, p. 202.

24. *Loc. cit.*, p. 25, 30.

25. *Loc. cit.*, pp. 380-81.

of punishments for crimes, the Hindu and Mussalmān Codes were nearly similar both being extremely severe. Small thefts] were punished by mutilation of a foot and a hand while big ones by hanging.

There was, however, one restriction on the civil liberties of the Mussalmāns. Slaughter of oxen or cows was forbidden throughout the empire. In the time of Rāma Raya, this rule appears to have been relaxed in favour of religious sacrifices when performed by the Mussalmāns in their own locality.

On the whole it appears that the Mussalmāns in the empire of Vijayanagara carried on their avocations peacefully like any other community without any molestation either by the State or by other citizens.

THE 'INDEPENDENCE' OF BAHMANI GOVERNORS

BY

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It is a thorny question as to the precise date on which the rulers of Bijāpūr, Golconda, Aḥmadnagar and Berar actually declared their independence of the central government at Muḥammadābād-Bidar. Ferishtah says roundly that Aḥmadnagar declared its independence about—1490, and the process went on right up till 1512 when the last governor to declare his independence. Sultān Qulī Qutbu'l-Mulk, became Qutb-Shāh. We have to examine the truth of these statements in the light of the evidence we have got.

Although Yūsuf 'Ādil was the first to have shown a recalcitrant tendency after Maḥmūd Gāwāj's murder, it was Malik Aḥmad who was hit directly by the intrigue of the court against his father Malik Ḥasan Nizāmu'l-Mulk which led to the old man's murder. The new party alignments at Bidar had largely obliterated the old racial distinctions between the Old-comers and the New-comers,¹ for now Qāsim Barid the Turk had set his face against Yūsuf 'Ādil the Turk and had allied with the Dakhnis of the capital against another Dakhni Malik Aḥmad. Henceforward the feud was not based on racial antagonism but on pure

1. There were, of course, lapses; thus after Kamal Khan Dakhni's murder at Bijapur the regent, Panji Khatun issued a proclamation that henceforth Bijapur was to be a 'Mughal state.'

selfishness and on attempts to get full control of the person of the Sultān. The more sober of the ṭarafdārs soon became disgusted with the orgies with which the court and the capital were ablaze and were soon content with what they had in their own provinces and provincial capitals. On the other hand, Qasim Barid, and after him his son Amir Barid, wished to have fullest control even over the outlying provinces, but they were no match for the capable ṭarafdārs like those of Bijāpūr, Junair and Tilangānā. Hence the bitter and never ending squabbles between them resulting in the downfall of the kingdom.

It was after the court had directly opposed the ambitions of Malik Ahmad that the latter began to ponder over the exact relationship which ought to subsist between a weak suzerain and a strong and ambitious vassal. It was after his successful attempt to extricate his people from the effete and corrupt administration at the capital that he definitely decided not to have anything more to do with the entourage of the Sultān. It is related by some of our authorities that about this time he not only "declared his independence" entitling himself Sultān Ahmad Nizām Shah Bahri but actually sent messages to Yūsuf 'Ādil and Fathu'l-lah 'Imādu'l-Mulk to follow suit which they did.² No doubt events at the capital must have incensed Nizāmu'l-Mulk a good deal, and made it possible that, as is related. He "removed the Sultān's name from the Khuṭbah at least for the time being,"³ but there are some interesting details even with regard to this, for we read that when the Sultān's name was removed from the Khuṭbah by Nizāmu'l-Mulk this was regarded as an act of "great disrespect" to the Bahmanī Sultān, his liege lord by the local nobility, and he had to reinstate the deleted portion forthwith.⁴ In the same way when he began to use the white Umbrella which was the emblem of royalty at Delhi as well as in Malwa and Gujarat the people remonstrated and he had to put forward the very weak plea that he was doing so only in order to keep off the sun from him.⁵ Moreover when Yūsuf 'Ādil tried to introduce the Shi'ite Khuṭbah at Bijāpūr he succeeded for a while but he was soon forced to withdraw his orders, and as regards Sultān Maḥmūd's name

2. *Munt.* iii. 124, says that this occurred in 895/1490 when messengers were sent to Yusuf 'Adil and Fathu'l-lah 'Imadu'l-Mulk. *Fer.* I. 367 says that what was done was that the name of the king was removed from the khutbah. *Zaf.* 170 says that 'Imadu'l-Mulk had the khutbah read in 935/1529. followed by Malik Barid and then by Nizamu'l-Mulk. This means that this emblem of independence was not adopted in the time of Sultan Mahmud by these nobles.

3. *Fer.* I. 367.

4. *Fer.*, II, 97. *Fer.* I, 373, says that Qutbu'l-Mulk dropped the king's name from the khutbah but continued to send the tribute of 5,000 hunks to the Sultan every month.

5. *Fer.* II, 95.

it was removed and inserted in the Friday sermons delivered at the Great Mosque at Bijāpur much as circumstances permitted.⁶

We are definitely told by Syed 'Alī Tabātāba, the panegyrist of the Nizām Shāhīs that it was Sultān Maḥmūd who granted the title of Ashraf-i Ḥumāyūn Nizāmu'l-Mulk Bahri to Malik Aḥmad, the title of Majlis-i Rafī' to Yūsuf 'Adil and the title of Majlis-i A'lā to Qutbu'l-Mulk.⁷ The names of Yūsuf 'Adil, Ismā'il 'Adil and Mallū 'Adil are not accompanied by royal epithets in their inscriptions and at least as long as 943-/1537 the fourth ruler of Bijāpur, Ibrāhīm calls himself simply by his hereditary titles of Majlis-i Rafī' 'Adil Khān and a minister of the Bahmanī Sultān.⁸ Which shows that the old man never proclaimed himself king.⁹ In the end it might be mentioned that we are definitely without any evidence to show that the first three rulers of Bijāpur had their names stamped on their coins, while 'Abdu'l-lāh el-Makki definitely tells us that 'Imādu'l-Mulk had his Khutbah read for the first time only in 935-/1529.¹⁰ Moreover, time and again, the Sultān ordered his fiefholders to send help to him against recalcitrant nobles and his orders were faithfully complied with, such as when Faṭḥu'l-lāh 'Imādu'l-Mulk and Malik Aḥmad Nizāmu'l-Mulk sent help to him to fight against Bahādur Gilāni.

All this leads us to suppose that what happened in 895-/1490 was that the defiance to the state of affairs at the capital became more pronounced, but the spirit of loyalty to the throne was persistent, and neither Yūsuf 'Adil nor his contemporaries at Junair

6. For khutbah and sikkah as marks of sovereignty see Qureshi, *Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi*, 72.

7. Bur., 190, 204.

8. *Epig. Indo-Mosl.*, 1915-16, p. 27. It may be noticed that Yusuf 'Adil and his three immediate successors are buried at Gogi in the Gulbarga district near the mortal remains of Yusuf 'Adil's preceptor, Shaikh Jalalu'd-din Muhammad, alias, Chanda Husaini (died, 10 8 85 5-8-1454) and that their graves have no inscription whatever except the ones that have recently been put at the instance of H. E. H. the Nizam's Government. See *Epig. Indo-Mosl.*—1915-16, p. 5.

9. *Mem. Arch. Sur. of India*, No. 49 (Bijapur Inscriptions), p. 26: inscription No. 3256 on Khwaja Sunbul's Mosque; this is dated Shuhur San 918-944-1538, and gives the title of 'Adil Khan to the ruler. For Shuhur San and its comparative tables see the same, pp. 93-102. Dr. Nazim observes that the Shuhur San or the Hijri Solar year probably started in 743/1344 in the month of May, or else with the accession of Isma'il Mukh in 745 H. The era was, however, confined to the South. In the North it was Akbar the Great who created the Fasli or the Solar Hijri era by calling 993 lunar Hijri. 993 Solar Hijri or Fasli, and beginning the new calculation or from 29-3-993²¹-3-1585. It is for this reason that the modern Fasli year in vogue in most parts of India is wrong by or about 26½ years. See Abu'l-Fadl, *Akbar Nama*, Lucknow. 1881, II, 9, 10, 14.

10. *Zaf.*, 170.

and Berar really unfurled the banner of independence. As far as Aḥmad Nizāmu'l-Mulk is concerned he really did what his great namesake Nizāmu'l-Mulk Āsaf Jah I did two centuries later, for both became disgusted with the spirit rampant at the capital and both became virtually autonomous while remaining steadfastly loyal to the person of their sovereign. The Bahmani kingdom from 891/1486 right up to its extinction was like the Mughal Empire after 1764, when the ruler was utterly impotent and while his vassals did not declare their independence in so many words they, as well as the European companies, freely issued coins in the name of the sovereign without any fear of interference from the centre.

It will thus be seen that from all evidence in our possession the conclusion seems unmistakable that neither Yūsuf 'Adil nor Malik Aḥmad Nizāmu'l-Mulk nor Faṭḥu'l-lāh 'Imādu'l-Mulk ever declared their "independence" and the most we can say is that they took full advantage of the weakness at the centre and became autonomous in their own fiefs. If we glance over the political history of the reign we will notice further evidence which points to the same definite conclusion. This is the cases of Bahādur Gilāni and Dastūr Dīnār, for at every step we see the king not only summoning these so-called "independent rulers" to help him but distributing jāgirs and exchanging jāgirs from one fiefholder to another. Although he did it at the instance of the fiefholders themselves, yet it was through him they had their wrongs redressed. There is a strange episode related to us by Ferishta¹¹ which would perhaps put a stop to any further recapitulation of the theory that the fiefholders became independent of the centre. The Battle of Gangawāti (or Āland) comes to an end with the victory of Yūsuf 'Adil aided by Quṭbu'l-Mulk, and the question to be decided was as to what was to be done with Dastūr Dīnār's fiefs. With dead all round the battlefield, a *masnaa* is spread on the ground and the Sultān asked to sit on it. Then a regular *proces verbal* is gone through and a case made by Yūsuf 'Adil and Quṭbu'l-Mulk against Qāsim Barīd, and possibly at His Majesty's suggestion they take a vow that they would put an end to Qāsim Barīd and his powerful faction with Nizāmu'l-Mulk's and 'Imādu'l-Mulk's help. Surely it was impossible for such a scene to be enacted if they were equals of the Sultān in prestige and if they had been rebels who had broken away from the kingdom. The fact was that they were to all intents and purposes still fiefholders of the Crown, but as they had a rancour against Qāsim Barīd's hegemony and as the weakness of the central government had become proverbial they had asserted their power in different parts of the kingdom and become autonomous.

11. *Fer.*, II, 9.

The *de jure* subservience of the Governors is brought out even more forcefully during the reign of the last puppet king of the house of Bahman Shah, Sultān Kalīmu'l-lāh, who was put on the 'throne' after the murder of his brother, Waliyu'l-lāh by his warder, Amīr Barīd, in 1526, the year of the first battle of Panipat. This poor prisoner in his own palace, wrote to Bābar offering him Berar and Daulatābād, provinces which he no longer controlled, if he would help him in throwing off the Barīdī yoke. The news, however, leaked out, and fearing that his life was in danger, the Sultan left Bijāpur in 934/-1528. But he felt that he was not welcome even at Isma'il's capital, and thought it wise to leave for Ahmadnagar. He was at first received well by Burhān Nizāmu'l-Mulk possibly with the intention of using him for the eventual conquest of Bidar. Burhan was so considerate to the Sultān that he made him sit on the throne and actually stood with folded hands before him. But he was advised that if he repeated his homage it would cut at the root of his own prestige and loosen discipline, with the result that Burhan never again called Kalīmu'l-lāh to him in open court. The whole of this episode goes to prove that as late as 1528, the ruler of Ahmadnagar had not "declared his independence".

But there is something which is even more remarkable. We are only told that Kalīmu'l-lāh soon breathed his last at Ahmadnagar and that either he died a natural death or was poisoned and that his coffin was brought to Muḥammadād-Bidar, and we know that his mortal remains lie in a lowly tomb in the same line as the resting places of his glorious ancestors.¹² It will, however, be interesting to find out the actual date of the extinction of the dynasty and immediately to know the influence which the name of Bahman exercised on the mind of the great and the small people right up to the end.

It is a known fact that in cases of chronological difficulties which might beset a student of history the coinage of the period comes to his rescue whenever it contains a data which might be utilised. Kalīmu'l-lāh is said to have left Bidar for good in 934/-1528, but we possess coins struck in his name as late as 942 and 943/-1536 and 1537, so the Sultān must have been tarrying at Ahmadnagar for a number of years.¹³ Of course instances are to be found elsewhere of coins being struck in the name of a sovereign years after his death,¹⁴ and had

12. The tomb, like that of Waliyu'l-lāh, is small and unostentatious with a 'Firozian' pyramid on the top in lieu of a traditional dome.

13. See Speight, *Coins of the Bahmani Dynasty*. Islamic Culture, Hyderabad, 1935, pp. 275 and 306. The dates, 942 and 943 are clear in the reproductions on plate XIX and Mr. Speight is wrong in reading them 952 H.

14. Maria Theresa Dollar is still current in Abyssinia and is actually being coined there, although this Empress of Austria died as long

it not been for two remarkable inscriptions at Bijāpūr this surmise may have been regarded as merely illusory. The first inscription is that fixed outside the wall of the citadel referring to the capture of Mudgal by "Majlis-i Rafī 'Adil Khān".¹⁵ The inscription is without date but we are aware that it was after 1529, probably in 1530, that Ismā'il 'Adil captured the Doab including Mudgal from Achyūta Rāya who had succeeded his father Krishna Deva Rāya as ruler of Vijayanagar. The other tablet is fixed to a ruined wall near Khwājā Sunbul's mosque which is dated 943/-1537 (i.e., the date of the coins referred to above) and where the fourth ruler of Bijāpūr is simply called 'Majlis-i Rafī 'Adil Khān'.¹⁶ The fact that the ruler of Bijāpūr should be calling himself "Majlis-i Rafī" (the title granted to him by Kalimu'l-lah's father Maḥmūd Shāh) right up to the exact date of the last coin struck in Kalimu'l-lah's name is, to say the least, very significant.

This leads us to two other inscriptions at Bijāpūr both of 945/-1539, one on a bastion inside the south gateway of the citadel where the ruler is called 'Majlis-i Rafī Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh'¹⁷ and that on the dakhni 'Idgāh where the title granted by the Bahmani Sultān is finally cast off and the ruler is called "Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh".¹⁸ These two inscriptions go to prove almost conclusively that the person whom Ibrāhīm regarded as his liege lord was living in 942/-1537 but must have died in or before 945, i.e., sometime about 944/-1538.¹⁹ There is also the probability that not finding the political atmosphere of Ahmadnagar congenial to him, Kalimu'l-lah should have moved on to Bijapur again and may have died there.

ago as 1790. In the same way Mughal coins with Shah 'Alam's name engraved on them were current in Hyderabad Deccan till 1858 although the last Mughal ruler had been deported to Rangoon and Shah 'Alam had been dead for 52 years. It is interesting to note that the inscription was changed only at the instance of the British Resident: See Fraser, *Our Faithful Ally the Nizam*, London, 1865, p. 304.

15. See n. 9 above. For the capture of Mudgal See Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, 160, quoting Barros, Dec. iv, l. c. and Sewell and Aiyangar, *op. cit.*, 249.

16. *Mem. Arch. Surv. of India*, No. 49, p. 26, inscription No. 3251. This as well as the next two references were kindly pointed out to me by Mr. Khwaja Muhammad Ahmad, Curator of the Hyderabad Museum.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 47, inscription No. 439.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 26, inscription No. 410.

19. There are many other instances in history when homage was paid to an utterly powerless sovereign. A most interesting instance is furnished from the history of far off Travancore when in 1813 the Rani of the State petitioned the Governor-General to allow her to get a robe of investiture for her young son, the new Raja from the Mughal Emperor at Delhi for the coronation of the Raja; see Thornton, *Gazetteer of the territories under the Government of the East India Company*, London, 1854.

The last of the quartette of fiefholders who is supposed to have declared his independence was Sulṭān Qulī Qutbu'l-Mulk who is said to have worn his crown in 1512. Mr. Yazdānī, the former Director of Archæology in Hyderabad, who had done yeoman service in the cause of historical scholarship, says that Sulṭān Qulī declared his independence not in 1512 but in 1518 on Maḥmūd Shāh's death in 1518. But we have the remarkable testimony of the sepulchral slab on Sulṭān Qulī's grave at Golkonda dated 2-6-950/2-9-1543 where his name is recorded simply as Qutbu'l-Mulk not Qutb Shāh. Mr. Yazdānī's inference that the epithet, *بوجه الله المجاهد في سبيل الله* connotes a royal position, is hardly maintainable as he is described definitely as *Qutbu'l-Mulk* not *Qutb Shāh* on the slab. We are also aware that he was known by his contemporaries as *Bara Malik* all his life, and *Malik* was only a title of nobility not of royalty in those days.²⁰

All this goes to prove that not one of the great fiefholders declared his independence while the last rightful Bahmanī Sultan was alive.

SOME NOTES ON THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY AND TRADE OF THE KINGDOM OF BIJAPUR

BY

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The kingdom of Bijapur had a flourishing cotton and silk weaving industry. Cotton, was produced in the uplands of Deccan¹ and Canara and the silk required by the weavers was imported from China. The curious feature of this industry in the northern part of the kingdom was that it was situated around the ports, so that the cotton required for it had to be transported from the Deccan uplands. It is possible that in the uplands also there were towns where the weaving industry flourished, but our sources restricting their observations to the coastal territory, say nothing about them. The ports of the Konkan around which the industry flourished were, Chaul, Dabhol, Rajapur and Vengurla, where the cotton weaving industry survives to this day. At these centres cotton and silk stuffs were manufactured in great abundance and of many varieties and various colours. The cotton goods of these places were in great demand in Persia, Arabia

20. See *Epig. Indo-Mosl.*, 1915-16, p. 27.

1. Cf. Pyrard II, 136.

and some parts of East Africa.² The state took active interest in the weaving industry and the weavers were granted exemption from certain taxes.³ In the Southern part of the kingdom the English factors found the cotton weaving industry flourishing at Hubli and Lakshmishwar and in the country behind Karwar.⁴

Calicoes and muslins were the principal varieties of cotton cloth produced in the Deccan. The weaving of the first variety was fairly common throughout India, but the muslin industry was localised in Deccan and Bengal. On the Konkan coast Dabhol, Rajapur and Chaul specialised in calicoes and muslins, while Vengurla produced coarse cotton cloth for the home market.⁵ The southern centres of the weaving industry also produced calicoes and, in addition, seem to have specialised in carpet weaving and allied industries. It also seems that the 'sarīs' and other cloths required by women were produced in and around Dharwar.⁶

About the organization of the cotton weaving industry we have very little information. It seems probable that it was financed by the middlemen or the Bania who kept in close touch with the market and the requirements of the exporters.⁷ The English went to the mart towns for the purchase of pepper, cotton goods, etc., and usually entered into negotiations with a local merchant whom they appointed as their broker. A prominent figure in the mart towns of Bijapur was Benidas the broker employed by the English. Bimaldas and Vitthal Gombi were two other brokers who did business for the English factors.⁸ The brokers were financed by the foreign traders, and the producers of pepper and the cotton weavers were in their turn financed by the brokers. The English factors found that the calicoes manufactured by the weavers were of short dimensions only and if they wanted large sized cloth, the only alternative before them was to finance the weavers with the cost of altering their looms in order to make the cloth broader.⁹ This shows that the weaving industry depended for its finance on an outside agency.

Cotton goods manufactured in the kingdom were carried to Persia, Arabia and Mozambique in East Africa by Muhammadan

2. Varthema, 114-15; Barbosa I. 64, 129; Colloquies, 95; Linschoten I. 63-64; Pyrard II. 136, 211, 235, 258, 364; Jourdain, 198; Mandelslo, i' 73-74; Tavernier I. 149.

3. B. I. S. M., III. i. 15-16.

4. E. F. I. (1655-60), 239, 240, (1668-69), 108.

5. Varthema, 114; Jourdain, 198; Tavernier I. 149; From Akbar to Aurangzib, 56.

6. Cf. I. G. I. III. 153, 166 67; Belgaum D. G., 555.

7. Linschoten I. 252-53; Pyrard II. 177, 219.

8. E. F. I. (1634-6), 175, 292, (1637-41), 237, (1646-50), 252, 327.

9. E. F. I. (1655-60), 241, (1688-89), 109. Cf. (1642-45), 89.

and Portuguese traders.¹⁰ During the first half of the seventeenth century both Dābhol and Rājāpur sent out large quantities of many kinds of cotton cloths to Persia and Arabia,¹¹ but the English merchants who carried this trade considered the cloth as too fine for England. In the Canara country also cotton cloth was produced at Hubli and Lakshmeshwar and was exported by the English from Kārwar.¹²

Many kinds of rich cloths were in demand in the kingdom by a small minority, mostly the nobility. These were velvets, satins, scarlet cloths and damacks. These came mostly from Arabia, though Caesar Frederick notices a certain amount of velvet and scarlet cloth imported at chaul from Portugal.¹³ Some quantities of woollen cloth were imported into Goa and thence into Bijapur by the Portuguese.¹⁴ During the seventeenth century the English merchants found that there was a demand in the kingdom for broad cloth.¹⁵ No mention of this variety is found in the accounts of the travellers during the sixteenth century. It seems probably, therefore, that the English were the first to introduce it into the kingdom. At any rate they developed the trade in this commodity to a considerable extent. It was brought to Dābhol and Rājāpur and transported inland to Rāybāg,¹⁶ the most important mart in the kingdom. The silk-weaving industry of Chaul and Dabhol was supplied with its raw material from China.¹⁷

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10. Barbosa I. 64, 129; Linschoten I. 270; Pyrard II. 72, 235.
 11. Lancaster, 197; Mandelslo, 8, 74; E. F. I. (1618-21), 138, (1642-45), 311, (1646-50), 34.
 12. E. F. I. (1655-60), 239; 1668-69), 103-09.
 13. Linschoten I. 256; Caesar Frederick, Hakluyt II. 344. Cf. Barbosa, II. 76; E. F. I. (1618-21), 54.
 14. Pyrard II. 211.
 15. Jourdain, 194; E. F. I. (1618-21), 69, 233.
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SULTAN GHIYASUDDIN IWAZ OF BENGAL

613/1216—624/1227

BY

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In an article on the "Successors of Bakhtyar Khalji" published in No. 2, of the XIth Volume of the Indian Culture, I had only determined the chronology of the reign of Sultan Ghiyasuddin Iwaz of Bengal and had shown that he had never been a vassal to his Delhi contemporary, Sultan Shamsuddin Iltahmish. In the present article I propose to notice a few of the known organisational measures adopted by Sultan Iwaz and also to discuss the published coins of the Sultan.

Bengal was conquered by Bakhtyar in 1204, but until 1216 no attempt was made for its consolidation. Bakhtyar was too busy with his dreams of conquests while Muhammad Sheran's rule was too short, besides internal trouble and external intervention. Iwaz, during his viceroyship from 1207-1210 had his hands full with the task of reconciling the Khalji Amirs of Bengal who had opposed him *en block* in 1207. May be, he had begun consolidation at that time but there is no record of that. Ali Mardan, the next ruler who had declared his independence immediately after Aibak's death was too selfish and vindictive a man to inaugurate any measures of organisation. By his misrule and excessive cruelty he had driven all to his enemy camp, and the Khalji Amirs had to take recourse to the extreme measure of assassinating him to get relieved of his hated rule. The internal strife which began after the death of Bakhtyar in 1206 came to an end only after the murder of Ali Mardan in 1216.

The election of Iwaz by the unanimous verdict of the Khaljis of Bengal to be their chief amply proves his popularity which he must have acquired during his viceroyship from 1207 to 1210. There being an end of internal strife on his accession to the throne Iwaz could turn his attention to measures of consolidating the conquests in Bengal.

The first task that engaged his attention was the transfer of the capital from Devkot which was situated at an extremity of the kingdom to a more centrally located place, Lakhnanti, which had the honour of being Muslim Bengal's first capital during Bakhtyar's time. The new capital was to be defended by a fort built in the neighbourhood. This building of a fort outside the city tempts one to suggest that a standing army, as distinct from the citizen army, was raised which was quartered in the fort. The powerful navy which successfully prevented the invading army

of Iltutmish from crossing over to Bengal in 622/1225 must have been organised as a regular branch of the fighting forces quite early in the reign of Iwaz. This separation of the fighting forces from the civilian population, the Muslim members of which were also required to join the army as volunteers speaks of his great administrative genius. By building a navy which could be the only effective force in a low, marshy and river country like Bengal proves his ability as a military strategist.

As communication was necessary for both military and civil purposes, he built a highway connecting the capital with the two major outposts of Muslim Bengal, Devkot and Laknanor (Nagor) in the north and the south respectively.

He was a great builder too. Many public works like schools, Madrasahs and mosques were built, not only in the capital city but in almost all the important places in the kingdom. His monuments earned compliments for him from his bitterest enemy, Iltutmish also.

Credit must go to him for introducing Muslim coinage in Bengal. As far as our present knowledge goes the Bengal mint was founded in 616/1219. Iwaz's coins furnish us with information which we do not get from the chronicles of Delhi. The coins of 616/1219 all bear the legend "Sultan-ul Muazzan Ghiyasudduniya Wa'ddin Abu'l Fath Iwaz Bin Al-Husain-Nasir Amir-ul-Momenin". The caliph is not yet definitely named. Nor does Iwaz assume the greater title of "Sultan-ul Azam". A special dated coin of this year, namely that bearing the date 19th Safar, 616, suggests, in the absence of any other reasonable explanation, the date of the beginning of Bengal coinage.

The same type of coins as those of the ordinary issues of 616 were issued in 617/1220 and possibly also in 618/1221, though no coin of the latter year has yet come to light. Coins of 619/1222 reveal a new legend on them. There were two issues in this year. While both bore the same legend "Sultan-ul Azam Ghiyasuddaniya Waddin Abu'l Fath Iwaz bin Al-Husain Wali-i-Ahdehi Ala-ul-Haqwa'ddin" on the reverse and "An Naser-b-Dinikhan, Amirul-Momenin" on the obverse, one issue bears a distinct date Rabi II, 619 whereas the other bears the date 619 only. These coins of 619 are important for more reasons than one. First, we find Iwaz assuming the higher title of 'Sultan-ul-Azam'; second, the caliph is definitely named; third, a successor is nominated and proclaimed on the legends of the coin for public information. The month Rabi II, on some of the coins of this year, as it will be shown later, signifies the date of the arrival of the envoy from the Caliph of Baghdad. It further shows that after Mahmud of Ghazna, Iwaz was the first Muslim ruler of India to have obtained on the investiture from the caliph. His rival and contemporary of Delhi, namely Iltutmish only

followed his example when he applied for it in Jumada I, 626, about 7 years later. By obtaining the sanctification of his authority from the caliph Iwaz strengthened his claims against the pretensions of his Delhi rival. In the following year, again, there were two issues, one bearing the year 620 only and the other having the date 20th Rabi II expressly mentioned on it, while the legend on the obverse having the name of the caliph is unaltered. Iwaz now assumes the higher title of "Sultan-us-Salatin-Qasim-i-Amirul Momenin" while the name of the crown prince Alaul Haq is substituted by 'Muizzud-duniya Wa'ddin Abul Muzaffar Ali-Biurhan-i-Amirul Momenin'. Thus we find that the choice of the crown prince is revised in favour of Muizzuddin who is virtually declared a sultan while Iwaz assumes the title of "Sultan-us Salatin". The special issue of the 20th Rabi II of this year suggests that the caliph, by an investiture received on that date, recognised the arrangement and conferred the higher title of "Qasim-e-Amirul Momenin" on Iwaz and the lesser one of "Burhan-e-Amirul Momenin" on the heir apparent.

In Jumada II, 621 came another embassy, as the dated coin suggests, from the Caliph confirming the arrangements of the last year as regards nomination of the successor. The title of the heir-apparent, is however changed from 'Burhan-i-Amirul Momenin' to Yad i-Naser-i-Amirul Momenin.

Now, as regards the peculiar dates Rabi II, 619; 20th Rabi II, 620 and Jumada II, 621 it may be said that these signified the dates of arrival of ships carrying envoys from the Caliph. Thomas made this suggestion in his 'Initial coinage of Bengal'. It is interesting to note that all those dates fell within the Christian month of June, the convenient season for sea-going vessels to come to Bengal ports, a fact corroborated by the diaries of the early English merchants in Bengal. The fact that the envoys from Caliph used to come by sea further suggests that there was established if it did not exist from before, a maritime connection for trade and commerce between Bengal and Baghdad. Though direct evidence is lacking it is to make possible not an ill-founded assumption that Iwaz encouraged over-sea trade of his subjects. He was not only an administrator, he was a great general too. His wars with the Ganga Ruler Anangabhima of Orissa and the Senas of Eastern Bengal, though of unknown results, must have at least checked their designs on Muslim Bengal which must have been weakened by the internal strife following the death of Bakhtyar. He ambitious also frustrated the designs of Iltutmish, as subsequent events and the economy of truth by Minhaj suggest in 622/1225. He proved true to the trust reposed in him by the Khaljis and never allowed the Delhi sultan to establish his sway over Bengal till the last moment of his life. The success that Prince Nasiruddin gained over him in 624/1227 was mostly due to Iwaz's unpreparedness for the surprise attack on the capital while he was busy in an eastern

campaign from where he had to make a hurried march to the defence of the capital with only those soldiers who could be hastily collected and put on the field.

That Iwaz was one of the great Muslim rulers of Bengal and certainly the greatest ruler of the 13th century Bengal may be assumed from the tributes that he received from his rival Iltutmish and also from the pen of Minhaj, the chronicler of Delhi who had no reason to be sympathetic but hostile, and who writes thus :

"He was magnanimous, just and munificent. During his reign the troops and the inhabitants.....enjoyed comfort and tranquility".

This is a remark which may make any great ruler of any land strive to be worthy of.

(Ref: My art. in I. C., X, No. 4; ibid XI, No. 2 for coins see JASB, 1873, 354-58; ibid. 1881, 57-67; JRAS, 1873, 352-58; Wright, I. M. C. II, 145-6; Botham Shil Cab. (1930 Ed.) 133; JASB, 1929 (N. S.); (27).

"THE DECCAN POLICY OF SULTAN MUHAMMAD BIN TUGHLUQ."

BY

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Ziauddin Barani who is our primary authority on the Tughluq Kings describes Sultan Muhammad's scheme of the so-called transference of the Capital as the second of the ruinous projects of that monarch.¹ His remarks about the disastrous consequences of this measure are full of exaggeration and have misled many

1. That the "transference" of the capital took place in 727 A. H. is established by numismatic in addition to documentary evidence. We learn from the Masalik (p. 18). that Deogir was given the names of Daulatabad and Qubbatul Islam by the Sultan. Coins struck at this mint in 727 A. H. have been preserved. For instance, in the Indian Museum of Calcutta there is a coin having the following legend on the margin, the circle having the Kalimah :—

هذا الدينار في قبته الاسلام أعني حضرت ديوكير ٧٢٧

This numismatic record thus supports the date given by Yahya bin Ahmad (Vide H. N. Wright, the Sultans of Delhi, their coinage and Metrology p. 119, coin No. 484; T. M., p. 98).

a writer into depicting it as a great calamity which resulted in the total destruction of the flourishing city of Delhi. A careful study of relevant evidence will however reveal that it was neither a thoughtless measure enacted under an impulse nor a calculated punitive scheme as has been suggested by Ibn-Baṭūṭah.¹ On the contrary it was a well thought out scheme with definite objects and was therefore planned in a most systematic manner. The first point to be noted in this connection is whether the entire population was shifted or only a portion of it. Barani's evidence on this point is positive, for he asserts that "it brought ruin and misery to the upper classes as well as destruction to the i selet and distinguished people". Again, he refers to the destruction of "a Delhi which had been built up in the course of 160 or 170 years". Then, he speaks of the exiles as the "*Mutawattinan*" of Delhi, which suggests persons who had made it their home. Lastly, he says that although the Sultān brought the '*Ulema* and other leading persons of the provincial towns and made them residents of Delhi, yet this step could not bring back the old prosperity of that beautiful city. All these statements indicate that the Sultān had ordered the emigration of the upper classes only, who were comprised of the '*Ulema*, the *Mashaikh*, courtiers, commanders of the army and civilians of rank. It is beyond doubt that Delhi was not evacuated in entirety, and that the frequent references in Barani and other writers to its destruction simply mean the loss of its prosperity which, according to them, was mainly due to the presence of these distinguished families. When Barani says that not even a dog or a cat was left in the city and its suburbs, or that the city never recovered its past glory since that day, he merely emphasises the point that emigration was on a large scale and that affluence and prosperity had disappeared to a great extent. If his phrases were to be understood literally he would be guilty of making contradictory statements. Why should the Sultān bring, for instance, nobles and '*Ulema*, from provincial towns if Delhi had been converted into a wilderness where could be seen neither a cat nor a dog? Moreover, Barani's statement that it was a calamity for the selected few and not the masses is borne out by documentary and circumstantial evidence. Two Sanskrit inscriptions,² dated 1327 and 1328, confirm this view and establish the prosperity of the Hindus of Delhi and its vicinity at that time. One of them "records the foundation of a well by a Brahman of the name of Sridhara at the village

1. The thing for which the Sultan was condemned most was that he exiled the people of Delhi. The reason for this was that the people of Delhi used to throw in his palace in the night sealed envelopes.

2. For a detailed discussion of these inscriptions and their translation see Dr. Mahdi Husain's 'Rise and Fall of Muhammad bin Tughluq'. (pp. 110-112, 244-47).

of Nadayana, the modern Naraina, near Delhi." The verses of this inscription speak of Muḥammad bin Tughluq as "the mighty Saka Lord" and throw light on the favourable conditions in which the Hindu families of Delhi lived. The second inscription found at the village of Sarbar, five miles from Delhi, also refers to the prosperity of a Hindu family. These inscriptions read with Barani's remarks about the "misery of the selected people" lead us to the inference that Sulṭān Muḥammad's orders for migration applied to the leading Mussalman families only. This is further substantiated by Barani's reference to heavy casualties in the words: "and on all sides of the old infidel land of Deogir there sprang up grave-yards of the Mussalmans."¹

Further support for this view is found in stray but exceedingly useful references made by the editors and compilers of the *Malfuzat* of the *Sufi* saints. Their study reveals the incontestable fact that the Sulṭān wanted only the Mussalman nobles, the "*Ulema* and the *Mashaikh* to go to Deogir, because his scheme was to have a large population of his co-religionists in the Deccan, and thus eliminate the possibility of the success of frequent rebellions of the Hindus. This could be achieved through migration and conversion, and these appear to be the motives of the Sulṭān in sending the distinguished '*Ulema*, the leading *Mashaikh* and other influential Muslim families to Deogir and raising that city to the status of a capital. He knew that his stay there, for sometime at least, was essential as that of the *Shaikhs* and '*Ulema*. His scheme of planting a strong colony of the Mussalmans at Deogir and making it the centre of his political activities as well as the missionary work of the '*Ulema* is clearly referred to by the author of the *Seirul Aulia*, who was a contemporary of the Sulṭān and whose family had migrated to Delhi. In his chapter on the Sulṭān's interview with Maulana Fakhruddin Zarradi, Amir Khurd says, "At the time when Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughluq had sent the people of Delhi to Deogir and wanted to conquer Khorasan and Turkistan and overthrow the descendents of Changiz Khan, he convened a meeting of all the *Sadrs* and leading persons of Delhi and its suburbs, who had assembled in the city, under a huge tent. He had ordered the setting up of a *dais*, so that he might stand on it and address them in order to induce them to be ready for *Jihad*." He adds, later on, that Maulana Fakhruddin was sent to Deogir, and so was his own father. It was here that the writer who was then a mere boy had received two silver *tankahs* from the respected Maulana when the latter had come on a visit to his father.²

Another statement of Amir Khurd may also be noted. Maulana Fakhruddin wanted to go to Mecca. He consulted his

-
1. Barani, p. 473.
 2. *Seirul Aulia*, pp. 273-274.

friend Qaḍi Kamaluddin of Deogir. The latter warned him that it would be impolitic to go there without the Sultān's permission because he (the Sultan) was anxious to populate Deogir and enhance its glory and reputation by the presence of the 'Ulema, the *Mashaikh* and the *Sadrs*.¹ Besides these, other *Shaikhs* are also stated to have migrated to the Deccan. Shaikh Burhanuddin, a *Khalifah* of Shaikh Nizamuddin Aulia, and the famous poet Amir Hasan, may be mentioned as illustrious instances. Of the non-religious dignitaries the most distinguished emigrant was the Sultān's mother Makhdoom-i-Jahan.²

The greatest misconception in regard to this scheme has arisen from an error in interpreting in too literal a sense the phrase "destruction of Delhi", which Barani and other contemporaries seem to have used only as a metaphor³ in order to impress upon their readers the magnitude of this calamity. A careful and detailed examination of their statements will show that evacuation was partial and confined to the leading families only. 'Isami, for instance says.—

درین شهر چون کس نماند از کرام - به بستند دروازه را تمام

Badr Chach, the court poet of Muḥammad bin Tughluq, refers to the construction of New Delhi (Jahan-panah) and gives its date in the chronogram "*fadkhu'luha*", which works out to be 727 A. H. (1327 A. D.).⁴ Evidently the Sultān could not order the construction of his new citadel at Delhi just at the time when he was taking steps to depopulate it. Nor could the poet panegyrist indulge in praising a citadel which the Sultān intended to destroy and depopulate. His evidence, which it is difficult to refute, establishes beyond doubt that in 727, when Daulatabad was receiving the emigrants from the North, a new city of Delhi was being added to the several existing ones.

The author of the *Masalik-ul-Absar* who made anxious enquiries about Delhi was told by one of his narrators, Shaikh

1. Seirul Aulia, p. 274; Akhbarul Akhyar, Mujtabai Press. pp. 91-94, 102.

2. T. M., p. 99.

3. Barani's actual words are "*darul-mulk i-dehli ra.....kharab kardand*", (they destroyed the capital of Delhi)—Barani, p. 473. Ibn Batutah's section has the heading, *Zikr takhribah li dehli*" Cairo ed. II, p. 57; F. S., p. 433.

4. *Atharus Sanadid* by Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, Luck. Ed. p. 15.—List of Muhammadan and Hindu Monuments Vol. III, p. 124; Badaoni by mistake assigns this chronogram to Ghiathuddin's fort of Tughluqabad. This is not possible as the letters of *fad-khuluha*

(ف=80; ا=1; د=4; خ=600; ج=30; ,=6; * =5; | =1)

yield 727 A. H. which was three years after the death of that monarch (Badaoni, Cal. ed. I, p. 222).

Mubarak, that it was composed "of many cities which have been united together. Every one of them had a special name and Delhi was only one of them and it had given its name to all of them. It.....encloses an area of forty miles. Its buildings are of stone and brick, the roofs of wood and the floor is paved with white stone resembling marble..... Nobody paves the floor with marble except the Sultān", Shaikh Mubarak's information was improved upon by al-Khallal who gave twenty-one as the number of the cities of Delhi and described its new houses telling his addressee at the same time that Shaikh Mubarak's account referred to the old ones. According to him there were gardens stretching for twelve miles on three sides of the city and it had a thousand sohools, 70 hospitals, 2,000 *Khanqahs*, big bazaars and numerous baths.¹ It is obvious that the narrator's reference to the new houses was to those of the new city of Jahanpanah.

Ibn Baṭūṭah who visited Delhi six years after the emigration also testifies to the greatness and prosperity of the city. It was the biggest town of the East, had beautiful and massive buildings, was surrounded by a wall the like of which could not be found anywhere in the world and covered an extensive area which was all populated. In reality it consisted of four different towns—Old Delhi of the Hindus, Siri of 'Alauddin, Tughluqabad and Jahanpanah—which Sultān Muḥammad wanted to enclose within a single wall. Though left unfinished owing to heavy expenditure, this wall is stated to have been eleven cubits deep and pierced by 28 gates, the most important of which was the Badaon Gate.² Then he goes on to describe the celebrated monuments of Delhi like the *Quwwatul Islam Mosque* and the *Qutb minar* and mentions the *Shamsi* and *'Alai tanks*. He also speaks of the *'Ulema* and the pious men of Delhi, four of whom have been mentioned by name.³ This description of Delhi given by Ibn Baṭūṭah is the impression of a foreigner who enters the city for the first time, while the latter account which he gives under the heading "Destruction of Delhi", is the coloured picture of a biased writer who had heard a number of stories about the cruelties of the Sultān and was by no means a disinterested observer.⁴

'Isami's account supports Ibn Baṭūṭah's charges against the Sultān in spirit, if not in words. But he was one of those who had left Delhi under the orders of the Sultān and who regarded that exile the sole cause of the ruin of their families. Moreover, he has painted Muḥammad bin Tughluq in the darkest possible

1. Masalik, pp. 23-24.

2. I. B. Cairo Ed. II, p. 15-16.

3. These were Mahmudul Kabba, Shaikh 'Alauddin Nili, Shaikh Sadruddin Kuhrami and Kamaluddin 'Abdullah, *Ibid*, pp. 16-18.

4. *Ibid*, p. 57.

colours because he wanted to justify the rebellion of the Deccani nobles and the establishment of the Bahmanide kingdom. It is no wonder then that he included in his narrative stories of the same type that we find in Ibn Batūṭah's book. Could there be a greater lie than the allegation that the Sulṭān set fire to the city of Delhi? ¹ Like Ibn Batūṭah he says that the Sulṭān was furious against the people of Delhi, but does not specify its causes except that he was a heartless tyrant and an embodiment of the scourage of God. The destruction of Delhi, according to him, was due to the evil deeds of its people and the death of Shaikh Nizamuddin Aulia. Muḥammad bin Tughluq's tyrannies were only weapons used by Fate. This interpretation is possible only from the pen of one who blinds himself to all true history and was bent upon scandalizing and abusing the Sulṭān. One point becomes clear from the accounts of these two writers. In the course of time when the policy of the Sulṭān had made him unpopular in the country, his migration scheme came to be attributed to his bitterness against the people of Delhi. But this story seems to have been only a later concoction and was never accepted as authentic, for, although Ṭisami and Ibn Batūṭah have included it in their works sober historians, like Barani and Yahya, and the reliable informers of Shihabuddin al-'Umri do not even mention it.

In the light of this examination of contemporary evidence it would be hazardous to accept the versions of later writers who depended mostly on Barani and interpret his remarks in a most uncritical manner.

In fact, a careful study of the available evidence shows that the population of Delhi was not evacuated in entirety and that the Sulṭān never intended to make Deogir its substitute.² What

1. It may be noted that Isami is guilty of contradictory statements. In one couplet he says that the entire population (همه خلق) was ordered to leave the city. Later we find him speaking of the exile of the leading persons (کرام) only. Compare the following lines :—(F. S., pp. 430 & 433).

بگفتا بشهر آتشه دازند + همه خلق از شهر بیرون کنند

(He ordered that the city be put to fire and the entire population be evacuated) and

دران شهر چون کس نماند زکرام + به بستند دروازه ها کام

(As none of the leading persons was left in the city, they locked all its Gates).

2. Delhi continued to mint coins in these years, and a coin of 730 A. H. has the epithet of *Darul Mulk* with Delhi, and another has the word *takhtagah*. (H. N. Wright, *Coinage and Metrology of Delhi Sultans* pp. 133 and 139; Thomas, *Chronicles*, p. 209).

It would be interesting to note that in coin No. 375 (Indian Museum Cat., Vol. II, p. 59) Delhi is written as *Takhtgah-i-Delhi*, while in Coin No. 385 (p. 60) Daulatabad is written as *Takhtagah-i-Daulatabad*. The date of the former coin is 730 and that of the latter is 731 A. H.

he seems to have in his mind was to make the latter place a stronghold of his power by converting it into a large colony of the Mussalmans. It would have been unwise on his part to have openly proclaimed that he could not depend upon the people of the Deccan and wanted a large Muslim population to support his Government. Hence he tried to justify his scheme by seemingly harmless arguments and gave out that he wanted to set up his capital at Daulatabad because it was situated in the centre of his dominions. It was not a case of mere transfer of the capital as is proved by his anxiety not to let Delhi fall into obscurity. His efforts to bring the '*Ulema* and *Shaikhs* from provincial towns and make them settle down in that city give a clue to his true intentions in spite of the official version which Barani seems to have stated. Barani complains that the Sultan did not consult his advisers on this question. But consultations the Sultan-feared, would mean a leaking out of the true purpose of the scheme and might hamper its success.

For about two decades the Deccan kingdoms had been under the suzerainty of Delhi, but their submission did not go beyond their sending presents and tributes occasionally; consequently they could throw off this veil of allegiance with the appearance of the slightest symptoms of weakness in the Central Government. 'Alauddin had remained contented with this unsatisfactory arrangement, because his hands were full with problems of the North. Muḥammad found himself in a better position in this respect and therefore decided upon bringing the Deccan also within the orbit of his direct rule. To establish his direct Government he needed a tolerably large population of Mussalmans upon whose support he could count at critical moments. He was fully conscious of the fact that in crushing the supremacy of the Hindu states in the Deccan he would have to face tremendous opposition, and nothing would be more foolish than to rely upon sheer force for a permanent subjugation of these territories. By making Daulatabad the centre of a vast Mussalman colony in the south Muḥammad bin Tughluq was trying to achieve what we call in modern phraseology "a peaceful penetration". The statesman of today employs fifth-columnists, *quislings* and party-propaganda as the weapons of diplomacy; in the middle Ages he chiefly relied on the support of his co-religionists. In our times political ideologies are considered to be the strongest links among peoples; in the age of Muḥammad bin Tughluq religious ideas had the uppermost place in the conduct of human affairs.

We need not conclude from this that the Sultan's attempt at colonizing the Mussalmans in the Deccan and creating a Muslim population there through the missionary activities of the '*Ulema* and the *Shaikhs* was a mere political weapon. It is quite likely and absolutely in consonance with the tendencies of Muḥammad's character that he wanted to utilize the service of the '*Ulema*

and the *Shaikhs* in the cause of the propagation of his faith. Perfect sincerity and devotion to religion were by no means inconsistent with the policy of using religious sentiments for political purposes or employing religious leaders in the service of the State. If successful the new scheme would prove to be a step "twice-blessed".

Other explanations have also been put forward by some modern scholars as, for instance, fear of the Mongol invasions. But these are all based on the presumption that Delhi had been abandoned as a capital and Deogir had taken its place. This, as has been shown above, is not a fact, and the version of the *Masalikul Absar* on this point is amply supported and corroborated by circumstantial and numismatic evidence. "And by the kindness of the Sultan", says its author on the authority of the learned scholar Abu-al-Safa 'Umar ash-Shibli, "drums have been placed in the places which are established for the transmission of information between the two capitals of his country, namely Delhi and Deogir. Whenever he is in one city and the gate of the other city is opened or closed the drum is beaten".¹

Thus, Sultan Muhammad's project of the so-called transference of the capital was in reality a novel experiment in the administrative history of India and was a peculiar invention of his ingenious mind. It has been generally held that it was a disastrous failure, but we cannot ignore the fact that the foundation and maintenance of an independent Mussalman kingdom in the Deccan would not have been possible if he had not planted a strong Muslim colony there. In the history of despotism it is not infrequent that "the Engineer is killed by the petard he sets".

ZIYA BARANI—AS AN AUTHORITY ON THE KHALJIS

BY

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The history of the *Khalji* Sultans (1290-1320) suffers from want of contemporary historians. It is said that Kabiruddin, son of Tajuddin Iraqi, was the court historian of 'Alauddin (1296-1316) and wrote the history of the latter's reign in several volumes. His work *Fathnamah* is not traceable and consequently a very useful account of 'Alauddin's reign has been lost. Next to *Fathnamah*, in matters of historical importance, is Maulana Ziyauddin

1. *Masalik*, pp. 54-55; Elliot III, p. 582.

Barani's *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*. It was completed in 1359 after about four decades of Mubarak Shah's death. Born in 1285 Barani was about five years when Jalāluddīn ascended the throne and thirty-five when Mubarak *Khalji* died. Thus he was an eye witness to the events of the reigns of all the *Khalji* Sultans, especially of 'Alāuddīn and Mubarak in whose time he had quite passed the age of adolescence. Barani received his education at Delhi, where great scholars and teachers flocked from all parts of Asia and his scholarship is clearly manifested in the pages of the *Tarikh*. In a lengthy introduction to his book Ziyāuddin dilates upon the uses of history, its method of writing, its place in man's education. He considers the study of history in no way less important than the study of Hadis, Fiqah and hagiological literature.¹ Like Bacon he thought history made men wise and they learnt from the experience of the past. A historian, says he, should be truthful, honest and fearless. If for one reason or another he cannot write true facts openly he should try to convey his ideas through implications and suggestions.² In the course of his narrative on more than one occasion, he asserts that whatever he wrote was all true,³ but that is exaggerated self-estimation. Ziyāuddin died at a ripe age after experiencing both the "bitter and sweet" of life. Born and brought up in rich surroundings and patronised by Sultan Muhammad Taghlaq, Barani was destined to die a deplorable death, poverty-stricken and destitute.

Ziyāuddin catches the thread of narrative dropped by Minhaj Siraj. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* begins with the history of the reign of Balban and ends with the first six years of Firoz Tughlaq's reign. It appears that the book was written from time to time and not all at once, or after consulting all the available trustworthy documents on different periods. Comparatively studied, the reign of the *Khaljis* is more systematically treated than that of the Tughlaqs. In the narrative on the *Khaljis* chronological sequence of the events is maintained, fairly accurately although the chronology is far from satisfactory.

His father Muyidulmulk's and his uncle Alaulmulk's official positions under the *Khalji*'s as also his associations with Amir *Khusrau*, 'Ala Hasan Sanjari and other state officials gave Barani ample opportunity to collect and ascertain historical facts.

He very often refers to his sources of information *e.g.* Khvaja Zaki, nephew of Hasan Basri and a Vazir of Balban; Malik Qirabeg, Amir *Khusrau* and Amir Hasan.⁴ He also studied the

1. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*. Bib. Ind. Text, p. 9

2. *Ibid*, pp. 13-16.

3. *Eg.*, p. 237.

4. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*. pp. 67, 114, 299.

Divāns of Khusrau whom he quotes at various places.⁵ But surely he did not take full advantage of the works of his contemporaries in writing his Tarikh. Had he improved upon the drafts of his book after consulting Khusrau's Miftahulfatūh, Khazāinulfatūh and Devalrani, and Kabiruddin's Fathnaman, he would surely have given more valuable information on 'Alāuddin's wars in Chittor, Ranthambhor and Malwa than the sketchy account to be found in the Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi. He does not refer to the Devalrani episode at all and his account of the Deccan campaigns of Malik Kafur is extremely poor. Moreover, once he starts writing about the Deccan, he neglects the north altogether. For example, he furnishes little information about events in northern India from 1308 to 1313 particularly about wars in Jalor and Sevana. It must, however, be observed that Ziyā finished his work at the advanced age of seventy-four when he was in a miserable plight. His pecuniary embarrassments had made him bitter and disappointed. And so he was more prone to pour forth the agonies of his soul rather than sit and improve his notes after comparing them with works of Amir Khusrau and other contemporary writers. Hence the Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi at times betrays symptoms of a number of jottings carelessly pieced together.

Except in the preface, which is written in a highly florid language, the historian adheres to a simple, clear, and lucid style. His narrative far from exhibiting the highly ornate style then in fashion, seems to be a painful translation from the spoken Hindustani into Persian. Ziyāuddin uses Hindi words like *badla* (venge), *bhatti*, *Chakar*, *Charai*, *Chautra*, *Chouki*, *Chappar*, *mandi*, *morha*, *mathaha* (earthen jugs) and *palak* (eye-lids) frequently in the course of his narrative. At places his language is so broken as to make out little sense. Moreover, he is prone to making contradictory statements. Being a chronicler of contemporary events he saw the various aspects of a certain thing and mentions them all unsynthetically. At some places he extols 'Alāuddin, at others dubs him a Pharoah and on a study of the Tarikh it is difficult to say whether 'Alāuddin was a benefactor or a tyrant. Anyway, the historian possessed a facile pen and writes in a clear and unostentatious way. He had a sharp intellect which sharpened with age.

Barani has his own peculiar way of describing events and he makes efforts to make them credible, e.g., 'Alāuddin's conversation with Qazi Mughhisuddin of Bayana and Qutbuddin's attachment to his favourite vazir Khusrau Khan. On the occasion of 'Alāuddin's talk with Qazi Mughhis there was no third person present, but the historian writes every word that passed between the Qazi and the sultan. In such cases the historian finds a

5. Eg. pp. 118, 370.

welcome opportunity to put his own ideas in the mouth of others, and the injunctions of Qazi Mughis are nothing but Barani's own views. At another place the historian gives a very graphic description of the eventful night when Qutbuddin Mubarak was murdered, as to make us believe that the writer was peeping through a crevice into the apartments where Qutbuddin and his favourite Vazir Khusrau Khan were sleeping together.⁶ These vivid descriptions do grip popular imagination but the events cannot satisfy the craving of student of history for truth.

Ziya'uddin's sarcasm is incisive. Occasionally his sardonic humour helps him to sum up his ideas in a few words. His remark that in 'Alauddin's days "a camel could be had for a *dang*," but wherefrom a *dang*?'⁷ shows at once how the reforms of 'Alauddin had made articles cheap and people poor. Again, the stern attitude of 'Alauddin towards the revenue officials, according to our historian, made them so unpopular that service in the revenue department was considered worse than "plague"; nobody "gave his daughter in marriage to a revenue clerk", and "the office of superintendent was accepted by one who had no regard for life".⁸ The plight of the agriculturists had reached such dimensions that the peasants "sold their wives and children" to remit the land-revenue,⁹ while the wives of rich zamindars (Khuts and Muqqaddams) worked in the houses of the Musalmans and received wages. And the bazaar-people, to our historian, are the worst of all the "seventy-two" classes of people (that inhabit the globe).¹⁰

Barani has his likes and dislikes as all human beings have. He does not feel interested in the description of battles, tactics used in a particular engagement, and such other points of military strategy. Whenever he has to give such a description he invariably has recourse to brevity. He does, however, pause to praise an act, a character or a motive. When he praises somebody he extols him to heaven, when he condemns he writes with his pen dipped in acid. Nonetheless his character sketches are excellently done. He is a philosopher-cum-historian and not an accurate historian always. His memory is prodigious.

Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi has greatly suffered at the hands of its transcribers. Certain passages of the book are altogether incomprehensible. It is possible that at some places Barani could not dare write true facts with impunity just as in the passage about the death of Ghayasuddin Tughlaq, but at other places, where he

6. Barani text, p. 465-6.

7. Barani, p. 312.

8. *Ibid*, p. 289.

9. *Ibid*, p. 340.

10. *Ibid*, p. 343.

could never be suspected of suppressing truth, as for example in the description of the salary of soldiers in the time of 'Alauddin.¹¹ or the increase of revenue by Muhammad Taghlaq the fault probably lay with later copyists.

But a few shortcomings cannot mar the extraordinary value of Barani's *Tarikh*. He does not only write about the courts of kings or their victories as most of the medieval chroniclers do, but also gives social and economic reforms of rulers, their administrative measures and their system of advancing justice. He gives a long list of contemporary saints, philosophers, historians, poets, medical men and astronomers. His references to clothes, fruits, and sweets and other sundry articles of those days throw a flood of light on the socio-Economic history of the 14th century. Barani's description of the market control of 'Alauddin and the sultan's revenue regulations, clearly show that he is not a mere chronicler of events but a historian in the true sense of the word. Barani knew the short-comings of his contemporaries and says that Kabiruddin and other historians confine their narratives to kings, courts and conquests. Ziyauddin begins his book with a long discourse on historiography and the uses of historical study.¹² He talks at length about the duties of a king.¹³ As a historian he tries to analyse critically the causes which brought about the end of Jalaluddin, of 'Alauddin and of the Khalji regime as a whole. Ziyauddin was cognizant of his contribution to historical literature and declares, without diffidence, that for a thousand years such a book as the *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* had not been produced.¹⁴

Barani's work is undoubtedly very valuable. Later historians have greatly depended upon him for information as well as inspiration. Nizamuddin Ahmad, Badaoni, Ferishtah, Hajiuddabir—almost all important historians of the later part of Muslim rule have depended upon Barani for their account of the history of the period envisaged by him. Nizamuddin especially quotes him very often; at some places he almost copies Barani, at others tries to solve the knotty problems left by him. Thus he tries to explain the origin of the Khaljis about which Barani says nothing except that they were not "Turks". Ferishtah also tries to tackle this question. In the same way Ferishtah, tries to analyse the passage in which Barani describes the salaries of the soldiers fixed by 'Alauddin.¹⁵ Hajiuddabir throws fresh light on some vexed questions not properly explained by Barani

11. *Ibid*, p. 303.

12. Barani, pp. 10-12.

13. Barani, pp. 41-44.

14. *Ibid*, pp. 123-4.

15. Barani, p. 303 Ferishtah Lko. text, p. 114.

such as the age of 'Alauddin and the causes underlying the constant quarrels between 'Alauddin and Sultan Jalaluddin's family. Abdul Haqq Dehlvi, the author of *Akhbarul Akhyar* almost entirely depends upon Barani for the biographical sketches of Nizamuddin Auliya and other saints of the period.

Besides the *Tarikh*, Ziyauddin is accredited with the authorship of many other works like *Salvat-i-Kabir*, *Sanai Muhammadi*, *Hasratnamah*, *Inayatnamah*, *Ma'asir-i-Saadat* and a history of the Barmakides. Another work of his known as the *Fatva-i-Jahandari* seems to be nothing more than a supplement to the *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* and contains a sort of moral code the clerical historian would like a Muslim monarch to follow. But the most important book of Barani is his *Tarikh*, which has immortalized him.

MAHMUD OF GHAZNI, IDOLISED BY ISAMI

BY

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In the course of his account of Mahmud of Ghazni Isami introduces some anecdotes which were apparently concocted in order to idolise Mahmud. The Prophet is reported to have prayed to God in his lifetime for the demolition of the temple of Somnath. His prayer was heard, and the fact that the demolition would take place at the hands of Mahmud was intimated to him from on high. The Prophet then desired to see Mahmud; and the image of Mahmud was providentially installed before him. This occurred some three hundred years before the birth of Mahmud.

Next Isami says that the Raja of Gujarat was informed by his astrologers while Mahmud was yet a boy of ten that the latter on growing to manhood would dismantle the idol house of Somnath. The Raja flattered Mahmud and secured from him a promise to restore the idols eventually. When at last the much talked-about invasion took place, Mahmud was asked to fulfil his promise. He did not like to break his promise and did not like either that he should be known as *But Farosh* (Idol Seller) by restoring the idol to the Hindus. So, he got the Somnath idol burnt to ashes and transformed into quicklime which spiced the betel leaves; and these were presented to the Raja's men who had come demanding fulfilment of the promise.

Further, Isami says that a certain Brahman buried a piece of stone into the earth and subsequently dug it up in the presence

of many other Brahmans and installed it in the Somnath temple. When Mahmud invaded Somnath he seized the idol and threw part of it into the fire. He carried the remnant to Ghazni where it was cut into four.

At this stage Isami informs us that a robe of honour came from Baghdad for Sultan Mahmud (verses 602-797). Then follows the story of the Sultan's regard for Aiyaz with special reference to the misunderstandings prevailing about it. The Sultan's reply to his critics and personal explanation that his regard or devotion to Aiyaz was due to the sterling ability possessed by the latter and that it did not spring from any bad motive or profane love is illuminating and interesting.

The forty-eight verses (863-910) that follow contain the story of a man who misguided Mahmud and threw him along with his army into a dreary and waterless desert in the course of his return journey from India to Ghazni. This he did in order to avenge the Sultan's invasion of Somnath. The Sultan ordered him to be killed and then prayed to God for divine help. His prayer was heard: a river came into sight as well as a road treading which the Sultan and his army came back to Ghazni.

In the next 103 verses the poet describes the righteousness of Mahmud and on his sense of justice by giving anecdotes and illustrations. We are told that one night Sultan Mahmud felt very much disturbed at heart and had no sleep. He ascribed his sleeplessness to some aggrieved person who, he conjectured, was somewhere about the palace anxious to seek the redress of his or her grievances. He immediately ordered a search to be made; and he was informed that an old woman lay in prostration at a mosque complaining bitterly to God against the Sultan. At that time the latter was about to take a tumblerful of cold water. Immediately as he heard of the old woman's complaint he refused to take the water and set his heart to redress the woman's grievances. The woman was sent for, and she explained that her two sons were rotting in the Kabul prison. In compliance with her wishes the Sultan marched on Kabul and secured the release of her sons. He then took the water which he had denied to himself before; and thenceforth he introduced the practice of appointing an officer at the gate to announce if any aggrieved person had called.

The reader is further informed that one evening a bearer brought a burning candle in the royal chamber at a late hour. When called to account the bearer explained that on his way to the palace he met a jurist who requested him to place the candle before him so that he might be able to consult his book. Thereupon the Sultan ordered the candle to be given away to the jurist, and he freed the bearer who was hitherto a slave. The same night the Sultan had a vision of the Prophet and received his blessings.

In the next 51-verses (1014-65) Isami relates a story illustrating how the Sultan coveted a certain woman's garden and how as a result of the royal covetousness the produce from the garden fell short beyond expectation. The Sultan regretted his mistake and prayed for divine mercy and forgiveness; and thenceforth as he refrained from casting covetous eyes on the property of any peasant his empire became increasingly prosperous.

The next 12 verses (1065-1076) contain an illustration of the Sultan's kindness to the feeblest of creatures. He came to know of a bird's nest in the royal tents while these were being dislocated on the Sultan's departure from India. But he feared lest the eggs be injured and consequently prolonged his stay until the eggs were hatched and young ones had developed wings.

In the next 14 verses (1078-92) Isami tells us that God was extraordinarily kind to the "pious Sultan"; and this is illustrated by an anecdote of a torrent of water streaming forth when the Sultan needed it urgently in order to perform his ablutions.

In the next 60 lines (1093-1153) Mahmud's remorse is described for having acted wrongly five times at the ill advice given by his minister Hasan Maimandi. *First* the Sultan had the king of Kabul sold as prisoner in the market. *Secondly* a vanquished king of Ghor was installed in all honour on a chair in Mahmud's court at Ghazni. *Thirdly* an old woman who offered for sale a piece of cloth containing an impression of the royal seal was disappointed. The said cloth was then disposed of elsewhere and cut into socks. This involved humiliation of the royal seal since the cloth bore impressions of the same. *Fourthly* the Sultan had been dissuaded from putting up with a derwesh once in the course of his return journey from a hunting expedition. *Fifthly* when Firdausi the poet brought his Shahnama and demanded the town of Rai, Hasan Maimandi, the said minister, stood in the way. Consequently Firdausi was aggrieved and the Sultan was sorry for this.

In the next 19 verses (1154-73) Isami fixes the death of Mahmud in the year 421 H. (A.D. 1030) and says that he left behind six sons (1) Abu Rashid (2) Ibrahim (3) Ismail (4) Nasr (5) Masud and (6) Muhammad.

SUPPORT OF ART AND LETTERS DURING THE
REIGN OF MAHMUD OF GAZNI, A LOVER
OF LEARNING AND A CHAMPION
OF THE FAITH

(997 to 1030)

BY :

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Mahmud of Gazni had all his father's soldierly energy and sprit of command joined to a ressess activity. Zeal for Islam was the dominant note of the tenth-century Turks. Mahmud was a staunch Muslim, and if his campaigns against the idolaters brought him rich store of treasure and captives, it was in his eyes no more than the fit reward of piety; and during his spare time he would sit down and copy the Koran for the health of his soul. The Kaliph of Baghdad, who had probably outgrown such illusions, awarded Mahmud his sanction and the official diploma of investiture as rightful Lord of Ghazni and Khurasan, and in the height of satisfaction, Mahmud vowed that every year he would see waging a Holy War against the infidels of Hindustan. After a little while, he did not keep the letter of his vow. He led many distinct campaigns to India in which he raced across the plains from the Indus to the Ganges and his first attack was launched on the frontier towns of the Khaiber Pass. Jaipal was the old enemy of Mahmud's father who tried to save Peshawar in vain. Mahmud, therefore, brought in thousands of his best horsemen and utterly routed him. Mahmud was not cruel; he seldom indulged in wanton's slaughter according to the statements made oy Oriental Historians. Year after year, Mahmud swept over the plains of Hindustan, capturing cities and castles, throwing down temples and idols and earning his titles of 'Victor' and 'Idol-Breaker.' All the world flocked to Ghazni to break upon incredible wealth of India.

Mahmud's success, however, was not won without hard fighting. He retired to Ghazni where he died on 30th of April 1030. It is necessary to point here that in the later years of his reign, Mahmud had extended his rule over the greater part of Persia as far as the mountains of Kurdistan—a land of Muslims. He had overrun Northern India from the Indus to the Ganges and he stored his immense treasure at Ghazni—his home; where he presided over a stately and cultivated court. He was a Conqueror but not an Organiser or Originator.

Like many a great soldier, Mahmud of Gazani loved the society of educated men. The man of action is every whit as inapt to "Suffer fools gladly" as the man of culture; and this restless adventurer, after sweeping like a pestilence for hundreds of miles across India, or pouncing like a hawk upon Khwarism and then coursing South to Hamadhan almost within call of Bhagdad itself, would settle down to listen to the songs of poets and the wise conversation of divines. If Mahmud is to Muslims for all time a model of a God-fearing King, zealous for the faith, his court has not less been held a pattern of humane culture, and it deserved its reputation. Napoleon imported the choicest works of art from the countries he subdued to adorn his Paris; Mahmud did better, he got the artists and the poets themselves to illuminate his Court. From the cities of the Oxus and the shores of the Caspian, from Persia and Khurasan, he pressed into his service the lights of oriental letters, and compelled them, not unwillingly, to revolve round like planets in his firmament of glory. The ruin of the Samanids who had been noble fosterers of Persian literature, left many scholars and poets unprovided, and these came eagerly to the new home of learning.

The names of the many luminaries who shone at the court of Gazni may not convey very definite ideas to Western readers, but they are among the leaders of Eastern Literature and Science, and some have reputation outside the circle of Orientalists. Biruni, the Astronomer, Chronologist, and even student of Sanskrit, Farabi, the Philosopher, whom Mahmud prized the more since Avicenna himself refused to be lured to Gazni; Utbi, the Historian and Secretary to the Sultan, Baihaki, whose gossiping memoirs have earned him the title of 'The Oriental Mr. Pepys'; Unsuri, and Farrukhi and Asjudi, among the earliest poets of the Persian revival, and above all Firdausi, the Persian Homer in whose "Shah-Nameh" the Heroes of Persian Legend live for ever—these were among the men to whom Mahmud was gracious and who, in return, made Gazni and its master renowned beyond the fame of glorious war. There is no need to repeat here the oft-told story of Firdausi's wrath at the silver guerdon with which the Sultan crowned the famous epic. Sixty thousand pieces of silver—even though the poet had been promised gold—represent something like £. 2,500/- and would be a welcome remuneration for a library of epics in the present day. Milton had to be content with the two hundred and fiftieth part of such a sum for "Paradise lost." The notable part of the story is, not that the poet indignantly spurned the gift, threw it loftily among the menials, and then rewarded Mahmud's kindness and support by a scathing satire—such outbreaks belong to the genius *irritabile*—but that the great sultan at last forgave the insult and sent the second lavish gift of fifty thousand guineas, to appease the offended poet in his exile. It was an irony of fate that the reward reached

Firdausi's home in Khurasan just at the moment when his body was being borne to the grave.

Though one must acquit the Sultan of any want of appreciation of Firdausi's great work, or indeed of literacy and scientific achievement in general, tradition will have it that he was avaricious; and there is a quaint anecdote in Sadi's 'Rose Garden' a tedious but renowned Persian classic—in which it is related how a certain King of Khorasan dreamed that he saw Mahmud a hundred years after his death, and perceived that whilst his body had crumbled to dust the eyes still rolled in the sockets as if seeking the wealth that had vanished from their sight. Yet it is hard to reconcile this reputation for avarice with what is recorded of the Sultan's gifts; with his annual grant of two hundred thousand guineas to men of letters his foundation of a University at Gazni, endowed with a great Library, a museum, salaried professors, and pensions for scholars; his sumptuous mosque of marble and granite, furnished with gold and silver lamps and ornaments and spread with costly carpets or the aqueducts, fountains, cisterns, and other improvements with which he enriched his capital. If Mahmud was fond of money assuredly he knew how to spend it wisely and munificently; and the splendour of his courtiers' palaces, vying with his own testifies to the liberal encouragement of the arts which raised Gazni, under the rule of the Idol-breaker, from a barrack of outlaws to the first rank among the many stately cities of the Caliphate.

The man who could so create and develop a centre of civilization was no barbarian. Like some other ugly man, Mahmud is said to have devoted himself to the cultivation of his mind in order to efface the impression of his physical defects, but it was no ordinary mind that he had to work upon and no mean genius that could expand a little mountain principality into an Empire that stretched to the Caspian and Aral Seas and almost to the Tigris, and that covered at least for the time, half the vast plains and teeming population of Hindustan. Brief as was the occupation of most of this immense territory, it was a stupendous feat of acquisition.

In short, he was a great soldier, a man of infinite courage and indifatigable energy of mind and body.*

*S. Lane Poole,

KOL (ALIGARH) DURING THE RULE OF THE LODI SULTANS (1451-1526)

BY

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Kol which was a very important strategic out-post in Northern India was captured by Qutbuddin Aibak in 1194 A. D., shortly after the conquest of Delhi. The Kol fort which stood the Muslim siege for a long time is described by Hasan Nizami in his *Taj-ul Maasir* as one of the most strongly defended outposts in Northern India. It was held by the Dor Rajputs, who may have been feudatories of the Chauhans of Delhi. Under the Muslim rule, in addition to its being the strategic link of the empire commanding the high road to and from Delhi, it was a crucial centre wherefrom martial races such as the Jats, the Rajputs, Thakars, could be prevented from breaking the peace.

As a result of the dis-integration of the Tughlaq empire following Timur's Indian invasion, the out-lying provinces of the empire declared their independence. At the same time war-lords all over Northern India defied the central authority and ruled in practical independence. It was during the rule of the last two rulers of the Syiad dynasty that the power and prestige of the Delhi Sultanate touched the lowest level. During the reign of the last ('Alauddin 'Alam Shah), the authority of the Sultan was confined to the city of Delhi and a few square miles round it. Even Delhi he abandoned to more ambitious officers and chose Badaun as his residence from 1448 A. D. Kol (Aligarh) and Jalali a town 12 miles to the east of Aligarh in the same district, had passed under the control of 'Isa Khan Turk-bach-cha in the same way as the tract from Mehrauli to Ladu Sarai (both in the vicinity of Delhi) had been usurped by Ahmad Khan Miwati, Sambhal (in the present Moradabad district, U. P.) by Darya Khan Lodi, Rapri (in the Mainpuri district, U. P.) by Qutb Khan, Patiali (Etah district), Bhongāon (Mainpuri district), and Kampil (Farrukhabad district) by the Chauhan chief Rai Pratap, Biana by Daud Khan Auhadi, and Sirhind, Sunam and Lahore by Bahlul Lodi. Hamid Khan, the Wazir of Sultan 'Alauddin quarrelled with his master and seized Delhi in about 1450 A. D. He insulted the ladies of the Sultan's harem by forcing them to march from the fort barefooted and bare-headed. Fearing punishment from his master, or the seizure of Delhi by more ambitious rivals, he invited Bahlul Lodi, the 'governor' of Sirhind in 844/1450. Bahlul did come and in less than a year, he over-threw Hamid Khan and assumed the title of Sultan on Rabi I, 855 April 19, 1451. From this time

onwards for some years to come Kol became a battle-ground of Sharqi-Lodi rivalry. A few months after the accession of Bahlul to the throne, Mahmūd Sharqi attacked Delhi and kept the fort under siege for some months. It is quite likely that he had compelled 'Isa Khān, the chief of Kol, to become his vassal. Mahmūd Sharqi however failed to capture Delhi due to the timely arrival of Bahlul for its relief and the treachery of his general Darya Khān.¹

Bahlul now the real master of Delhi, followed this victory by securing the subjugation of chiefs holding sway near Delhi and in the Jumna-Ganges Do-ab. He forced Ahmad Khān Miwāti to submit and placed him in occupation of a part of the territories held by him. Darya Khān of Sambhal and 'Isa Khān Turk-Bachcha of Kol *behaved* in a similar way. The latter was left in occupation of the territories he held. Other places conquered on this occasion were Marhara, Bhongāon, and Rapri, the former two being held by Rāi Pratap, the last by Qutb Khān. Kol was not affected by the war between Bahlul and Muhammad Shāh, son and successor of Mahmūd Sharqi who reigned for a few months only.

A new chapter in the Lodi-Sharqi rivalry was opened with the accession of Husain Shāh to the Sharqi throne, in 862/1457. He considered Delhi as the heritage of his wife Malka Jahān Bibi Khunza, daughter of Sultan 'Alauddin 'Alam Shāh, still maintaining a shadowy court at Badaun.

Husain Shāh compelled Rāi Karan, chief of Shamsabād,² and Rustam Khān who appears to be a son of 'Isa Khān Turk-bachcha, the usurper of Kol, to acknowledge his over-lordship³ soon after his accession. The Sharqi acquisition of Kol put Delhi open to attack from the east. Prompted by his strong-willed wife, Husain Shāh made two desperate attempts to capture Delhi and fought two sanguinary battles at the approach to Delhi, the first at Sikhera and the second at Sonhār.⁴ The latter battle was fought only 25 miles east of Delhi in 877/1472. In both Husain Shāh failed to attain his ends.

Kol was freed from the Sharqi grip in 884/1479 when Husain Shāh who had marched on Delhi was defeated by Bahlul through a treacherous attack following the conclusion of a truce. Following this victory Bahlul liberated the town-ships of Kampil, Patiāli, Shamsabād, Marhara (Etah District, U. P.) and Jalālī⁵ so long under the occupation of Husain Shāh. Bahlul exploited the Sharqi reverse

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1. Nizamuddin : *Tabaqat-i Akbari*. I, A. S. B. p. 301.
 2. In Farrukhabad district, U. P.
 3. *Tabaqat*, I, A. S. B., p. 307.
 4. Both in the Balandshahr District, U. P.
 5. *Tabaqat* I, A. S. B., p. 310.

by driving Husain Shāh from Jaunpūr to Bihar, in 889/1484.

Bahlul had died in July 1489, on his way to Delhi from the Gwalior campaign at a village named Milauni in the present Etah district of U. P., situated on the road from Etah to 'Aliganj, where the party had encamped. The courtiers were divided in the choice of a successor and they backed three rival candidates including prince Nizām Khān, the second son of the deceased Sultān through a Hindu goldsmith's daughter. This lady and 'Umar Khān Sherwānī the Wazir secretly invited prince Nizām Khān, who was at Delhi, to appear post-haste on the scene. He did so and joined the party still on its way with the dead body of the Sultān. The prince sent the corpse to Delhi and halted near Jalālī and crowned himself on the 17th Shaban 894/July 16, 1489, at a hunting pavilion which stood on a mound near Jalālī on the bank of the Kālī Nadi. Ranks and presents were distributed and it can be presumed that the grant of extensive Jāgirs to the Sherwānīs in the neighbourhood of Jalālī (Aligarh district) dates back from the time of Sikandar, and the chief recipient was 'Umar Khān Sherwānī to whom Sikandar owed his throne. It was a wise step. Sikandar had to establish his position against the supporters of his brother Barbak Shāh and his nephew 'Azam Humāyūn Lodi, all of whom refused to acknowledge him as the rightful Sultān. Secondly, he had to establish a vigorous Pathān colony in an area where frequent disturbances were caused by the Rājputs, the Jāts and the Thākars, disturbances which resulted in the blocking of the vital road of the empire to the east. 'Umar Khān also served as the Commander-in-chief of the army fighting Ashraf Jilwānī at Biāna (1491), and Husain Shāh Sharqī when the latter made a last attempt to recover Jaunpūr, from his refuge in Bihār.⁶ 'Umar Khān also held the governorship of Kol Sarkār which seems to have been administered by a deputy in his absence.

After the death of Sultān Sikandar Lodi in 1517, his son Ibrāhīm Lodi ascended the throne of Delhi, whereas Prince Jalāl Khān became the ruler of Jaunpūr according to the suggestions of the nobles. Ibrāhīm Lodi soon after repented for giving his consent to this project and a civil war between him and his brother prince Jalāl Khān was looming large and the governors and Jagirdars of the eastern provinces and the Middle Do-āb were selling their loyalty to the highest bidder. This disturbed condition of the empire encouraged one Mānchand⁷, landlord of Jartauli⁸, probably

6. Tarikh-i Daudi, Bankipore Ms, f 97.

7. Also named Khanchand in some histories. I prefer the nomenclature of Nizamuddin Ahmad, Tab Akb I, (325) which has been accepted by the majority of historians.

8. In Tappal Pargana Aligarh district, U. P., called Jatrauli in common usage.

of Jat origin⁹, to put himself at the head of a revolt. It is interesting to read the lines of Ni'amatulla's Makhzan-i Afghānī in this connexion.¹⁰ "A number of Zamindars of Jartauli in the jurisdiction of Kol Pargana, which is a famous rebel strong-hold, gave battle to 'Umar Khān son of Sikandar Sūr and killed him. The revolt was crushed when Qāsim Khān governor of Sambhal was ordered to take the field and Mānchand was caught and executed."

The governorship of Kol was transferred by Ibrāhīm Lodi to Muhammad Khān, son of 'Umar Khān Sherwānī. It was a very critical time. Coming events were casting their shadows. Ibrāhīm Lodi's policy of crushing the nobles and making them mere servants of the crown irrespective of their rank and position, resulted first in the disaffection and afterwards revolt of the nobles from the Punjāb upto the borders of Bengal. Daulat Khān Lodi revolted in the Punjāb, Qāsim Khān in Sambhal, Nizām Khān in Baina, Hasan Khān in Miwāt, Husain Khān Nuhānī at Rāpri, Qutb Khān in Etawa, 'Alam Khān in Kālpi and Bahār Khān in Bihār. In such a time of storm and stress the governor of Kol stood firm in his loyalty. The little that we know about Muhammad Khān is through an inscription which he placed at the gate of a new fort which he hastily constructed and completed in 931/1525 in Kol. The text of the inscription was reported by Mr. Atkinson in the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal Journal, Nov. 1872, No. IX. In view of the revolt throughout the kingdom and the imminent threat of a Mughal invasion, the strengthening of the Kol defences was a paramount necessity. He did not construct a new fort, for a fort already existed from the Dor times which had been repaired by the Muslim governors from time to time. It appears that Muhammad Khān extensively repaired the fort or installed new defensive features through thorough overhaul and renamed it Muhammadgarh. It will be wrong to identify Muhammadgarh with the comparatively new Aligarh fort which stands at a distance of about 4 miles north-east of Kol and which the English captured in 1803. I quote the translation of the learned contributor with the copy of the text at the footnote.¹¹

9. The Jats still preponderate in that area; c/f Hutchinson, Aligarh Statistics, London, 208.

10. Aligarh Ms f 120.

11. (۱) نقشبن حمد گفتم مر خدارا - که پیدا کرد حضرت مصطفی را -
 (۲) نیستم چند بیت از پی حصارے - نمانم من بماند یادگارے -
 (۳) حصارے استوارر اصل محکم - که اتمامش شده در عهد شاهم -
 (۴) که نامش است ابراهم سکندر - که بخشد ساکنان یسوم روز -
 (۵) بشقدارونی محمد ابن عمر - دبیر بد شهاب ابن مغور -
 (۶) که درباب عمارت رفیع برده - باندک مدتی اتمام کرده -
 (۷) زمهجرت بود نهصدسی و سالے - که حصنی یانکه زیب کمالے -
 (۸) من بیچاره کو نام است احمد - بیابد روز محشر ساه احمد -

In the name of God, the Merciful and the Clement.

1. At first I said praise be to God who has created Mustafa (the prophet).

2. I then wrote several verses on account of the fort. I shall not remain, a monument of me shall remain.

3. A strong fort, a firm foundation completed in the reign of my king,

4. Whose name is Ibrāhīm son of Sikandar, who bestows gold and silver on beggars.

5. During the Shiqdāri (Collectorship) of Muhammad son of 'Umar, when Shihāb Khān son of Munawwar, was councillor.

6. He has suffered much hardship on account of the building and raised the structure in a short time.

7. It was in 931/1524-5 when the fort was completed.

8. May I a helpless man whose name is Aḥmād, find in the day of Resurrection, the shadow of Ahmad the prophet.

This inscription perpetuates the memory of Muhammad Khān who has passed unnoticed in general histories. It also enables us to know the name of Shihāb Khān his councillor who was a less known man than his patron. I am inclined to think that Muhammad Khān was the administrative head of the Kol Sarkar and not merely the head of the pargana or the commandant of the Kol Fort. Thirdly the inscription informs us that the fort was hastily constructed, a fact which reflects the troubled situation of the time. This inscription may have been fixed at the Delhi Gate which was the principal fort gate and which now lies a mouldering heap of kankar. The perimeter of the fort can still be marked by the remains of ditches which have been converted into streets and residential areas.

Among other monuments of the Lodi period is a pretty big mosque, known as the Kālī Masjid, surmounted by a massive semi-spherical dome in Mohalla Bani Israilān. It was constructed in 930/1523-24 during the Shiqdārship of Muhammad Khān Sherwāni and an inscription to that effect stood at the main entrance till recently.¹²

Another monument of the Lodi times is a well which stands in the Balāi Qila in the south-east corner of the Juma Masjid built by Hafiz Muhammad Afzal in 930 A. H.¹³

12. The inscription has been referred to by Fuhrer in his Archaeological Survey of India Report, New Series, Vol. II, N. W. P. and Oudh, 1891.

13. *Ibid.*

We do not know what happened to Muhammad Khān Sherwani after the battle of Panipath. He may have died fighting or may have submitted to Babar's general Mulla Āpāq who captured Kol. Babar however lost Kol on the eve of the battle of Kanwa. The Pathāns counted upon the inevitable defeat of the Mughals. They made a supreme rally for the reconquest of their country and Kol with a large portion of the Middle Do-āb passed into the hands of Ilyās Khān who defeated and captured the Mughal governor Kuchak 'Ali.¹⁴ After the Battle of Kanwa, Babar defeated this Pathān, who had assumed the title of Rustam Khān, and ordered him to be flayed alive. Since then Kol remained under Muslim occupation till the later part of Shāh 'Alam's reign.

GUJARAT AS KNOWN TO MEDIAEVAL EUROPE

(Conceptions, Facts, Fancies)

BY

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The notes relating Gujarat, which was considered as one of the trade centres of Mediaeval India, left by the European travellers of the Middle Ages are very often not precise, occasionally in correct and confusing.

The status of the travellers to India from Europe was either that of ambassadors or envoys, merchants or missionaries.

The principal route they employed was the sea route and only seldom did they come by land. The number of travellers coming to India in those times was very considerable. Only a few left notes which are of interest.

The most important travellers who arrived in Gujarat were: Cosmas, the Egyptian Monk; the Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela, a Jew; Marco Polo, the greatest Italian Christian traveller of Mediaeval Ages; Marino Sanuto, a Venetian statesman; two Friars, Jordanus and Odoric; Sir John Mandeville, the well-known plagiarist and soi-disant traveller; Nicolo Conti, a Venetian merchant; Athanasius Nikitin a Russian merchant; Hieronimo di Santo Stefano, a Genoese merchant, etc.

14. Mrs. Beveridge. Babur Nama II, 576.

The main routes of communication were the sea-route from Ormuz, as well as that from the East. We hear about the much frequented coastal routes between Indian ports.

In Gujarāt two types of ships were used. One type was similar to that used in the West, and the second more resembled a galley. There were junks or large Chinese-Style ships with from three to twelve sails, twenty or even more oars, rooms, cabins and saloons, which accommodated up to 1000 persons, including sailors on the Voyage from the East to Gujarāt.

All these ships steered by the stars. They were at the mercy of good or bad weather and, naturally, the winds.

These ships were used not only for passengers, but also—and it might be said principally, for the transport of merchandise.

The over-sea trade was highly developed between Gujarāt and Arabia, Zanzibar and the West, even with Mediterranean countries and with ports in the Far East. They were also employed the coastal trade.

Gujarāt's centres of trade were in Cambay, Somnath, Gogha and Thana.

Various goods were imported and exported. The most important of those exported were spices, indigo, hides and dressed leather, precious stones, buckram and cotton. Imported were horses, precious metals (gold, silver, etc.) and other things according to the demand.

On the one hand the trade with India was facilitated by the high reputation for honesty of the traders of Gujarat.

On the other hand, it was handicaped by the activity of pirates, who had their head-quarters in Gujarāt. These sea rovers were spendidly organized with a great number of vessels, and formed off the shores of Gujarāt a sea cordon which extended for about 100 sea miles through which the merchants could not pass. In order to counteract this, as a measure of security, the traders used to travel only on big ships well manned.

The occupation of the inhabitants of Gujarāt consisted also in handicrafts and industries, the most important of which was the dressing of skins, the production of leather articles, and horn articles, embroideries, incrustation, silk and cloth, lac, etc. However, their main occupation was agriculture, which is not sufficiently described by the travellers.

The climate, in particular the phenomenon of monsoons, heat etc. are much more fully described. The flora and fauna also is well described, in particular various kinds of spices, medicinal plants, trees, incense and fruits.

Animals are divided into forest, venomous forest, carnivorous, with special reference to venomous birds and reptiles. Almost every kind of really existing plants and animals are described. We find, however, also a description of non-existing animals, such as unicorns which were probably introduced into the tales of travellers in order to meet with the demand of Mediaeval Europe.

Many mistakes were made by these European travellers when writing of the people and of the various religions. They had no knowledge of the differences between the Brahmans, Jains and Parsis, between Brahmans and Bānyāns, etc. and they mixed up their varied occupations ascribing some of them incorrectly to followers of other creeds. In this connection it is noteworthy that they ascribed certain attributes, particular to traders (Bānyāns), to the Brahmans.

We find in the notes of the travellers the descriptions of some of the castes; of Brahmans; Banyans and their occupations, superstitions, customs, appearance; Yogis and the exclusiveness of their order, their longevity, activity philosophers, astrologers, physicians, masters of the elixir of life etc.

There is also to be found an account of the strictness in the diet of the Hindu population; their vegetarianism; the prohibition of eating flesh, which is explained often very correctly. Particulars are given of the burial rites of the Hindus, and of the Parsis with their Towers of Silence and more especially the religious rites such as the worship of "idols", trees, the phenomena of nature, cows; religious ceremonies; devadāsīs; divine services; temples; the custom of Sāti; the self-immolation, marriage ceremonies; dresses are all carefully depicted.

Much space is devoted by the missionaries to Christians in Gujarāt, (the centre of Christianity being in Thana), their schism and especially to the famous martyrdom of the four Friars in Thana. Their martyrdom was ordered by the Muhammadan Kadi of Thana who was dependent on the will of the Emperor of Delhi.

It can be seen from the various accounts of the European travellers that Hindu Gujarāt was at that time conquered by the Muhammadans, who left the power in the local districts in the hands of Hindu kings who had merely to pay tribute to the Emperor of Delhi.

Concerning the geographical position of Gujarāt, we know from the European travellers that it embraced the coastal line from Somnath (the northern parts of Kathiawar being almost unknown) up to Konkan (south of to-day's Bombay). Marco Polo describes separately the so-called province of Iar (southern part of Gujarāt and Konkan) and separately the kingdoms of Gujarāt, Thana, Cambay and Somnath.

There is also a confusion about Gujarāt as a kingdom, port, or city. We find also the description of a country called Sorath near the Gulf of Kutch.

The kingdom and the city of Cambay are very well described. Cambay was considered in Mediaeval Europe as one of the most important ports of India. It is described as flourishing port, where the inhabitants (Hindus, Nānyans, Muhammadans etc.) lived a life of luxury. It was famous as a centre of trade, in spite of the activity of the pirates, in particular for the export of indigo, spices and precious stones, as well as centre of industry and handicrafts. We find even the detailed description of the people of Cambay, their customs and religious rites, animals, etc.

Another centre of commerce, also so-well described, is Thana, famous on account of the four Friars, who suffered martyrdom there. We find a full description of Thana's commerce, industries, handicrafts, climate, inhabitants etc.

Other towns described by the European travellers of the Middle Ages are Kawa, a small town on the farther side of the Bay of Cambay; Kandahār also on the Bay of Cambay, an important port for import and export; Bairam or Perim a small island between Kandahār and Gogha, which also was an important port, also in the Bay of Cambay. In addition to these, on the Bay was Broach famous for the fertility of its soil and for the great number of Christians. Somnath another town in Kathiawar is not well described.

We find a few references to the ports south of Kathiawar, *i. e.* the commercial port of Supera (near today's Bassain); Kalyān, which played a more important role in antiquity; Choul, south of to-day's Bombay, also important, in these early days and to the north of the Bombay the commercial port of Sindan, as well as two inland towns, Saghar and Nandurbar, the first of which was very important as the centre of trade between the coastal towns and the interior.

DEVARAYA II AND THE GAJAPATI BHĀNUDEVĀ IV

BY

N. VENKATARAMANAYYA, M. A., PH. D.

An interesting passage in the Vemavaram Grant of Allaya Vema dated A. D. 1434 refers to a peace which his father Allāda concluded with the Gajapati and a king of Karnāṭa who invaded the kingdom of Rajahmundry during the period when he was

managing its affairs.¹ The passage does not, however, disclose the names of the invaders, though it is not difficult to discover their identity. Allāḍa, it may be noted, was a servant of Kāṭaya Vema, who, on the death of his master, in A. D. 1416 at the hands of Anandadeva Coḍa and his allies, espoused the cause of his master's children and began to rule their kingdom, on their behalf. How long Allāḍa continued to rule after this date, it is not possible to ascertain definitely. His inscriptions are found at Palwela and Tirupati in the West Godavari District ranging from A. D. 1417 to 1423.² How long Allāḍa continued to rule after A. D. 1423, it is difficult to find out. As the earliest record of his son Vema in which he is stated to have been ruling in Rajahmundry is dated in A. D. 1428, and as no record of his family is found in the interval, it may be assumed that Allāḍa was ruling up to 1427 A. D. when the administration was taken over by his sons Vema and Virabhadra.³ During this period of ten years there ruled in Orissa the Gajapati king Niśānka Bhanudeva or Bhanudeva IV,⁴ who probably ascended the throne in A. D. 1415. According to the tradition preserved in the Gangavamaśānucarita, Kajjala Bhanu, who was the immediate predecessor of the Gajapati Kapileśvara, went on an expedition of conquest to the South.⁴ That this traditions is based on facts is proved by the Vemavaram grant which alludes as noted above to the Gajapati invasion of the Rajahmundry kingdom during the time of Allāḍa. We may therefore take it that Bhanudeva IV was the Gajapati who invaded the Rajahmundry kingdom and with whom Allāḍa concluded peace.

Between A. D. 1416 and 1427 four kings, Devaraya I, Ramacandra Rāya, Vijayaraya, I, and Devarāja II were ruling in Karnāṭa, i.e., Vijayanagara. Of these the second who ruled only for about six months in A. D. 1422, and the third who held the sovereignty in partnership with the last may be left out of account. This leaves only the first and the last viz., Devarāya I and Devarāya II. The former who ascended the throne in A. D. 1406 ruled until 1422, when he was succeeded by the latter who reigned up to 1446. It follows from this that the king of Karnāṭa who invaded the kingdom of Rajahmundry in the time of Allāḍa must have been one of the two Devarāyas mentioned here. Which of these two was actually responsible for the invasion referred to in the Vemavaram grant cannot be determined easily; for both

1. E. I. XIII. p. 241. Mitrikṛtya sam-agatam Gajapatim Karnata-bhupam ca tom.

2. ARE 445, 467, 500, 503, 504, 514, 515, A of 1893. (SII IV Nos. 43, 113, 114, 129, 133, 135).

3. ARE 447 of 1893.

4. Kalunga Sameika, p. 343. Kṛtva rajyam-akamtakam killa samani kandum bhuja-dndayah Hartumniriyati tatra digjaya-kṛte durvara dor-vik-rama Sunyayan-nrpa-nirgamena suciram a rajadhani-kṛta Tat-tasryam Kapli-indra deyaṃ anaghajñ bhupam vyadhur-mantrinah.

the Devarāyas were involved in wars in the Godāvari delta; Devarāya II sent his armies to the banks of the Godāvari in A. D. 1416, and was engaged in a war with the Annadeva Coḍa and his ally the Bahmany Sultān, Fīroz Shāh.⁵ It must, however, be pointed out that Devarāya I went to the Godāvari delta not as an invader of the kingdom of Rajahmondry but as a friend and ally of Kataya Vema, its ruler to help him in his war against Annadeva. Moreover, Allāḍa who according to the Vemavaram grant made peace with the king of Karnata and the Gajapati has not yet risen to prominence, and Devarāya I was involved in a war with Fīroz Shāh from 1417 to 1420 in the Southern Telingana. It is not likely, under these circumstances, that Devarāya I invaded as stated in the Vemavaram grant the kingdom of Rajahmondry.

The relations of Devarāya II with the Reddi chiefs of Rajahmondry have not yet received as much attention from the scholars as their importance demands. It is no doubt surmised on the strength of an epigraph at Simhachalam dated A. D. 1428 that Devarāya II led an expedition to the frontiers of Kalinga about this time. The record in question registering the gift of a lamp to the temple of Simadrinatha by a certain Telungaraya, son of Samburaya of Kannada desa.⁶ As Telungaraya and his father Samburaya were ruling about this time in the Podile division of the Nellore district and the Ongale and Bapatla taluks of the Guntur district,⁷ and as this region was then included in the Empire of Vijayanagara, it has been assumed that Telungaraya was a subordinate of Devarāya II and that Telungaraya accompanied his master in the course of a military expedition to the frontiers of Kalinga in A. D. 1428, when he set up the inscription under consideration in the temple of Simhadrinatha.⁸ This assumption is quite reasonable. An inscription at Mudubidure in the South Kanara district dated A. D. 1430 refers, as a matter of fact, to a victory which Devarāya II won over the Gajapati. According to this record, "Devarya (II), the son of Vijaya, the ruler of the earth surrounded by the seas slaughtered by his great prowess the large and powerful cavalry of the Turukas, destroyed like the king of the beasts (*i. e.* the lion) the herd of powerful elephants of Matangaraja (*i. e.* the Gajapati), and drank up like Kalasodhbhava (*i. e.* Agastya), the ocean *viz.*, the army of the Andhras.⁹ It follows from this that between A. D. 1422 when he

5. E. I. XXVI, pp. 33-7.

6. 293 of 1899.

7. NDI III. P. Nos. 26 and 39; 476 of 1915, 752 of 1922, 473 of 1915.

8. History of the Andhras, III, p.

9. ARE 33 of 1901 (SIL. VII. 202). Sara nidhi vestis irdda sakal orviyan alwan ati pratapadin Turuka maha haya prabala sainya vidari Matanga raja sim dhura vara koti mardana mrgesvaran Andhra narendra sainya sa gara Kalasodhbhavam Vijayaraja tanubhava Devabhuvaram.

ascended the throne, and 1430, the date of the record under consideration, Devaraya II came into conflict with the Bahmany Sultan and the Gajapati and the King of the Andhras. It is not known whether the victory over these monarchs was won at the same time or on different occasions. The King of the Andhras referred to in the Mudubidura inscription was probably Allāda. The Vemavaram Grant as noted already, alludes to the Karnata invasion of the kingdom of Rajahmundry in Allāda's time and as he is also said to have ruled according to Srinatha, the Telugu country in opposition to the Yavana, Karnata and Katanka kings,¹⁰ his relation with them do not appear to have been friendly. Allāda was engaged as a matter of fact, in subjugating several principalities on the frontier of Orissa. His Brahman minister Asiyeti Linga is said to have reduced the chiefs Jhada, Saptamades, Baruha, Dohti, and Vantumadi to subjection; exacted tribute from Uday-Arjuna of the Matsya family of Oddadi, and the Pallava chief probably of Viraghottam, and offered protection, to the Pulindas in the midst of the Dandaka forest and the Naga chiefs of Rambha.¹¹ These activities were not calculated to produce an atmosphere of friendliness in the Court of Cuttack and it is natural that the Gajapati should have retaliated by invading the kingdom of Rajahmundry.

Nothing is known, however, of Allāda's relations with the Courts of Vijayanagara and Gulburga. The causes which led Devaraya II to invade the kingdom are far from clear. It was probably an outcome of the dissolution of the Reddi kingdom of Kondavidu. The history of Kondavidu subsequent to the death of Pedakomati Vema in A. D. 1420 is obscure. Neither the contemporary literature nor the inscriptions throw any light on the subject. Tradition preserved in the Village Kaifiyats state that on the death of Pedakomati Vema, his son Racha Vema ascended the throne and ruled the kingdom for four years. He was an oppressive ruler and was killed by one of his subjects whom he had wronged. The Reddi kingdom then became extinct; and the Gajapati who everran the country held it for some years; but he yielded place to the Narapati kings of Anegondi who ruled it for twenty-four years.¹² Peda Komati Vema had no doubt a son called Racha Vema, who figures in two records of his reign. In the Phirangipuram Epigraph dated A. D. 1410 he is referred to simply as Vema son of Peva Komati Vema and Suramba,¹³ but in the Pullaribodur record dated six years later in A. D. 1416 he is spoken of as Racha Vema, and he is said to have caused a water

10. Bhima kanda i: 62. Yavana Karnata Kataka Chudhavalā Toda balimi vatinci elurci Telugu bhumi.

11. *Ibid.*

12. Further Sources, Nos. 50, 51.

13. 538 of 1909.

channel called Jaganobhaganda canal to be dug to feed the irrigation tank, Santanavardhi excavated by his mother Sur-amba.¹⁴ Though no record of the reign of Racha Vema has been so far discovered, it is not unlikely that he succeeded his father and ruled as stated in the Kaifiyats for short four years. There is no corroborating evidence to support the statement in the Kaifiyats that after the assassination of Racha Vema, the Gajapati invaded Kondavidu and occupied the country. The following facts, however, may be noted with advantage in this connection. The Vemavaram grant makes it clear that while Allāda was ruling, the Gajapati and Karnata king entered the kingdom of Rajahmondry with hostile intentions; and the Mudubudiri inscription attributes to Devaraya II a victory over the Gajapati, and this is borne out, though indirectly, by the Simhachalam record of Telunguraya who was in all probability a subordinate of Devaraya. These facts make it quite clear that Devaraya II came into conflict with the Gajapati in the kingdom of Rajahmondry and inflicted a defeat on him. The circumstance under which this had come to pass are hidden in obscurity. Devaraya II annexed the kingdom of Kondavidu about A. D. 1428. The Reddi of Chundi in the North of Nellore, the Teluga Choda Avu Bhudeva of Kanuparti, Panta Mailara, the ruler of Pungirlandu; and Saluva Telungaraya the ruler of the territory between Ongole and Bapatla had all submitted to him, and acknowledged his supremacy and the Krishna became the boundary of the Vijayanagara Empire in the north east.¹⁵ The Gajapati Bhanudeva IV appears to have invaded the kingdom of Rajahmondry about this time as a measure of retaliation against Allāda for his aggressive attacks on the southern frontier of Orissa. Devaraya could not allow the Gajapati to subjugate the kingdom of Rajahmondry and push the boundary of his dominions to the Krishna. It was probably under these circumstances that Devaraya invaded the kingdom of Rajahmondry, inflicted a defeat on the Kalinga forces, and advanced as far as Simhachalam, the northern boundary of the Reddi territory at this time. Allāda was a shrewd king, he saw that the safety of his kingdom lay in making peace with his powerful neighbour, he concluded an alliance with them safeguarding probably the integrity of his own dominions and persuaded them to return to their respective countries.

14. 543 of 1909.

15. Further Sources : Introduction (unpublished).

ANARCHY IN A PART OF THE TAMIL NAD—HOW THE PEOPLE FACED IT. (14th-16th centuries).

BY

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The country between the Kāveri and the Vaigai, now comprising parts of Trichinopoly, Tanjore and Ramnad Districts and the Pudukkottai State presented a picture of disruption and anarchy for three centuries—fourteenth to the sixteenth. In the fourteenth century it was under the Sultanate of Ma'bar. Writing about one of the Sultans, Ibn Baṭṭūta¹ characterised the inhuman orgy practised by this ruler in massacring innocent men, women and children as a shameful practice, the like of which he had not seen any other sovereign adopt. The Sultans destroyed entire villages, ruined their temples, dismantled forts and looted the property; and all their unbridled oppression was summed up in contemporary Tamil inscriptions² in the words and *tulukkar-kalakam*. Two Vijayanagar princes Vira Saṁaṇa and Kumāra Kampana captured Kannaṁūr and Mādura, the two capitals of Ma'bar, and restored Hīndu rule in 1371.

Inscriptions in this region³ refer to the campaigns of Vira Saṁaṇa, Kampana, Virūpākṣa, the brothers Lakkana and Mādana, Narasaṇa Nāyak and Cellappa, also known as Viranarasīṅga Nāyak (Salvany or Salvanayaque of Nuniz), and to the triumphal tours of Sāluva Narasīṁha Rāya, the Tuluva Narasaṇa Nāyak and the great Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya. There are records of grants made by their officers or secretaries, and of military commanders and soldiers, who were left behind to 'preserve order'. These campaigns and imperial marches no doubt impressed the people with the power and prestige of the Vijayanagar sovereigns, but did not give them what they most needed—an ordered government.

About the middle of the 16th century, the viceroyalty of the southern provinces was vested in two dynasties—the Nāyaks of Mādura and of Tanjore. Neither the ruler at Mādura nor the one at Tanjore; nor even the former's governor at Trichinopoly could restore order throughout the region between the Kāveri and the Vaigai. Inhabitants of villages unable to protect themselves appealed to influential chieftains in the neighbourhood for

1. Sastri: *Foreign Notices of South India—Ibn Battuta*, pp. 278-9.

2. Cf. P. S. I. 452 and 454 and A. R. E. 587 and 588 A of 1902 (SII VIII. Nos. 182 and 3) also P. S. I. 669.

3. For a list of some of these inscriptions see my *Manual of the Pudukkottai State*, Vol. II Part I, pp. 702-9.

protection. They granted these chieftains lands for their maintenance, assigned to them royal functions, and invested them with powers of taxation, all in return for the obligation to protect their life, property and crops. Such rights granted to the protectors were called *pāḍikkaval* rights, and the chief, who received the rights, executed a deed called *āsiriṅṅapramānam*. Ponnamaravati was an important district in this region, and an inscription from Pulvayal⁴ refers to the assignment of *pāḍikkaval* by the inhabitants of the district to one Vira Pāṇḍya Kaḍambarāya. Neivāśal⁵ in the neighbourhood assigned similar rights to two chiefs on two different occasions. Kāraiṅṅūr,⁶ Tiruppattūr,⁷ Annavaśal,⁸ Perungalūr,⁹ and Vaittūr,¹⁰ had to seek the protection of powerful chiefs and assign similar rights to them. A Tiruvilāṅṅudi inscription¹¹ records that all the residents of Konāḍu placed themselves under the protection of Narasiṅṅadeva of Ānaiṅṅūr, a chief of Perāmbūr. Tiruvaraṅṅulam inscriptions¹² speak of an assignment of *pāḍikkaval* rights by the three villages of Irumbāli, Marudāṅṅānilai and Vadamayilāppūr for protection against the turbulent residents of Vallanāḍ. These chieftains bore the designations—*Āraiṅṅar*, *Arasu*¹³ and *Nadalvar*.¹⁴

The Kāraiṅṅūr record, mentioned above, sets forth the privileges of an Āraiṅṅar in 1477 A. D. He received 12 *ari* and one *padakku* of paddy for every *ma* of land and received in addition a share in the quit-rents collected from temples and enjoyed special irrigation rights. He was also allotted frequent gifts in kind such as hare, fowls and milk and ghee. Flags were carried before him, torches were borne even in the day time when he went out, and conches were blown when he mounted or dismounted from his horse or vehicle. He appended to his name high sounding *prasastis*.

Some of these *Āraiṅṅars* rose to prominence,—such as the Tondaimāns of Arantāṅṅi, the Pallavarāṅṅars of Vaittūr, the Vijayāṅṅaya Tēvars of—Suraikkūḍi and the Chiefs of Nagaram, and Sēṅṅirai. The chiefs of Perāmbūr, Maruṅṅāpuri, and Illuppūr were included among the seventy-two Poligars appointed by Viśvanātha

4. P. S. I. 1.17.

5. P. S. I. 823.

6. P. S. I. 715.

7. A. R. E. 122 of 1908.

8. Cf. P. S. I. 751 (Tennangudi).

9. P. S. I. 693 and 696.

10. P. S. I. 772.

11. P. S. I. 687.

12. P. S. I. 898—A. R. E. 122 of 1908; P. S. I. 729—A. R. E. 272 of 1914.

13. Tamil form of *Rajan*.

14. Means 'Ruler of a Nadu'.

Nāyak as guardians of the bastions of Madura. Chiefs of Bāṇa extraction and others bearing Bāṇa titles, who were Pāṇḍya feudatories, figure as vassals of Vijayanagar and Madura. Nobles belonging either to the Vijayanagar house or to local families, who bore Vijayanagar names—for example, Rāhuva Nāyak and Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Akkala Coḷa Mahārāja,—are mentioned in contemporary inscriptions. Out of this welter of political confusion emerged in the 17th century the States of Pudukkoṭṭai and Ramnad that were destined to play a leading part in the politics of the South during the 18th century.

The Araiyaṛs were not all of them men of honour. Mutual jealousy and rapacity brought about internecine feuds. Some of them committed riots, arson and plunder. Sometimes they became sensible of the injury they were causing to the unoffending villages and entered into solemn compacts. A long standing dispute between the parties of two Araiyaṛs was terminated by a compact at Kovilār¹⁵ that none of them would commit any offence in the territory of the other party, and stipulated that any person, who violated the pact, would be punished and his property confiscated to the temple. Araiyaṛs of different *nadus*¹⁶ met at Kunṇāṇḍarkovil¹⁷ and agreed not to molest wayfarers and agricultural tenants and not to hinder agricultural operations.

An agreement¹⁸ between the parties of two chiefs, made in 1419 A. D. and recorded at Madattukkivil will bear reproduction. It reads: "Whereas there existed a long standing feud between us from the time of Semar Narasiṅgadeva upto the time of Aḍaikkalaṅgatta Narasiṅgadeva resulting in the death of hundreds of men on both sides, we met together and settled that hence forward we would not commit any act that might injure anybody's interest and would look upon the enemy of any of our villages as our common enemy." The agreement concludes with an imprecation upon persons guilty of breaking the pact, that they would become sinners against the god of Nāṅgupaṭṭi.

This region, within which lay the traditional boundary line between the Coḷa and Pāṇḍyan kingdoms, was of great strategic importance. To the north and to the south of the Veḷḷār were lines of fortification, one behind the other, extending to a depth of about 60 miles. After the break up of the Pāṇḍyan empire, the Kaḷḷar *Velaikkarars* or soldiers lost their occupation and turned marauders indulging in desultory fighting and adding to the confusion that prevailed in the country. The taxes levied by the

15. P. S. I. 683.

16. There were also representatives from villages *Padaipparru* granted to soldiers.

17. P. S. I. 484.

18. P. S. I. 698.

Vijayanagar agents were often oppressive. Several families of Puvālaikkudi¹⁹ and Madiyāni sold their lands, and left the village. The inhabitants of three villages of Pālaikkudi, Kaḷaṅguḍi and Kiḷinallūr, and the Araiyaṛs, to whom their lands were mortgaged, sold the villages to the temple at Tiruvaraṅgulaṁ as they were unable to pay the taxes levied by Narasa Nāyakaṛ.²⁰ Dancing girls and their dependents driven from their homes by successive famines in 1436, 1450 and 1451 emigrated to Ponnamaṛāvati and accepted service in the temple.²¹

The local assemblies—the *ur* or the village assembly, the *sabha* or the assembly of Brahmin villages and the *nadu* or the district assembly lost much of their influence under Vijayanagar rule. The survivals were often atrophied specimens, and did not function as vigorously as in Coḷa and Pāṇḍyaṇ times. Consequent on the depopulation of many villages the function of the *ur* was transferred to the *nadu*. The appointment of village executive officers and accountants directly responsible to the Nāyaka king, robbed the assemblies of much of their power and prestige. But the people still clung to them for safety. They entrusted their life and property to Araiyaṛs, who in many cases failed them. It often became a question of the survival of the fittest when inhabitants of adjoining villages fell out. The only resort left was to revive the assemblies. There was behind the assemblies the tradition of centuries of local autonomy. The *nadu*, though no longer constituted as of old, was strengthened by taking in the leaders of castes and the artisan classes and the trustees of temples. Different assemblies held joint sessions and made pacts among themselves. The *nattars* of Nārttāmalai,²² for instance, met and fixed the assessment on lands and decreed that defaulters would be considered as traitors and punished as such with confiscation of property. The property thus confiscated was given to a temple. At Kunnāṇḍārkovil²³ a great assembly composed of all the smaller assemblies in the neighbourhood and the headmen of the local sects sat to assign duties to the disbanded Kaḷḷaṛ soldiers. Such meetings were held to settle disputes, to bring about reconciliation between villages, and to take effective steps against the perpetration of crimes. Examples of disputes settled by assemblies recorded in inscriptions are the one between the Maṛavaṛs of north Kulamaṅgala nāḍu,²⁴ another between the potters of Koṭṭaiyūr,²⁵ a third between barbers at Kovilūr,²⁶ and a fourth

19. P. S. I. 748.

20. P. S. I. 729—A. R. E. 272 of 1914.

21. P. S. I. 793.

22. P. S. I. 922.

23. P. S. I. 689.

24. Cf. P. S. I. 491, 913 and 940,

25. P. S. I. 828.

26. P. S. I. 915.

27. P. S. I. 921.

between two communities, probably the *Idangai* and the *Valangai* sects at Sevalūr.²⁸ The *nadu* at Puvaḷaikkudī²⁹ inquired into a complaint by the residents of Ponnamarāvati accusing the residents of Tuvār of murdering and wilfully destroying property. An inscription at Nedūngudi³⁰ records a joint session of the assemblies of Uñjanaipparū, Niyamapparū, Kaḷanivāśalparū, Adalaiyūr nādu and Sengunra Nādu, which tried and convicted three persons, who with the help of the men of a certain Maḷavarāyar were guilty of rioting and murder. A temple dispute³¹ between the residents of Panaiyūr and those of Kulamaṅgalam was settled by a joint assembly of the representatives of these and the neighbouring villages. The monks of the monasteries of Pulvayal decided to get all their disputes settled by their own representatives and the temple officers, irrespective of the sex of the disputants.³²

To sum up: The people, who could not get any protection from the Central authority, invited local chiefs to protect them, and conferred on them royal prerogatives within their small domains. When these chiefs from avarice or ineptitude failed their subjects, they resuscitated the local assemblies. The *nadu* or the district assembly gained new strength by the inclusion of the leaders representing all classes and interests, and by a closer association in its deliberations of the authorities of the temples that still stood as the focus of communal life. The *nadu* levied and collected taxes, arbitrated in disputes, punished the offenders, gave work to the unemployed and within the obvious limits of its powers, worked for internal order. Never was a truer appreciation of the functions of the local assemblies in South India recorded than in the following words of Elphinstone. and to no part of South India or period of its history could his words have a more apt application than to the period and the region we have now briefly surveyed: ".....they (the local assemblies) are an excellent remedy for the imperfections of a bad one (government). They prevent the bad effects of negligence and weakness and even present some barrier against its tyranny and rapacity. Again these communities contain in miniature all the materials of a State within themselves, and are almost sufficient to protect their members if all other government were withdrawn."

In the 17th century, the Madura Nāyaks strengthened their position as the leading power in the South; the Setupatis of Ramnad and the Tondaimāns of Pudukkoṭṭai rose to importance; and a Maratha dynasty was established in Tanjore. Wars

28. P. S. I. 815.

29. P. S. I. 799.

30. P. S. I. 818.

31. P. S. I. 944.

32. P. S. I. 932.

continued to be waged between these powers; but each State was strong enough to establish ordered government and internal security; and the local assemblies ceased to function as political bodies, but survived as 'caste-pañcāyats' to settle inter-communal disputes.

Abbreviations:—

A. R. E.—Annual Reports on Epigraphy (Madras).

P. S. I.—Pudukkottai State Inscriptions.

PARIBHUTASURATRĀNENA

BY

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The term 'Paribhutasuratrānena' is attributed to Kṛṣṇa Rāya of Vijayanagara in his Hampi Epigraph¹ of January 23-24 of 1510 A. D. Kṛṣṇa became king some time between the months of Vaiśakka² and Kārtika³ of Śaka 1431, Śukla *i.e.*, between 4th May and October 14—November 13 of 1509 A. D. The date of the Hampi Epigraph, therefore, could not have been of the anniversary of Kṛṣṇa's coronation, but of the coronation itself.⁴ The conviction that the king must have *earned* his right to all the titles given him in the inscription and the improbability of so much achievement in so short a time led Mr. H. Krishna Sastry to infer that the inditing of the Epigraph was long delayed after the coronation.⁵ Dr. S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar, however, considers that those titles were merely conventional and 'much too vague to bear the burden of the inference drawn', that the Rāya by his previous achievement must have deserved all those attributes.⁶

The Hampi Inscription embodies the usual Tuluva prasasti, but for the insertion of Kṛṣṇa's name and some other particulars of the grant. In all the references to the king's munificence to

1. Ed. by Prof. Hultzsch, *Ep. Ind. I.* It is dated in Magha Su. 14 of Śaka 1430 in the cyclic year Śukla. The Śaka year was actually 1431. See Sewell: *Forgotten Empire*, p. 120.

2. Of 342 of 1892, when Vira Nṛsimha was ruling.

3. Of 491 of 1906, when Kṛṣṇarāya was the reigning king.

4. Prof. Hultzsch is not quite certain of this: See *Ep. Ind. I*, p. 366.

5. *A. S. R.* 1908-1909, p. 175.

6. "Yet remembered ruler..." *Hindustan Review*, Vol. I, 1917, pp. 304-5.

several temples and also to his personal attainments, we need find nothing to push forward the date of the actual incising of the epigraph. But, so far, it has been very difficult to find, in the events prior to the date on the inscription, a justification for the Rāya's title, that he was THE VANQUISHER OF THE SULTAN (Sultans?—Paribhūtasuratrāṇa).

Dr. N. Venkataramanayya asserts 'it is certain that before January 1510 Kṛṣṇarāya waged a war upon the Bahmuni Sultan and inflicted a defeat upon him'.⁷ By implication, Dr. Venkataramanayya takes it that the incidents referred to in the eulogy must have occurred prior to the date specified therein, which is also the date of the inditing of the Epigraph. In this, I am entirely of his opinion. But with his conclusion and even with the process of reaching it, I find it is not possible to agree.

In support of his theory that the SURATRĀNA of the inscription was the Bahmuni Sultan, Dr. Venkataramanayya cites Nuniz to prove that Kṛṣṇarāya did not recognise the sovereign status of the Bahmuni nobles that had successfully asserted their independence in defiance of their authority of the Bahmuni Sultan. While referring to events subsequent to the destruction of Kulburga in 1521 A. D., Nuniz wrote that Kṛṣṇarāya 'wanted to press forward, but his councillors did not agree to this saying . . . that it did not seem to them that those Moorish Lords whom they counted as friends would be otherwise than afraid that the King would take their lands as he had taken those of the others, *since they all served one sovereign* and that for this reason those Lords would probably make friends with the Ydalcao and together they would come against the king.'⁸

There is nothing in the above sentence to indicate that the Adil Khan was one among those Moorish Lords said to have been serving the same sovereign.⁹ These northern Moorish chieftains winked at the discomfiture of the Adil Khan at the hands of Kṛṣṇarāya, so long as the latter kept himself south of Kulburga. For then, the sovereign whom they all served was yet safe, and they themselves secure in their own possessions. But if the Rāya crossed into the dominions lying north of Kulburga he would be

7. Yavanarajyasthapanacharya, Jr. Oriental Research, April-June 1936, pp. 161-162.

8. Forgotten Empire, Sewell, pp. 357-58.

9. Another sentence from Nuniz would have been more to his point. Even then it only shows how hopelessly Nuniz misunderstood the relations that obtained between the Moslem rulers and the Bahmuni Sultan. Referring to A. D. 1520, Nuniz wrote "...Zemulluco and Madremalluco and Destuy and Virido and also other Lords were like slaves to the king of Daquym". F. E. 348. That they held themselves in such an abject submission to the Bahmuni Sultan even after the death of Mahmud Shah the III in 1518 is too much for even credulity to accept.

attacking their sovereign: and if he succeeded in that effort, theirs would be the same fate as befell the Lords that had served the Adil Khan. It was this fear that might prompt them to join hands with their erstwhile enemy the Adil Khan in an effort to save themselves from the aggressive Hindu monarch. His councillors, therefore, urged the king to desist from pressing forward farther north.

Nuniz's story of Kṛṣṇarāya's attempt to subvert the Bahmuni succession at Bedar¹⁰ does not preclude an earlier recognition by the Rāya of Bijapur, Golconda and Ahmadnagara as independent kingdoms. The Telugu works like Kṛṣṇarāya Vijayamu and Rāya-vāchakamu refer to the stay of Moslem envoys from these kingdoms at Vijayanagara. Nuniz himself recounted how Kṛṣṇarāya received several embassies from these Moslem kingdoms and how he was even ready to treat independently with the Adil Khan.¹¹ It could not be therefore that Kṛṣṇarāya observed all these niceties of a policy of non-recognition of a de-facto situation.

It was Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao who had postulated this theory of non-recognition by the Rāya of Yūsuf Adil of Bijapur.¹² The basis for his opinion is merely that Kṛṣṇarāya's poem ĀMUK-TAMĀLYADA refers to the ruler of Bijapur as Adil Khan¹³ and not as Adil Shah. But the terms 'Shah' or 'Suratrāṇa' have nothing very exclusive about them but are only synonyms of 'Rāya', 'Medinimāṇḍalesvara' and such other terms significant of royalty. And we shall presently see that even the omission of these royal titles along with the names of the sovereigns of Bijapur is not absolute.

VARADĀMBIKĀPARINAYAM called the ruler of Manuva a Suratrāṇa and describes his defeat at the hands of King Viranṛsimha.¹⁴ From VARĀHAPURĀNAM we learn that Kṛṣṇa's father Nārasa was praised by the three MEDINIMANDALES-VARAS of Manduva,¹⁵ Bedandakoṭa (Bedar) and Mahur.¹⁶ We may safely assert, therefore, that the independence of the ruler of Manuva has been recognised even in the days of Nārasa Nāyaka himself.

10. F. E. 358.

11. *Ibid*, pp. 356-7.

12. Vyasavali. Vol. I, p. 40.

13. Canto I, Verse 42.

14. Sources of Vijayanagara History: Ed. Dr. S. K. Ayyangar, p. 175. ~

15. Manve in the Bijapur Territory—See Sources, Intro. P. 10; Dr. N. Venkataramanayya: Studies in the Hist. of the Third dynasty of Vijayanagara, Intro. xxxiii.

16. Sources, p. 90.

The SURATRĀNA or the MEDINIMANDALESVARA of Manuva was no other than Yūsuf Ādil Shah of Bijapur. Fr. Luis' letter to Dalboquerque written about the end of 1510 A. D. refers to the defeat of Bijapur at the hands of Vijayanagara. Fr. Luis wrote '.....the *Hidalcao (Ismael) would show towards them (Kṛṣṇarāya) that true faith which his father (Yusuf) had shown to the king of Narsinga when he took him in battle but released him on his promise to serve him for ever*'. This incident finds corroboration in Varadāmbikāpariṇayam also. It reads

सुरत्राणः प्राणत्राण परायणो दुर्गमं मानव दुर्गं तत्क्षणे मथ्यरुद्धत् ।

त्रासाद्धृतं मानवदुर्गं मध्ये धृत्वा सुरत्राण वराहपादम्

अमुञ्चलाश्नुग्रह धीस्त्राधीरो गृहीत मन्त्रिं क्लिप्त कुम्भ जन्माना ।

The Sultan, to save his own life, climbed into the impregnable fortress of Manuva.

There, in the centre of the fort of Manuva, the king captured the Suratrāna. But finding him, in his great fright, resort to the feet of Varāha, the saviour of the gods (and Varaha was the crest of Vijayanagara), the king, in his benevolence, set him at liberty, as did Agastya the ocean he had drunk.

Ferishta tells us that Yūsuf Ādil Shah was a Persian and from 'Parijātapaharaṇam' we learn that the ruler of Manuva, vanquished by Narasa, was a Persian too.¹⁹ Again an Ādil Khan of Manuva is stated to have been the contemporary of Vira Nṛsimha of Vijayanagara. For, Bālabhāgavatamu by Doneru Konerināthakavi, dedicated to Chinatimmarāya of Āraviti family recounts that Rāmarāju Timmayya, for his sovereign Vira Nṛsimha, conquered Ādil Khan on the battle-field at Manuva.²⁰ There is, therefore, no sanctity about the term 'Suratrāna' that it should apply to the Bahmuni Sultan alone, and to none other of the independent Moslem rulers in the country of Dakkan.

Dr. Venkataramanayya finds confirmation for his view in the contemporary Portuguese records. Dalboquerque directed ambassador Fr. Luis to promise the king of Vijayanagara that he would 'help him in the war against the king of Decan'. Dr. Venkataramanayya identifies the latter with the Bahmani Sultan.²¹ This identification, read with the 'Paribhūtasuratrāṇena' of the Hampi Epigraph yielded him the conclusion that Kṛṣṇarāya inflicted a defeat on the Bahmuni Sultan before Jan. 1510 A. D.

17. Commentaries of Afonso Dalboquerque, III, p. 38;

18. Sources, p. 175.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 107.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 206-7.

21. J. O. R. April-June 1936, pp. 161-62.

I am certain Dr. Venkataramanayya would not have missed the correct identification of this 'King of Decan' had he quoted Dalboquerque a little more elaborately than he did. The passage runs: 'After this (the discomfiture of the Zamorin and the destruction of the Moors of Calicut) is over, I shall give my attention forthwith to the *affairs of Goa, wherein I can help him in the war against the King of Decan.*'²² Were we to accept the above identification, then it is not easy to understand how Dalboquerque's operations at Goa could help Kṛṣṇarāya in his war with the Bahmuni Sultan. Who then was the 'King of Decan' whom Dalboquerque was referring to?

The Portuguese attempt to distinguish between the king of Bijapur and the 'King of Decan' may be traced to Varthema, who went about it clumsily; for to him the Dakhan was a city.²³ Dalboquerque was himself aware of this distinction. Yet evidence is not lacking to show that he meant different persons on different occasions by the same phrase 'the King of Decan'.²⁴ In his instructions to Fr. Luis, however, Dalboquerque intended only the king of Bijapur. My reasons for this contention are many and substantial.

Since their arrival in India, the Portuguese had hardly any contact with the Bahmuni Sultan. They found Vijayanagara constantly at War with the rulers of Bijapur rather than with the Bahmuni Sultan. Purchas,²⁵ Vijanagarada-Samrajyavu, a Canarese chronicle²⁶ and the Telugu works Rayavāchakamu²⁷ and Kṛṣṇarāyavijayamu²⁸ all agree to an incessant war of Vijayanagara against Bijapur, Ahmadanagara and Golconda during the initial years of Kṛṣṇarāya's reign, before the king marched against the Gajapati power entrenched in the Āndhra Deśa. According to the Canarese chronicle, Kṛṣṇarāya's war with the northern Moslems went on for full three years. As Kṛṣṇarāya is seen in Unmattūr country in September 1512 A. D.,²⁹ this war must have endured from 1509 to 1512 A. D. Dalboquerque must have had this prolonged war in his mind when he instructed Fr. Luis to assure Kṛṣṇarāya 'I am to destroy the Moors with whom I wage incessant war, as I know he also does.'³⁰ The 'King of Decan' therefore, could not have been any other than Yūsuf Ādil Shah, *a king in the*

22. Commentaries, II, pp. 74-77.

23. Itinerary: Trans. by John Winter Jones, p. 48.

24. Commentaries, IV, pp. 204-05. Dalboquerque speaks of both the Hidalcao and the 'King of Decan'.

25. F. E. P. 125, Note i.

26. J. O. R. April-June 1936, pp. 154-5.

27. Sources, p. 119.

28. *Ibid*, p. 131.

29. 180 of 1913.

30. Commentaries Vol. II, pp. 74-77.

country of Dakhan. It would then be easy to understand the significance of Dalboquerque's promised operations at Goa, how they would detract a part of Ādil Shah's forces away to Goa from their concentrated stand against the King and thus help the latter immensely.

What is much more important for my argument, the Commentaries has the following passage referring to Goa :

".....the Moors for many years gained the kingdom of Daquem from the king of Narsinga and were masters of it; although they always waged war with the Hindoos of Goa, *until the Cabaio became Lord of Daquem*, they could never overcome them."³¹

These considerations make it more probable that the Suratrāṇa of the Hampi inscription applied in general to all the independent Moslem kings of the Dakhan and to Yūsuf Ādil Shah of Bijapur in particular. Read with the relevant passages from contemporary literature, both Portuguese and Indian, the PARIBHUTASURATRĀNENA of the Hampi Epigraph points to one inevitable conclusion. Immediately after his accession to power, Kṛṣṇarāya found himself in the cold grip of a three years' war against his northern Moslem neighbour of Bijapur and against others. In the course of this war, he must have won many an engagement over Yūsuf Ādil Shah of Bijapur and thus earned not only the title PARIBHUTAURATRĀNENA, but also an immediate relief from the stress of war to celebrate his coronation on 23-24 January, 1510 A. D.

GOVERNOR "GAMDARAJO" OF THE PORTUGUESE HISTORIANS

BY

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While describing the great city of Vijayanagara, Paes writes thus :—"The king (Kṛṣṇa Deva Raya the Great) at once commanded that they (Christovao de Figueiredo and his friends)¹ should be shown certain of his residences, for that of his wives no one ever

31. *Ibid*, p. 95.

1. On the dates when these travellers visited the capital, read my paper styled "A New Persian Embassy to the Vijayanagar Court" published in the *New Indian Antiquary* for 1938, p. 239.

sees. As soon as we had returned to the city of Bisnaga, the Governor of that place, who is called Gamdarajo, and is the brother of Salvatinica, showed us the palace."

Since Sewell, while commenting on the name "Gamdarajo," refers us to Nuniz,² let us turn to the latter foreign witness. This traveller in one context describes the Emperor Kṛṣṇa Deva Raya as marching out of the city of Vijayanagara with all his troops. The order in which the great lords marched is given in detail. After mentioning a nobleman called "Comdamara," who still remains to be identified, Nuniz writes thus:—".....after him the forces of Ogemdraho, the Governor of the city of Bisnaga, with one of his captains, who had one thousand horse and thirty thousand foot and ten elephants..."

Sewell commented thus on the name:—"Ogemdraho".—"Probably Ganda Rajah, brother of Saluva Timma, the minister." Sewell then refers us to the above passage of Paes and to another passage in the narrative of Nuniz which I shall presently cite. Sewell further says thus:—"The initial 'O' may be the article 'The' ".³

The later passage in the narrative of Nuniz in which the nobleman called "Gamdarajo" figures is the following:—

"So he (Emperor Kṛṣṇa Deva Raya) put them (Saluva Timma and his son, who had rebelled) in prison again, and there Timadanayque died, and Salvatinica his father remained in the prison with his other son Gamdaraja."

Sewell again comments thus on the name "Gamdaraja:—"In the passage earlier in this chapter Saluva Timma is said to have had a brother 'Guandaja.' Putting the two together, it would seem that his brother and son bore the same name, probably Ganda Rajah. Paes refers to the brother as being in his day the governor of the capital. He calls him Gamdarajo."⁴

Hence Sewell, who has correctly maintained the relationship between "Gamdarajo" and Saluva Timma, left the matter unsolved.⁵ The "Gamdarajo" was not Ganda Rajah, which name, I may mention, is not met with in any record but Saluva Govinda Raja, the younger brother of Saluva Timma. The exact identity of Saluva Govinda Raja, his relationship to Saluva Timma, and his official career are all settled by epigraphic evidence.

2. Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire—Vijayanagara*, p. 284, n(1).

3. Sewell, *ibid.* p. 327, and *ibid.* n(2).

4. Sewell, *ibid.* p. 361, n(1).

5. Dr. M. H. Krishna likewise correctly maintains their relationship. *Mysore Archaeological Report for 1931*, p. 151.

(a) Relationship to Saluva Timma.

The most important epigraphic record which settles the identity and high connection of Saluva Govinda Raja is the Māramma temple stone inscription, found at Tagarapuram, Kollegal taluka, Coimbatore district. It is in Kannada, and is dated in Saka 1437, Bhava, Caitra, ba, 5, Sukravāra, which corresponds to A. D. 1514, April the 14th Friday. It relates that during the reign of Emperor Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya, who is called in the record Kṛṣṇa Dharma Mahādhirāya, the village of Tagavūru was granted by Saluva Govinda Raja to a learned Brahman called Somayya-deva Oḍeya, the son of Biloḍeya of Mogūru, under orders of the monarch.⁶

The interest of the record lies in the following; Firstly, it gives the exact relationship between Saluva Govinda Raja and Saluva Timmarasa thus—“*a rāyara (i. e., of Emperor Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya) nirūpadim tan-mahāpradhāna Saluva Timmarasa-varmma-numatadim tan anuja Saluva Govindarajagalu.*”

Hence the Great Minister (*mahāpradhāna*) Saluva Timma was the elder brother of Saluva Govinda Raja.⁷ That Saluva Timma was, indeed, the Great Minister of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya in A. D. 1514 is proved by the Kahallī stone inscription found at Nanjanagūd taluka, and dated in A. D. 1514, March the 15th. This record informs us that under orders of Vira Kṛṣṇarāya, while he was ruling the kingdom, after having been victorious in the southern kingdom (*śrīmat Kṛṣṇavarma-mahādhirāya pruthivī-rajyam-geyyuttirālu Dakṣiṇadesadalli-vijayavāgi*), the illustrious Mahāpradhāna (Great Minister) Saluva Timmarasa of Yajus-sakha, Khāṇḍava (Kaundinya?) *gotra* and Āpastambha-sutra, made a grant of the village of Kāvahālī (location given in detail) to the offerings of the god Kirttinārāyaṇadeva of Talakāḍ.⁸

Both Paes and Nuniz confirm the evidence of epigraphs relating to the high status occupied by Saluva Timma in Vijayanagara history. Paes mentions Saluva Timma on four occasions, once while describing the daily routine administration of the Emperor; next while dealing with the visit of Christovao de Figueiredo; thirdly, while describing the festivities of the Mahānavami; and finally, while describing the triumphant cars at the end of the festivities. In the first context, Paes writes thus:—“In such a building he (Emperor Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya) despatches his work with those men who bear office in his kingdom, and

6. *South Indian Inscriptions*, IX, P. II. No. 497, pp. 509-510.

7. Another detail which may be casually mentioned is the one referring to the donee's grand-father Somesvaracarya, who had the other name of Mallikarjuna and who was the *guru*, or preceptor of King Vira Rudra of Orangal.

8. *Mys. Arch. Report for 1930*, pp. 179-182.

govern his cities, and his favourites talk with them. The greatest favourite is an old man called Temerasa ; he commands the whole household, and to him all the great lords act as to the king."⁹ In the next context, which has already been cited above, the relationship of Saluva Timma and Saluva Govinda Raja is mentioned. In the third context, Paes writes thus, while describing the House of Victory :—"Salvatinica, who is the principal person that enters the building, supervises the whole, for he brought up the king and made him king, and so the king looks on him like a father. Whenever the king calls to him he addresses him as 'Lord (Senhor) Selvatinica', and all the captains and nobles of the realm make salaam to him. This Salvatinica stands inside the arena where the festivals go on, near one of the doors, and from there gives the word for the admission of all the things necessary for the festival."¹⁰ Finally, Paes introduces a Saluva Timma to us when he describes the entry of the triumphant cars at the end of the fire-works. "The first (triumphal car) belongs to Salvatinica, and they come in one after the other."¹¹ It appears from these statements of Paes that Saluva Timma was both Lord Chamberlain and Prime Minister for he commanded the whole of the royal household and to him all the great nobles obeyed as they would have done the king himself.

Nuniz is more explicit on the official status of Saluva Timma. He writes thus :—"As soon as Crisnarao was raised to be King and was obeyed throughout all his kingdom,—Salvatinica being his minister, who had been the same for his brother Busbalrao,—he without delay sent his nephew, son of Busbalrao his brother, together with his own three brothers, to a fortress called Chāodegary....."¹²

If we are to rely on Nuniz, Salva Timma was the Great Minister or Prime Minister of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya from the beginning of the latter's reign. Now since we know from epigraphic records that Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya came to the throne in A. D. 1509,¹³ we have to assume that Saluva Timma was Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya's prime minister in that year. And the Māraṁma temple stone inscription cited above proves that Saluva Timma was still the *Mahapradhana* in A. D. 1514. This means that he was the Prime Minister from A. D. 1509 till 1514. Indeed, he continued to hold this high post till 1516, if he is to be identified with *Amarada Timmarasa*, the *Karyakartta* of the same monarch (*Sri-Kṛṣṇa-raya-maharaya karyakarttagalada amarada Timmarasaru*), mentioned in the Lingayata maṭha stone inscription, dated in A. D.

9. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 250.

10. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 268.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 272.

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 315-316.

13. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, p. 118.

1516 which was found at Uruvakoṇḍa, Gooty taluka, Anantapur district.¹⁴

The last year of Śaḷuva Timma's prime-ministership is still a matter of doubt. This is because it is, among other things, bound up with the question of the visit of Paes to the capital. If we agree with Sewell, Paes visited Vijayanagara in A.D. 1520,¹⁵ but if accept the testimony of the Portuguese historian Correa, Paes was in the capital in A.D. 1517.¹⁶ Assuming for the time being that Śaḷuva Timma's last year of Prime-ministership was about the year A.D. 1520, let us see how this agrees with the known facts of his younger brother Śaḷuva Govinda Rāja, who is the subject of this paper.

(b) *Śaḷuva Govinda Rāja's Official Career.*

Śaḷuva Govinda figures in 1513 as the Nāyaka (Governor) of the Terakaṇāmbi-sime, Gundlupet taluka, which lies to the south of Mysore. This is gathered from the Triyambakeśvara temple record found at Gundlupet and dated in that year. He grants some specified taxes within that province, which we are told had been bestowed upon him for the office of Nāyaka, in order to meet the expenses of camphor and betel leaves for the god Triyambaka. He is described thus in that record:—Śaḷuva Govinda Rāja, the son of Baci Rāja, of the Kaundinya gotra,

14. *S. I. I. IX. P. II, No. 591, p. 515.* There was another *Pradhana* (Minister) Timmarasa, who is not to be confounded with Śaḷva Timma, because their lineage is different.

1. *Śaḷuva Timma's descent.*
Baci Rāja

Mahapradhana
Śaḷuva Timma, of the
Kaundinya gotra,
Yajus-Sakha, and
Apastamba-Sutra.

Śaḷuva Govinda Rāja.

2. *Pradhana Timmarasa's descent,*
Sripatacarya

Minister (Pradhana) Timmarasa,
of the Bharadvaja-gotra, Asvalayana-Sutra, and
Rik-Sakha

Rajasam Kondamarasayya

S. I. I. IX, P. II, No. 509, p. 520.

15. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

16. See my paper in foot note (1) mentioned above, pp. 229-231.

Yajus-sakha-and *Āpastambha sutra*.¹⁷ This settles his descent which is identical with that mentioned above concerning *Śāluva Timma*.¹⁸

He seems to have been placed over Ummattūr, which also lies to the south of Mysore, as is evident from the damaged and illegible stone inscription found in Demaḷḷi in Ummattūr itself, and which styles him thus—*sri Śāluva-Govinda-ra (a) jayyanavaru*. The date of this record is given thus—*Isvarasamvatsara, Asviyuja, su. 10* which, according to Dr. Kṛṣṇa corresponds to A. D. 1517, September the 24th.¹⁹ Another record found at Nanjanagūd and dated in the same year 1517, confirms our surmise that Śāluva Govinda was placed as governor over Ummattūr. In this record he grants a land to the Lingayat *guru* at Suttūru at the confluence of the Kapilā and the Kaundini.²⁰ A third stone inscription dated also in the same year further proves that Śāluva Govinda was in that year governor over Ummattūr. For in that year, as the Honnūrgrāma stone inscription found near the Masjidī relates, by order of the Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya the Great, he granted all the *manya* lands of Hongalapura to certain Brahmins (named) as an *agrahara*.²¹ In the next year (1518) Śāluva Govinda Rāja is called a *Mahamandalesvara*, and the damaged record dated in that year, and found in the Hongalavāḍi village, Ohmarājanagana, relates that his agent (*karyakke karitār*) Timma Nāyaka from the latter's headquarters of Navilūr, granted some land (specified in detailed) for the maintenance of some *mantapa*.²² A fourth inscription found at Tirumakūḍalu-Narasipura, also in the Mysore district, and dated in A. D. 1519, informs us that when Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya the Great was ruling the earth, Śāluva Govinda Rāja of the Kaundinya *gotra*, *Āpastambha sutra*, and *Yajus-sakha*, and son of Rāji-rāja (which is evidently a corruption of Baci-rāja), granted a village called Hosapura in Mugūr-sthāḷa, belonging to Terka-nāmbi-rājya, which province had been bestowed upon him for his office of Nāyaka by the monarch, as a gift for the services of the god Agastyeśvara of Tirumakūḍalu.²³ A fifth record also dated in the same year (1519) and found also in Tirumakūḍalu-Narasipura,

17. *Epigraphia Carnatica*, IV. Gu. 3, p. 36.

18. In the same year Śāluva Govinda is mentioned in connection with Nanjanagūd. See *Ep. Car. III*. Nj. 195 which is unfortunately not accessible to the while writing this paper. The evidence of the Maramma temple record found at Tagavapuram cited above, may be recalled here.

19. *My. Arch. Rep. for 1933*, pp. 246-247.

20. *Ibid* for 1918, p. 53. See also *Ep. Car. III*. Nj. 124.

21. *Ep. Car. IV*, Ch. 37, p. 5.

22. *My. Arch. Rep. for 1931*, pp. 149-151.

23. *My. Arch. Rep. for 1912*, p. 50. The revised edition of this record gives the name of Śāluva Govinda Rāja's father as Rajarāju. *Ep. Car. XIV*, No. 269, p. 264.

registers another grant by the same official.²⁴ A sixth record, which will again be cited later on in this paper, found in the same taluka and dated about A. D. 1521, registers a gift of the village called Kaḷavūr, renamed Kṛṣṇapura, by Śāluva Govinda Rāja to some Brahmans.²⁵ Terkaṇāmbi-sime in the Mysore district continued to be under his charge in A. D. 1512, as the Triyambakeśvara temple stone inscription dated in that year and found at Terkaṇāmbi itself, relates. For in that year by order of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāja, the revenue from Koḍihaḷḷi and other hamlets was given as a gift for the services of the god Triyambaka. How patriotic Śāluva Govinda Rāja was is seen in the statement of the record that the charity was made "in order that our Lord *vira-pratapa-Kṛṣṇa-Rāja Mahārāja* may obtain abundance of horses, elephants, armies, and wealth, and gain victorious dominion in all quarters".²⁶

Śāluva Govinda Rāja's loyalty and patriotism caught the people. And his citizens from his own fiefship of Terkaṇāmbi, as the stone inscription found at Paḍugūru, Terakaṇāmbi, and dated in A. D. 1523, July the 17th, proves, gave certain specified lands as a free gift for the services of the god Hanumanta at Paḍugūru. These citizens were six Ravutas (all named).²⁷ The last date which associates Śāluva Govinda Rāja with Ummattūr in Terkaṇāmbi-sime is a stone inscription found in Triumakūḍalu-Narasipura, and dated in A. D. 1528. It registers a gift of land by Śāluva Govinda Rāja to the learned Brahman, who was the establishers of the path of the Vedas, called Mahājīyaguru.²⁸

From the above sketch it is evident that Śāluva Govinda Rāja was placed over Ummattūr in the Terakaṇāmbi-sime from A. D. 1513 till 1528. Here we may pause before proceeding to the next question, *viz.*, as to when he became the Governor of the City of Vijayanagara. We have to discuss here the question as to when Ummattūr was conquered, who was its first viceroy before Śāluva Govinda Rāja was placed over it, and to whom it went after his regime.

Sewell has estimated that it was after A. D. 1510 and before 1513 that Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāja the Great conquered Ummattūr from its lord Ganga Rāja.²⁹ Rice places the reduction of Sivanasa-mudram, the great fortress of the Ummattūr Rajas, in 1510,³⁰

24. *Ep. Car.* III, TN. 73 not accessible to me. I cannot make out whether this and the previous grants are identical.

25. *My. Arch. Rep. for 1912*, p. 51. The revised edition of this inscription is in *Ep. Car.* XIV. No. 42, p. 215.

26. *Ep. Car.* IV. Gu. I, p. 35; Gu. 35, p. 42.

27. *My. Arch. Report for 1934*, pp. 172-173.

28. *Ibid for 1912*, pp. 50-51; revised as Tn. 76 in *Ep. Car.* XIV, No. 76 p. 221.

29. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

30. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, g. 155.

although in an earlier context in his work. Rice asserted that the conquest of Sivanasamudram was "one of the earliest expeditions" in the reign of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya.³¹ But the one fact that goes against this estimate is the Basavanagudi temple record found at Honnarabālu, Chamarājanagara taluka. This record is dated A. D. 1512, and it represents Nanja Raja Oḍeyar, the son of the Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Depanna Oḍeyar, as the ruler of Ummattūr.³² If we suppose that Nanja Rāja Oḍeyar as still resisting Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya in 1512, we may not be wrung in placing the reduction of Ummattūr in 1512. In any case, it passed under Vijayanagara about that time. And Sāluva Timma, the Prime Minister of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya, was placed over it in that year as its governor.³³ And, as we have seen, Ummattūr and the Terakaṇāmbi-sime passed under the charge of Sāluva Govinda Rāja in A. D. 1513. It was only in 1520 that Ummattūr was transferred from Sāluva Govinda Rāja's charge to that of *Adhikari* (Officer) Perumāja Cellaya, who now became the Nāyaka (Governor) of the Ummattur country.³⁴

Let us now turn to the other question—as to when Sāluva Govinda Rāja became the *Mahapradhana* of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāja the Great. Although Sāluva Govinda Rāja continued to be the Governor of Terakaṇāmbi-sime till, 1529, yet he continued to enjoy the greatest confidence during this period. He rose to the position of a *Mahapradhana* while he still continued to be the governor of Terakaṇāmbi-sime. The earliest inscription which mentions him as the *Mahapradhana* of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāja is the Lingadagudi stone inscription found at Aḷakere, Yeḷandūr taluka. It is dated A. D. 1519 and it relates that by order of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāja, his *Mahapradhana* Sāluva Govinda Rājayya granted for the merit of the monarch, in the presence of the god Virūpākṣa at Pampākṣetra, the lands included in Aḷakere-Benakere (location given) as a free gift to the *Mahajanas* (Brahmin burgesses) of Aḷakere. This village was rechristened Kṛṣṇasamudra, obviously after the monarch. The statement that the grant was made in the presence of the god Virūpākṣa proves that the *Mahapradhana* was in the capital in 1519.³⁵

He is the same *Mahapradhana* mentioned in the stone inscription dated A. D. 1520 and found in the Ramabadrā temple at Terakaṇāmbi itself. In this record he is said to have paid a visit to Terakaṇāmbi, and to have made a grant of specified lands for

31. Rice, *ibid.*, p. 119.

32. Ep. Car. IV. Ch. 107, p. 14.

33. Mys. Ar. Rep. for 1930, p. 153. See also E. C. III Nj. 195.

34. Ep. Car. IV. Ch. I, p. 1.

35. My. Arch. Rep. for 1917, p. 49. Its revised edition is in Ep. Car. XIV. Ye. 190, p. 299.

the car-festival of the great god Ālvār of Terakaṇāmbi, and in order that merit might accrue to the ruler.³⁶

He continued to be the Great Minister of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya till 1523. This is proved by two records one of which is dated about A. D. 1521 and the other A. D. 1523. The former record, which has already been cited above, calls him the *sirah-pradhana* (prime-minister) of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya.³⁷ Evidently in the same sense of a *sirah-pradhana* is he mentioned in the Araḷipura-grāma stone inscription found in the Chamarajanagara taluka, and dated A. D. 1523, although the text of the inscription gives his designation as *vira-pradhana* which was an error of the scribe for *sirah-pradhana*. This record relates that in that year (1523) his agent (*karṭtar*) Jāḍeyāru Modaliyār, the son of Tiruvengāḍa Modaliyār of Tirumudipāka, set up the image of the god Virabhadra in the village of Hattalakote, and granted certain specified lands to provide for its worship.³⁸

Therefore, on the basis of the above records, it may safely be asserted that Saluva Govinda Rāja was the *Mahapradhana* of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya from 1519 till 1523.

(c) *Saluva Govinda Raja as the Governor of the Capital City.*

We have, however, yet to explain one interesting point which Paes and Nuniz mention in their narratives. Both are positive about his having been Governor of Vijayanagara, which city they call Bisnaga. If, as we have seen, Saluva Govinda Rāja was the Governor placed over the Terakaṇāmbi-śime from 1513 till 1529, and if during the course of his viceroyalty, he was from 1519 till 1523 the *Mahapradhana* of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya, then, when could he have been the Governor of the Capital City? We cannot dispense with the evidence of Paes, because he is, on the whole, a cautious witness; but we may doubt the evidence of Nuniz, who has very often given unreliable data.³⁹ Excepting these two foreign witnesses, no other source mentions the fact of Saluva Govinda's having been the Governor of the Capital. I may hazard an explanation in regard to this detail which, until future research helps us, will remain only conjectural. Paes, according to Sewell, visited Vijayanagara in 1520. According to the same authority, Nuniz visited Vijayanagara in 1535 during the reign of Emperor Acyuta Deva Rāya.⁴⁰ The two contexts in which Nuniz mentions Saluva Govinda are, as already mentioned at the

36. *Ep. Car.* IV. Gu. 8, p. 37. Revised in *Ep. Car.* XIV. Gu. 8, p. 17.

37. *Ep. Car.* III. TN. 42, already cited. Revised in *Ep. Car.* XIV, p. 215.

38. *Ep. Car.* IV. Ch. 99. p. 13.

39. Read Salstore, *Indian Antiquary*, LXI. pp. 1-2.

40. Sewell, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

beginning of this paper, the following :—the first while describing the events leading to the great battle of Raichur ; and the second, while narrating the events pertaining to the tragic end of Saluva Timma himself.⁴¹ The battle of Raichur was fought, according to Sewell, in 1520, although Nuniz would date it in 1522.⁴² For our purpose, admitting that Sewell is correct in his date of the great battle, it means that Nuniz relates an event that took place fifteen years before he actually visited the great capital. It is not unlikely that Nuniz, therefore, wrote of Saluva Govinda Raja's having once been the Governor of the City of Vijayanagara, rather than of Govinda Raja's having been the Governor in the year when Nuniz had visited Vijayanagara. The last available date for Saluva Govinda Raja is 1528. Granting for the present that he died a disgraceful death along with his famous brother Saluva Timma in prison, as Nuniz would make us believe, it means that Saluva Govinda died at least seven years before Nuniz had actually visited Vijayanagara. Hence, Saluva Govinda Raja was not the Governor of the Capital when Nuniz was in that city, because there was another official who was placed over the capital, and whose identity will be given presently. On the other hand, Saluva Govinda Raja seems to have been the "Governor" of the Capital in 1514 or in 1520, when Paes visited Vijayanagara. This means that in addition to his duties as the viceroy of the Tera-kanāmbi-śime, he was given the additional duty of looking after the great capital before he became the *Mahapradhana*.

This leads me to the next question as to the exact designation given to the "Governor" of the capital. Neither epigraphic nor literary evidence mentions any special officer called "Governor of the city of Vijayanagara." I may mention here that there is no special designation for a governor in the records discovered hitherto about the Vijayanagara Empire. Usually it is a *Dannayaka* (or Commander) or a *Nayaka* (or "Governor") who was placed over the province; and the political latitude given to him was expressed in some such phrase like the following :—*rajyavanupalisi* or *rajyavannu alutta*.⁴³

But epigraphic evidence, on the other hand, gives correctly the designation of another official who was placed over the Capital. An inscription on the right side of the rock on the Gavi Rangaswami Hill at Chelivendla, Hindupur taluka, Anantapur district, is of much value in this connection. It deals primarily with the Emperor Acyuta Deva Raya, and is dated A. D. 1531, August the 6th Sunday. It is a copy of another record dated in the same year but found in the Virabhadra temple at Lepākshi, also in the

41. Sewell, *ibid*, pp. 327, 361, *op. cit.*

42. Sewell, *op. cit.* pp. 140-147.

43. Cf. S. I. I. IX, p. II. No. 555, p. 575.

same taluka. The Chelaviṇḍla inscription contains a marginal note to the following effect:—That to the god Vireśvara.....of Lepākshi, the Talavara of the City of Vijayanagara, Virūpaṇa of Penugonda, granted the village of Venkaṭadripura for the offerings of the god. The statement in the original which is in Kannada runs thus:—*Vijayanagarada pattanada talavara Penugondeya Virupana*. This settles the official designation of the “Governor” of the Capital. In modern phraseology, the office of a *City Talavara* would be similar to that of the “Commissioner of Police.”⁴⁴

That in the same year 1531 Virūpaṇa was the Police Commissioner of the Capital is further proved by another inscription found at the foot of the east wall of the second *prakara* of the Virabhadra temple at Lepākshi. This is dated only in the cyclic year Khara, Sravaṇa ba’ 12, but assignable to A. D. 1531, August the 9th Tuesday. It relates that the monarch Acyuta Raya ordered the *gaudas* or farmers of Cheluvindla to the following effect. That the monarch had given the village of Cheluvindla surnamed Komāravenkaṭadripura, to the god Papavināśasvāmi, and the village of Gaṇapathihalli to the *Talavara* of Vijayanagara City Virūpaṇa of Penugonda; and that the ownership, of both the villages vested in Virūpaṇa.⁴⁵ These records state Virūpaṇa was the son of Nandi-Lakki-seṭṭi and Muddambā. Hence in 1531 it may definitely be asserted that the Commissioner of Police of the capital city—the “Governor of Bisnaga”—was Virūpaṇa of Penugonda. Since Nuniz visited Vijayanagara, according to Sewell, only four years after the above records were inscribed, viz., in 1535 it is not unlikely that the Governor of the capital was no other than Virūpaṇa himself; and that when Nuniz wrote of “Gamdarajo’s” having been Governor of Bisnaga, he repeated a statement which he had either read elsewhere or heard in the capital itself. This official called Virūpaṇa, I may add, wielded considerable influence at the royal court of Vijayanagara. Inscriptions ranging from 1534 till 1538 deal with his charities to the god Virabhadra at Lepākshi as well as to learned Brahmins.⁴⁶

44. S. I. I. IX, p. II, No. 536, p. 555. I think the Telugo scribe who composed this marginal note in Karmada wrote poor Kannada, for he speaks of *Vijayanagarada pattanada* when he ought to have written *Vijayanagara pattanada*. The word *pratinaadhi* may be an error for *pratinaivedya*(?).

45. *Ibid.*, No. 537, p. 555. See also No. 539, *ibid.* page.

46. S. I. I. IX, p. II, Nos. 567, 577, 579, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 587, 588, 590, pp. 587-603.

A FEW EXAMPLES OF HEROISM IN MEDIEVAL KARNATAKA

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In the history of medieval Karnataka, we come across a band of heroes whose faithful attachment to their lords was incomparable. Their devotion sometimes took an extremely personal turn. These heroes seem to have taken to their hearts the high principle that their lives were dedicated solely to the well-being of their patrons; to render every kind of service to the lord, to fight for him in the battlefield, to defend him against enemies at home, to make him happy in every way, was considered their one and only life task, and when he happened to die, these followers even went so far as to decide that their own lives were no more worth living. They would then very willingly undergo the ordeal of self-immolation fulfilling thereby their vow that they would live and die with their lord.

The first method of self-sacrifice under review is by the process called *Kil-gunthe*. Rice interprets the term as *Kil under*, *gunthe*=*pit* i. e. 'buried under.' The earliest known example of such practice is furnished by the Doddahundi stone inscription¹ when on the death of the Ganga King Nitimarga, his *manemagothun* or Major-Domo Agarayya, is said to have become *kil-gunthe* and thus attained heaven. The date of the inscription is about 920 A. D. The inscription by itself, and the interpretation given by Rice would lead us to suspect if the man was buried alive, but some more light is thrown on this point by the Nandigudi inscription² dated about 930 A. D. It informs us that during the reign of the Rashtrakuta king Govinda IV, a Ganga feudatory named *Chandi*.....died and his retainer or *Balavadicha* Alliga became a *kil-gunthe*. In the sculptured relief shown on the inscription, however, the man is depicted as stabbing his belly with a dagger. He must have therefore been buried after thus killing himself, under the firepit or the grave of his master whichever was the mode of disposing of the latter's body. That the sacrifice was quite voluntary, and no force was required to persuade the votary to make good his word is revealed in the following instance. A retainer or *Balavadicha*³, hearing of the impending death of his chief is said to have travelled for thirty yojanas without food and after witnessing the cremation of the chief, cut himself

1. E. C. Vol. III, Dg. 91.

2. E. C. Vol. XI, Dg. 119.

3. South Indian Inscriptions Vol. XI, Part I, Page 8.

to pieces, thus becoming a *kil-gunthe*. The inscription praises him as one who would never survive his master's death.

It appears from inscriptions that sometimes as a reward for the hero's valour grants were bestowed on his family by the chief's successor. This fact is borne out amongst others by the inscription⁴ assigned to the period of the Ganga King Satyavākya Nitimarga, 915 A. D. Here Bobiyama as well as Rāchaya of Muttige are said to have given themselves up to flames on the occasion of the death of the aforesaid king. The latter *i. e.* his family, receives a grant. Another case of self-immolation by entering the fire is furnished by the fragmentary inscription of the village Santi-Sivara.⁵ Yet another instance of entering the fire is furnished by the Kolor inscription⁶ of about 700 A. D. which eulogises a man named Sambhu who had given the oath of sacrifice to the Chalukya king Parahita. The verses say "with a smiling face, you entered the blazing fire, repeating the name of Sambhu all the time. Those *Vejavadichas* who flourished before, those that are to come yet and those that are living now, none of them can ever equal you—you are incomparable."

The third type of self-immolation which seems to have come into vogue later on was a ghastly decapitation known as *Sidi-tale*, or offering of the springing head. From sculptured panels of *Sidi-tale* hero-stones, we learn that the person bent on sacrifice was seated close to a bamboo pole fixed in the ground behind. The pole was then forcibly bent down so that its end could be secured to the top-knot of the hair of the victim. Somebody at his instance then severed the neck with a sword so that the tension being relieved the head flew up along with the pole. A hero-stone of this sort depicting this scene was found at a village near Madhugiri and brought to the Archaeological Office Museum, Mysore, some years ago. Again, the pillar which contains the inscription recording the sacrifice of Kuvala Lakshma⁷ contains in its north-western panel a bas-relief illustration of *Siditale*. Most of the figures, carved as sacrificing themselves wear a *todar* or anklet on the left leg which we learn from the inscription, was a mark of devotion to their master in determination to die with him. Besides, there is another reference made to *Sidi-tale* in 'Jayanrupa Charithe' a Kannada Poetical Work by Mangarass of about the sixteenth century A. D. The author, while narrating the adventures of a mythical king Jaya, mentions that the king's loyal followers thought of offering *Siditale* when they found their

4. E. C. Vol. VI, Ag. 5 and 27.

5. E. C. Vol. V, C M. 266.

6. Indian Antiquary XX, 69.

7. E. C. Vol. V, BL. 112.

8. IX. Canto, verse 27.

chief was in imminent peril of being drowned. Molakalmuru⁹ inscription of the time of Vira-Ballala gives a remarkable instance of a woman servant undergoing the terrible ordeal on the death of her mistress. Here a certain Honni is said to have submitted a *siditale* on the death of Honnavve Nayakitli. The Shikarpur¹⁰ inscription is also remarkable—in that not only kings but queens also had their votaries. When the fifth year of Tribhuvanamalla Someśvara in 1185 A. D. his senior queen, Lachchala Devi died, Boka, an officer followed her to heaven. He had previously taken a vow that he would die with the queen. Perhaps, he was not so eager to make good his word, for the master called him commenting “you are the courageous man, who with resolution have spoken of taking off your head.” Boka then gave his head with great courage while the world applauded. The word spoken with full resolve was not to be broken.

Another inscription,¹¹ Chickamagalur 128 which Rice assigns to Kadamba dynasty gives a list of warriors who died with Mādivarma. One of them being his *manemagati* or majordomo named Erega. But their mode of death is not vouchsafed to us. Similarly Honnali¹² 47 of about 1130 A. D. records how on the occasion of the death of Tailapa Kadamb, a man Boppanna made good the vow he had taken. How exactly he did it, we do not know. Kadur¹³ 146 relates how when Kadamba King Bommarasa fell in battle his follower Bannayanayaka also resolved to win fame at the same time and by being killed, led the way to paradise. Lastly an inscription belonging to 11th century A. D.¹⁴ mentions that a certain Avariga's brother-in-law made a vow and completed it by dying for the illustrious Nolamba Pallavabharana Palega.

During the Hoysala period, specially after the reign of Vishnuvardhana, we come across inscriptions mentioning what is known as “embracing Garuda” or “becoming one with Garuda” method of self-immolation. The process was elaborate and tortuous involving the sacrifice of several persons. A famous example illustrating this type is provided by Belur Kuvara Lakshma inscription.¹⁵ When Viraballala died in 1220, his general Kuvara Lakshma together with his wife and a band of thousand warriors, who had also vowed to live and die with him, followed him to heaven. As a mark of this devotion it is said, Ballala had bestowed on Kuvara Lakshma

9. E. C. Vol. XI, Molakalmuru 12 found at Siddapur.

10. E. C. Vol. VII, Sk. 249; found at Bandalike.

11. E. C. Vol. VI, Cm. 128 of Mavinakere village.

12. E. C. Vol. VII, H. 147 of Belagullie.

13. E. C. Vol. VI, KD 146 of about 1203 A. D. found at Asandi.

14. M. A. R. for 1939, page 177 found at Kaltur.

15. E. C. Vol. V, BL. 112.

and his wife Suggala-Devi the decoration of *toḍar* and *pendai* jewelled anklets.

For him, the inscription reads, "guru and deity alike was his ruler both for this world and the next. No other god had he... Between servant and king there were no differences, the glory and marks of royalty were equal in both. Not like ministers who, binding a *toḍar* on the leg as a decoration, guarding the wealth obtained, as if fearing to lose it, taking good care of their persons, in the time of trouble to their master accept service under another family—he, Kuvara Lakshma, remained faithful to king Ballāla in all circumstances. The celebrated Sakti and Sudraka had each fifty warriors bound to them by an oath, but the general Kuvara Lakshma had heroes bound to him to the number of one thousand. As evidence that in faithfulness to his master Garuda alone was his equal, and he, and no others were equal to Garuda, the image of himself and of Garuda were equally engraved thereon. The dandesa Lakshma, together with his wife mounted up on the splendid stone pillar covered with the poetical *virasāsana* proclaiming his devotion to his master and on the pillar they became united with Lakshmi and Garuda."

Unfortunately, the inscription does not explain what the term "embracing Garuda" actually meant. There is another set of inscriptions at Agraḥara Bachahalli¹⁶ which throw some more light on the subject. Commenting on them, R. Narasimhachar says "Here we have remarkable instance of the selfless devotion of a family of chiefs who laid down their lives in regular succession on the death of their successive masters beginning with Vinayaditya or Ereyanga and ending with Narasimha III." We are told that Ganda Narayana Sette with his wife and a number of servants died probably with Ereyanga. His son, Hoy-salli with his wife and servants died with Bellidevarasa. His son Kutepanayak fulfilled his promise by dying with Narasimha Deva along with his two wives and several servants. His son Sivaneya Nayaka fulfilled his promise by dying with Ballāla Deva along with five male and three female servants. His son Lakhya-Nayaka acted up to his word by dying with Narasimha-Devarasa with his wife, and five male and three female servants. His son Kanneya-Nayaka fulfilled his promise by dying with Somesvara-Deva along with his three wives, ten female and twenty one male servants, having embraced Garuda six times on the head of an elephant. Finally in the Saka year 1214, Kanneya-nayaka's son Rangayya-nayaka acted up to his word by dying with Narasimha Deva along with his three wives, 10 female and 20 male servants having embraced Garuda six times on the head of an elephant.

Yet another inscription is found at the same place which records that a servant of King Vira-Narasimha bravely fought

16. M. A. R. 1915, para 84.

with Garuda and then embraced him. What does this mean? R. Narasimhachar remarks "some forgotten custom of former times appears to be referred to here." But the central idea appears to be this: the men who committed the suicide would not yield to Garuda in devotion to their master, Garuda being generally supposed to be a type of such devotion.

My own idea is this: All the three inscriptions at Agrabara Bechahalli are engraved on pillars of about 12 feet in height.¹⁷ The top of the Kuvara-Lakshma pillar is missing but it should also have been of similar height. Now the word Garudagamba also means a pillar either of stone or wood.¹⁸ Evidently then the votary used to mount the pillar as Kuvara-Lakshma is said to have done or reached from the back of an elephant. Perhaps a death-inflicting device was fixed on the top of the pillar which was clasped by the devotee, causing severe wounds and consequent death. That this instrument was probably of the shape of Garuda is suggested by the sculptures found on the top of the pillars at Agrabara-Bachahalli. Each of the pillars bears on its capital figures of elephants with a number of men seated on their backs and the male figure seated in the front is shown as engaged in a tussle with the figure of Garuda seated on the frontal globes of the elephant.

This type of heroism, however, tends to disappear from the 14th. century onwards, that is from about the time of Vijayanagar kingdom. Viragal, māstīgals (*i. e.* commemorating Sati), nishadīgals (commemorating the starvation to death undertaken by Jainas who had realized their end was near) continue to be found in great numbers. but there is hardly any indication of the type reviewed in this article. The absence or extreme paucity of inscriptional records indicates that the custom of self-immolation on the part of the warriors and retainers gradually went out of vogue. This disappearance might have been partly due to the political and social upheaval caused by the Mohammedan invasions into South India, when the fighting arm of the country could not afford such heroic but needless sacrifices. The spread of Lingayat cult amongst the masses of Karnataka might have also contributed towards the result, for it does not countenance ascetic self denial as Jainism does.

The inscriptions so far enumerated are restricted in their provenance, being found in the heart of Karnataka. That the custom however was not unknown in other parts of India is indicated by so early a mention as in Bana's "Harchacarita"¹⁹ of the 7th century A. D. It relates that the queen and the physician of

17. M. A. R. 1915, plate IX 3.

18. F. Kittle's Dictionary.

19. Harshacharita, Chapter VIII.

Prabhakaravardhana of Kanauj entered the fire just when he was on the point of death. The contemporary history of Kashmir as found in Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* refers to a number of such incidents having occurred during the 10th, 11th and 12th centuries A. D. When king Shankaravarman²⁰ died in 902 A. D. not only did his queens follow him; but also "a clever, grateful Valavitta Jayasimha by name. Thus he (the king) was consumed by fire together with the six who had ascended the funeral pyre." Again,²¹ four women who were foremost in Queen Meghamanjaris household and whose devotion had not suffered from the use of harsh words followed her unto death." A cook named Teja also made a similar sacrifice by smashing his head with a stone and then flinging himself into the river. "The custom survived" comments R. S. Pandit in his preface to "The River of kings" "during the age of Chivalry in Kashmir for several centuries as it apparently does amongst the Japanese."

It is to be noted that the Kashmir chronicle uses the word "Velavitta" with regard to the king's followers which is analogous to "Velavadicha" of the Kannada inscriptions. The word 'velavitta' occurs in several places.²² Stein does not offer any explanation for this obscure word. R. S. Pandit however translates it as Royal augurs²³. This does not seem to be quite suitable considering the contexts used. The Kannada word corresponding to it. "Vela-Vadicha" has been explained as one who fulfills a vow, *vela* meaning a vow.²⁴ Another cognate word used in the inscriptions is "Velavṇi" that is method of the vow or promise. This meaning has been arrived at by following the contexts of the passages occurring in the kannada inscriptions.²⁵ The word *vela* as such means "boundary".²⁶ This might have been extended to "That which binds, a vow, a promise, a resolution". Velavitta of the Kashmir chronicle can also be explained in a similar manner, *vela* meaning a vow, *vitta*, meaning wealth, *i. e.* one who is rich in his vow or one whose vow is his wealth-*i. e.* a resolute follower.

Finally, was there definite sanction in the Dharmasastras for self-sacrifices of this type? Kane in his History of Dharmasastra, Vol. II, part 2, quotes from Ratna-Karandaka of Ajitavarma.²⁷

20. Book V, 226-227.

21. Book VIII 1223-4-5.

22. Book VI, 73, 105, 127, 324.

23. Velavitta...the augur or diviner royal in the service of the king

P. 199, VI 73.

24. Sasana Padymamanjari compiled by R. Narasimbachar, verse No 1259.

25. M. A. R. 1932, pages 190-191.

26. बेलकाललेचसीमायां.....मेदिनोकोशे

27. See also E. C. II—Introduction by Rice: P. 15—

उपसर्गो दुर्विद्धे जरसि रुज्यायां च निष्प्रतीकारे धर्मायतनु विमोचन मादुः सङ्क्षेपान्तर्यामिः ॥

But this does not fit in properly with regard to the cases under review. Perhaps the custom was not natural to Aryans, though in vogue among the primitive peoples. The ancient Egyptians as well as Syrians for example had recourse to forcible slaying of servants on the death of their kings. R. S. Pandit calls it an Indo-Scythian custom. But the question of the origin, whether indigeneous or borrowed from elsewhere cannot be decided in the present state of our knowledge of ancient history.

IDENTITY OF CHĀHADA, THE ADOPTED SON OF SIDDHARAJA

BY

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Ancient works concerning the history of Gujrat state that the ministers of Siddharāja passed over the claims of his adopted son and placed Kumārāpāla on the throne of Anahila-Pattana and being enraged at this glaring injustice the rightful claimant sought the help of Ānaka (Arnoraja), the Chauhan ruler of Ajmer.

Different works give different versions of the name of the adopted son. Kumārāpāla Prabandha calls him Chār bhata (चारभट) Prabhāvaka Charita as Chār ubhatta. Kumārāpāla Charita designates him as Chhāhāḍa (छाहड़) and Chaturvimśati Prabandha as Chāhāḍa (चाहड़)

Of these names, Chār bhata and Chāhāḍa are identical. One MS of Prabandha Chintamani distinctly mentions the name as Chāhāḍa and in a second MS the name has been given as Bāhāḍa and has been identified with the son of minister Udayana of the same name. It seems that the name Bāhāḍa is a transformation of the name Chāhāḍa due to the faulty writing of the copyists. Noting Bāhāḍa in one MS the later copyists might have connected it with the son of minister Udayana of the same name. In Prabandha Chintamani edited by Jina Vijaya, a paragraph has been completed ending with 'उदयन देवश्य' and a new paragraph has been started with 'चाहड़नामा कुमार'¹

Thus it is evident that the name Chāhāḍa is quite correct. Hemchandra distinctly mentions the name as Chāhāḍa in his S. Dvāśraya Kāvya. In the 16th. Canto of this work, a spy brings information to Kumārāpāla about his chiefs who have taken sides with Arnorāja and specially stresses on Chāhāḍa who was on the point of passing over to his enemy.

हस्त्ये दिने कान्थिक कान्थिकारण्य शैवरूप्येह च सप्रोदशालः ।

मित्रत्वं श्वस्त्यदिनेऽभिगन्ता तं चाहड़ो हस्त्यधिराहणेन्द्रः ॥²

1. Prabandha Chintamani—Jina Vijaya edition p. 79.

2. S. Dvasnya Kavya sarg 16, Sloka 14.

“O King, your chiefs inhabiting the village of Kanthaka or the Aranya Desa i. e. the forest region bordering the Kanthaka Lake as well as the country of Sivarupa, cut themselves adrift from you yesterday and it is apprehended that Chāhada, too, who while riding on his elephant appears as Indra, the Lord of the Devas, is about to join your enemies to-morrow.”

Chāhada has been described in the lines quoted above as ‘हस्त्यधरोहणेन्द्र’ “appearing like Indra for riding an elephant. The commentary of Dvasraya Kāvya composed a hundred years later, explains the above term as ‘हक्तामात्रेण हस्तिना’ विनासकत्वात् so called on account of his striking terror in the hearts of the elephants of his enemies by his shouts.³ Later writers have amplified it by turning Chāhada into a driver of Kumārāpāla’s elephants and by making him raise a loud uproar as a result of which the elephant forces of the king became stupefied and could not advance further.⁴ This fact seems to be a pure fabrication and it has its root in the statement of the commentary of the Dvāsraya Kāvya. Pt. Durga Shanker Sastri calls him an officer incharge of the royal stud of elephants but he has not mentioned the sources from which he has derived this information. The Sloka quoted above speaks of ‘तव चाहड’ (your Chāhada) intimating a close kinship between Shihada and Kumārāpāla.

In the Bahada Prabandha incorporated in Kumārāpāla Prabandha, of some MS of Prabandha Chintāmani, Bahada has been spoken of as a son of Minister Udayana and hence a merchant’s son and we have already seen that this was due to wrong copying of the MS of Prabandha Chintāmani.

In Jina Vijaya’s edition of Prabandha Chintāmani, Chāhada Prabandha incorporated in Kumārāpāla Prabandha, speaks of Chāhada as a kumāra or prince, and also as a minister of Kumārāpāla.⁵ It has been noticed therein that Kumārāpāla observing the minister’s excess of liberality reprimanded him saying “You are spending your money right and left which I cannot even venture to resort.” The minister gave a sharp retort

यतः स्वामी परम्परया न नृपतेः सुतः । अहं तु नृपसुतः । अतो मयैव द्रव्यम्ययः सार्धायान् क्रियते ।”

“It is because you do not take your descent from a hereditary royal

3. Dvasnya Kavya sarg 16, Sloka 14 and its commentary.

4. Chaturvinsati Prabandha Jina Vijaya p. 52.
Pravanaka Charita Jina Vijaya edition p. 201.

5. Kumārāpāla’s fight with the Chauhan King, Jina Vijaya Prabandha Chintāmani, sec. 132.

line whereas I am born in a royal line and my propensity to excess of liberality is in lieu thereof."⁶

The above quotation shows that Chāhada had been a royal prince and not a merchant's son or an ordinary elephant driver. The Chaturvimsati Prabandha or Prabandha Kosa of Raja Sekhara speaks of him as a royal prince quite plainly. Kumārapāla being absent for some time on the death of Siddharāja, the administration was carried on by officers accepting the late King's pair of sandals as a mark of royalty. At this stage Chāhada, the Mālva prince sought for succession to the throne but the chiefs refused to accept his claims as he belonged to a foreign dynasty. Being enraged at the overlooking of his claims, he sought the help of Anāka (Arnorāja) the Chauhān King and entered his service.⁷ Thus we can conclude that Chāhada was a prince but neither an elephant driver nor a merchant's son; but the version of Chaturvimsat' Prabandha that he was the son of the Mālva King does not seem to be true because no Mālva Prince could have any claim on the throne Anahilavādā. A surmise can be made that he can be identified with Jagadeva Parmāra, a Mālva prince, who came to the court of Siddharāja in the early part of his reign. That he is a historical figure has been proved by Jainād inscription.⁸ Rajput bards allude to his stay in Siddharāja's court about 1151 V. S. but refer to his return to Mālva when he came to learn about Siddharāja's designs on his native country.⁹ Thus his stay at Pātān at the time of Siddharāja's death is rather improbable. The second canto of Kirti Kaumudi states that Jagadeva was the city Kotwāl or protector of the city of Anhilavādā in the early part of Siddharāja's reign just as Pratapa Malla occupied the same position in the time of Bhīma II.¹⁰ Jagadeva's courage and watch kept the city free from external attacks. But during the early days of Bhīma II's reign owing to the absence of a strong protector, the chiefs and provincial satraps parcelled out the Kingdom among themselves.¹¹ The reign periods of Mularāja II and Bhīma II being considered, Jagadeva's stay is determined as being in the early part of Siddharāja's reign.

Thus we find no trace of Chāhada in the pages of Mālva History and we shall have to search for him elsewhere. We may refer to Chauhān History in this connection. The Chauhāns were ruling in Ajmer at the time and Arnorāja (Anāka) had been their

6. Minister Chahada's liberality. Jina Vijaya Prabandha, p. 94 sec. 166.

7. Jina Vijaya Chaturvimsati Prabandha p. 52 sec. 151.

8. The Annual Report Hyderabad Archeological Survey 1927-28 pp. 23-24.

9. Rasmala Vol. I pp. 117-149.

10. Kirti Kaumudi Second Canto Sl. 98 and 99.

11. Do. do. Sl. 61.

ruler. He had been defeated by Siddharāja who again got his daughter married to him.

Thus says Kirti Kaumudi :—

गृहीता दुहिता तूर्णमर्णोराजस्य विष्णुना ।

दत्तानेन पुनस्तस्मै भेदोऽभूदभयोरयम् ॥ स० २, श्लो० २८

“The daughter of Arnorāja (Ocean) was taken in marriage by Vishnu but the King (Siddharāja) gave his daughter in marriage to Arnorāja and this is the only difference between them.”¹²

The author of Bombay Gazeteer had remarked that this statement of Kirti Kaumudi is a mistake but the Prithvirāja Vijaya Kāvya discovered later on has substantiated it and even mentions the name of Siddharāja's daughter as Kānchana Devi. The name of course could not be deciphered in the original manuscript but the commentary makes it quite clear :—

गूर्जरेन्द्रो जयसिंहस्तरमै यां दत्तवान् सा काञ्चनदेवी रात्रौ च दिने च सोमेश्वर संगम-
जनयत् ।

This clearly substantiates that Somesvara, the father of Prithvirāja of historic fame had been a daughter's son of Jaya-Simba-Siddharāja of Gujrat.

The Prithvirāja Mahākāvya also states that astrologers had predicted that great deeds would be accomplished by Someśvara and so Siddharāja brought him up at his capital.¹⁴ This shows that the great Siddharāja might have had a special desire for placing Somesvara on the throne of Patan. Kumārāpāla secured the succession according to the Jain Prabandhas through the help of his brother-in-law, the Governor of Modhera¹⁵. Someśvara, too, was carefully looked after by Kumārāpāla who did not allow him to leave his court¹⁶. One of the reasons for not allowing Somesvara to move from his court, might have been suspicion that he might join with his father Ānaka, who had been his rival. But after all, Someśvara would have escaped from him and joined with his father.

The cause of the fight between Arnorāja and Kumārāpāla as given by the Jain authors, does not seem to be accurate. They say that it was due to the insult of Devala Devi, Kumārāpāla's sister who was married to Ānaka.¹⁷ Prithvirāja Vijaya, however,

12. Kirti Kaumudi Second Canto Sl. 28.

13. Prithvirāja Vijaya Mahākāvya canto 6 commentary of sl. 33.

14. Do. do. do. do. sl. 36.

15. Prabandha Chintamani Jina Vijaya p. 76 sec. 177.

16. Prithvirāja Vijaya Mahākāvya canto 7 sl. 11.

17. Chaturvinsati Prabandha p. 103.

Kumārāpāla Charita—Jaya Limba Suri S. 4 sl. 140 to 173.

mentions about two wives of Ānaka namely Sudhavā, a daughter of the Mādvad King and another Kanchana Devī, daughter of Siddharāja¹⁸ and hence the story of Devala Devī seems to be a mere fiction.

Fight between the two Kings took place twice. At first Arnorāja made an attack on Gujrāt but he was compelled to beat a retreat.¹⁹ The second fight was due to an attack of Kumārapāla on Ajmer and Arnorāja was badly defeated and compelled to sue for peace. He had to give his daughter, Jālhana in marriage to Kumārapāla.²⁰ The first fight might have been due to an attack on Gujrāt by Arnorāja in order to assert the claim of his son Someśvara on the Gujrāt throne. It is also likely that at the time Someśvara might have escaped to his father from the court of Kumārapāla. Jain authors record that Vikram Singh of Abu, Kelhana, the Chauhan chief of Nādol and others had been won over by Chāhada and joined with Arnorāja. But it may be surmised that they might have taken part in the fight simply to help Chāhada for recovering his right to the throne of Gujrāt which was his according to the wishes of the late King, who had adopted him as his son.

Chāhada as shown already has been described as an expert in elephant-driving and similar qualifications have also been attributed to Someśvara in the Prithvirāja Vijaya Kāvya. It is recorded of him that he had jumped over his enemies' elephant from his own and struck it with his own weapons just as Lord Hanumāna had leapt from one hill to another.²¹ The historians regard this elephant as that of Malikārjuna and it seems that Someśvara might have fought on the side of Kumārapāla. The sloka proves beyond doubt Someśvara skill in elephant-driving. A question now arises how it was possible for Someśvara to fight for Kumārapāla. S. Dvaśraya Kāvya explicitly states that a treaty was concluded between Kumārapāla and Arnorāja's and the latter's daughter, Jālhana was given in marriage to Kumārapāla. Thus the treaty made it possible for Someśvara to return to Kumārapāla. Moreover, at the time there were three of his elder brothers alive and hence he had no chance of succeeding to the throne of Ajmer. The fight with Malikārjuna took place after the fight with Arnorāja because the fight has not been recorded in the S. Dvaśraya Kāvya composed in Siddharāja's time, whereas, it has been mentioned in Prakrit Dvaśraya Kāvya composed in Kumārapāla's time. The fact concerning Someśvara's feats tally with those of Chāhada.

In conclusion, a question may be raised as to why the authors of the Prabandhas did mention the name of Chāhada and not

18. Prithvirāja Vijaya Mahakavya canto 6 sl. 31 and canto 7 sl. 16.

19. S. Dvaśraya canto 16 sl. 13.

20. Prakrit Dvaśraya canto 6 sl. 42-70.

21. Prithvirāja Vijaya canto 7 sl. 15.

that of Someśvara. The reply is quite plain. The abridged form of Chāhamāna (Chauhān) is Chāha and the diminutive suffix 'त्र' being added to it, the word Chāhada has been formed. The word Chapotkata' has assumed the diminutive form of Chāpa. Someśvara belonged to the Chauhān clan and hence has been designated as Chāhada.

Then again queens used to be designated after the titles of their paternal lines, for example, Chāvadā Rāni (a queen descended from the Chāvadā line) Baghate Rāni and so on, and thus the Dauhitras (Daughter's sons) and Bhagineyas (Sister's sons) have been designated after their paternal titles in their maternal grandfathers' or maternal uncles' homes, for example, Paramāra Kumāra, Gohila Kumāra, Jethavā Kumāra and so on and it is likely that Someśvara was designated as Chāhada Kumāra in Siddharāja's palace at Patān.—Siddharāja who had been his maternal grandfather.

The above facts will show that Chāhada who had estranged himself from Kumārapāla and had joined with his enemies as well as fought with him, was no other person than Someśvara, the father of Prithvirāja of historic fame.

SECTION IV.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

BY

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I would like to begin my discourse today with an expression of deep gratitude to the Executive Committee of the Indian History Congress for the honour it has done me by entrusting the work of guiding the deliberations and discussions on the papers of the Mughal History section to a humble student like myself. I did not realize at the time the arduous nature of the task that lay before me, for in the midst of the multifarious and pressing duties and engagements, I had barely five weeks at my disposal in which to write out a paper that would be worthy of this learned assembly. Still as one who had always been keenly interested in the welfare of the Indian History Congress from its very inception, I have not hesitated to shoulder the burden that has been imposed upon me. For my shortcomings I throw myself unreservedly on the charity and good-will of those present, hoping that they would graciously appreciate the spirit that has actuated me, *viz.*, to help the Committee to tide over its immediate difficulty.

The subject before us, the Mughal period can hold its own against any other period in History as a fascinating field for study. Its inaugurator, an adventurer of the first water started from the distant Farghana and passed through Samarqand and Bokhara, Hisar and Qunduz, Kabul and Qandahar, reaching at last Lahore and Delhi and ultimately becoming ruler for the whole of North India except Bengal. The next ruler, Humayun, though resembling his predecessor in lesser traits *e.g.*, in learning and liberal outlook, was almost an antithesis to him and allowed his father's hard-won kingdom to slip away from his grip though he succeeded in vindicating partially his prestige by the recovery of a portion of it. The reigns of the next three Mughal rulers form the golden age of the Mughals and there are innumerable traces even today of their past glory. Their successor Aurangzib, ruled long but after his death, partly due to his misguided policies and partly due to the weaknesses of the successors, the empire slowly broke up and fell.

In the following pages I shall content myself with a brief review of a few of the remains of the Mughal period, indicating their importance in the study of Mediæval India. They lie scattered all over the country, and bear eloquent testimony to many a contemporary event and also to the characters and achievements of their builders.

From among Babur's remains, we may choose (1) the Jami Masjid of Ajodhia, (2) the Nur-afshan garden of Agra and (3) the terraced garden at Shah-i-kabul or Sher Darwaza where lies his tomb. One of the couplets inscribed on the exterior of the mosque at Ajodhia reads.

فتاد اندر جهان بابر النذر - که شد در دور گیتی کامرانی -

'Babur the qalandar (monk) who was thrown into the world became a successful ruler in course of time.' The same idea runs through the following quatrain composed by him.

درویشان را گر چه از خویشانیم - لیک از دل و جان معتقد ایشانیم
دور است مکتب شامی از درویشی - شاعیم ولی بندۀ درویشانیم

'Though not related to the derwishes
Yet am I their follower heart and soul
Say not kingship is far from the life of a derwesh
I am a king yet a slave of the derwishes.'

The Nur-afshan garden like so may others of its kind is a fair illustration of the keen interest that Babur took in works of peaceful nature. Nothing looks so striking in his character than this occasional but complete detachment from the surrounding wars and campaigns and devotion to placid occupation like horticulture. The symmetrical parterres of the garden, the Persian wheels for raising water from the wells, the wide-spread water channels, the shaded walks or pergolas of the vine and other creepers, the light pavilions, one or more at the centre, the underground cells supplied with fountains and the broad terrace by the side of the river Jamna, all proclaims the true horticulturist in its founder.

Praise may also be bestowed on the choice of the ledge, Sher darwaza also known as Shah-i-kabul originally founded by a Hindu king of old who had fixed his residence there. Babur's appreciative eye made him select his resting place here on a terrace that dominated the town, and his successors being aware of his humility and lowliness of nature

contented themselves with an unambitious open tomb as his last resting place. The pompous lines inscribed on the stele at the head of the tomb describing him as 'one who was glorious, wealthy, lucky, just, equitable and pious and had an army full of divine grace and favour, of victory and conquest' and continuing with the words, 'he conquered the world of physical bodies and went brightly for the conquest of the world of spirits quick as the light of the eye' were put up not by him but by his great grandson, the Emperor Jahangir. Altogether the impression of Babur left by these three relics is far different from what we gather from his numerous battles and campaigns; and a study of his monuments is necessary for a complete understanding of his many sided, personality. It may be said that Babur the adventurer poet and horticulturist brought with him a wider outlook while at the same time he gave an opportunity to the people of all classes and creeds to live in peace under his benign rule.

The next ruler Humayun distracted by so many grave problems, political and military, has today no major work to his credit. The insignificant walls of the enclosure of Amir Khusrau's tomb with their couplets may be mentioned among his minor works. The lines inscribed there express a scholar's admiration for the great Indian poet, in words like these :—he (the Amir) was the king of the kingdom of words and head and chief of the saints whose name is on the tablet of the world." Not content with them the Emperor proceeds to bestow extravagant praises on himself also. He calls himself 'the king and champion of faith and wise, an emperor so worthy that if the angels were constantly uttering words they might well ever pray for his prosperity to the great God' and continues that 'he was high in rank, wealthy and pure, there had never been nor ever would be one so peerless or matchless.'

It is not however from a study of the stone and mortar that a true reading of his character can be made; we should rather turn to his diwan and study his verses. One or two may be quoted here

حجابست از نور درویش ما - ازان گشته بیگانه این خرویش ما

نرا شاهی و حسن و مد سلطنت - بلایست بر جان درویش ما

همایون بزی تو چون بنمود - حجابست از نور درویش ما

'The light hidest Thee from me,

And that is why this our near and dear one has
become a stranger (to me),

To Thee belong royalty, beauty and a hundred
realms.
They are an affliction to my derwesh-like soul.

.....
How can Humayun look at Thy face,
When there is a veil of light before him.'

In another ode composed after Hafiz's famous lines commencing with 'the whole world is not worth a moment's grief' the emperor wrote
سراسر شادی تمام بیکدم غم غی ارزند - بنزدیم عمر صد ساله بیک ماتم غمی ارزند

'The entire joy of the world is not worth a moment's grief,
To me a century-long life is no recompense for a single bereavement.'

The oft-quoted lines in praise of Hazrat Ali which helped him to secure an Irani army for the recovery of Qandahar and Kabul are too well known to be repeated here. In these verses the king shows his profound scholarship and intimate familiarity with the Sufistic and other philosophical expositions of the age.

Passing on to Akbar one feels overwhelmed by the immensity of the materials at one's disposal. Confining myself to the remains in stone and mortar, I may group them in four different stages, each indicating a distinct advance on its predecessor. The first stage may be supposed to come to an end with the masjid-cum-madrassa generally known as the *Khair-ul-manazil* and completed in 1561-62. It is in some respect a singular work commemorating as it does, three personages, Akbar in whose reign it was built, Maham Anaga, the emperor's nurse, with whom the proposal of its construction originated and Mir Shihabuddin Ahmad, Maham's relation and an influential nobleman, who supervised its construction. The work is generally held to be the last link between the Tughluq and the Mughal styles in architecture. Its buttresses supporting the west wall remind you of the massive slopes of the former (Tughluq) while its receding gateway, though noticed for the first time in Sher Shah's masjid-i-qala kohna, marks an immense advance on it and introduces a common feature of the later Mughal works. Thus one may say that the prototype of the lofty *Baland-darwaza* at Fatehpur Sikri was the gateway of the humble *Khair-ul-manazil*, the work of a veiled nurse, who in league with several other conspirators including Shihabuddin Ahmad effected Akbar's release from Bairam's

clutches. The *Khair-ul-manazil* might well have been built to celebrate in stone and mortar the release.

To the next stage belongs the sumptuous mausoleum of the unfortunate king, Humayun, built with the money provided by his son, under the supervision of the dead ruler's widow, Bega Begam, the architect being Mirak Mirza Ghiyas, an Irani. The mausoleum stands on a platform 155' square and 25' high, the central octagonal chamber measures 47' across and from the ground level to the extremity of the pinnacle it is 175'. The white marble dome is bulbous in form and the finial rises straight from the apex of the dome without any intervening *mahapadma* or inverted lotus. These (the lotus bulbous form of the dome and absence of *mahapadma* at the apex of the dome) are not the only Irani features; but the diagonal arrangement of the corner chambers in relation to the central one and the two-storeyed recesses at the entrance and the panels all over the building are also accepted to have been derived from the same country. Those who have seen the pictures of the tombs of Babur's ancestors in the Rampur State library will notice some resemblance between them and Humayun's tomb and recognize the influence of the Turkistani architecture on the Indian artists. The work has been boldly conceived and nobly executed and has been pronounced epoch making. Still unlike its fore-runner, Shershah's mausoleum at Sasaram, or the later Mumtaz Begam's it fails to inspire the visitor to an equal extent and the failure may well be due to its being the first experiment in the application of Irani or Turki *motifs* to the Indian environments without the adoption of their fictile form; for while rejecting the glazed tiles of Iran, the designers of the building failed to introduce more copiously the plaster and other mouldings and the building suffers from the want of variation in light and shade. The result is that with all its magnificence it looks stiff, barren and poor in design.

The next stage, partly overlapping its predecessor, brings us to the city of Fathpur Sikri which took more than a decade to complete. Akbar became interested in the locality since he came in contact with the saint, Shaikh Salim Chishti, in 1568 A. D. or so. Their intimacy grew with the birth of prince Salim under the aegis of the Shaikh and though the latter died three years later, the emperor had already undertaken the construction of more than one monastery, the stately Jami masjid and several of the residential quarters for himself, his queens and

favourites. Following the Saint's example, his *khalifas* and relations continued their interest in Akbar's affairs and supported him in his administrative and social measures.

Without entering into all the reasons that led the emperor to transfer his capital to Fathpur, one may emphasize that his new *dar-ul-khilafat* was intimately connected with some of his administrative reforms and new-fangled ideas about philosophy and religion. It was at Fathpur that he started his triple reforms *viz.*, 'the conversion of the imperial territories into crownlands' *i.e.*, the land revenue settlement, the branding regulations and the mansabdari system. He also improved his mint and promulgated the philosophic conceptions of the Ilahi order. Like Muhammad Tughluq, who had taken himself to Daulatabad to live amidst a more cosmopolitan set of courtiers and friends, Akbar, too, felt disposed to give a freer expression to his ideas and reforms far away from Delhi and Agra, the haunts of the conservative maulavis. Unfortunately he had not foreseen the numerous problems that would crop up with the concentration of a vast population at Sikri. Of these the chief were the excessive heat radiating from the stone-built houses during the day in all weathers and especially in summer and the scanty supply of water from the small brook in the neighbourhood or from the wells dug in the different quarters of the overgrowing city, and ultimately after a residence of sixteen years he beat a retreat from the place much to his own regret and the annoyance of his mother who in spite of her love for her only son returned to dwell at her residence in Kakrauli, six miles from Sikri, even after Akbar had left the locality for good.

Several of the buildings at Fathpur have led the visitors to enquire their original purposes, *e.g.*, the Panch mahal, Mariam-ki-kothi, Hiran minar, Birbal's house, Jodh Bai's palace and the Yogi's chamber. They also ask themselves where Akbar had located his *Ibadat-khana*, Jharoka-i-darshan, Khwabgah and the Anup-talao. I hope the historians who have visited the ruins of Sikri have formed their own opinions of the original objects of the buildings; still the following suggestions may tentatively be put forward for their consideration. The limited time at my disposal will not allow any detailed discussion of the reasons on which these suggestions are based.

The local traditions have correctly indicated the sites of the *khwabgah* and the girls' school and also the purpose

of the Yogi's chamber. The Panch mahal formed the residential quarters of some of the inmates of the royal harem, the lowest three storeys being used as retiring rooms, the two upper ones being reserved for reception or for sight-seeing. Mariam-ki-kothi was the dwelling house of Salim's mother; Turki Sultana's house was meant for Akbar's two Turki queens, Ruqaiya Begam and Salima Sultan Begam; Birbal's house and Jodh Bai's palace were meant for the use of Hindu ladies, the latter accommodating a fairly large number of them. The small tank near the Turki Sultana's house was the Anup talao and the Ibadat khana was situated near the Shaikh's monastery which has now completely disappeared. Birbal, Todarmal, Khan khanan, and Tan Sen all lived at some distances. The Baland darwaza is really an after thought and had nothing to do with the foundation of the Jami masjid or of the new *dar-ul-khilafat*.

In the last stage of Akbar's reign one notices Akbar's growing liberalism and its contagion among his Hindu subjects. The early Muslim jurists assert that while the non-Muslims were allowed by the second Khalifa, Umar's decree to worship in their own way, they could not build new temples nor repair the old. In contradistinction to such narrow regulations, Akbar freely allowed his Hindu subjects to erect new temples and of the myriads built in the period, two may be mentioned here; Hari Deo's temple at Gobardhana, 12 miles from Muttra, build by Bhagwan Das and the great Govind Deo's temple by Man Singh in 1590. Both are remarkable buildings and show influences other than Vaisnava at work on their founders. Both the temples are sparingly decorated and while the former is provided with a gabled porch, the latter has spatial grandeur to its credit. The hall of the latter is wide, the brackets at the angles are similar to those found in the Diwan-i-khas at Fatehpur and its ground-plan is cruciform in shape. Its eight turrets, and the accentuation of the verticular and horizontal lines of decoration make Govind Deo's temple most unlike the other Hindu temples of the country.

It may be asserted that since Mahmud Ghazna's death, Muttra and Brindaban had been deserted by the Hindus and it was under the Mughals that both the towns again recovered their former glory and prominence. The Vaisnavas gathered here from far and near and numerous temples sprang up all around. The resuscitation of the new towns with their innumerable steeples and spires (*vimans*).

in between the two Mughal capitals, Delhi and Agra, affords some refutation of the popular notion that the Mughal rulers were always intolerant of the Hindu religion.

Before leaving Akbar's reign I may be allowed to mention another of its pleasing features. In the pre-Mughal period there were hardly any works to the credit of the nobles. In Akbar's time, we find both Hindu and Muslim nobility contributing to the material and spiritual welfare of their fellow-subjects by undertaking costly works. The *Khairulmanzil madrasa*, Atkah Khan's tomb, the Jaunpur bridge, the Zamania fort, the Arab sarai, Hari Deo's and Govind Deo's temples are all eloquent of the interest taken by Akbar's nobles in the public works of a beneficial nature.

When we pass on to a consideration of Jahangir buildings, Akbar's mausoleum at Sikandara appears one of the most striking. Though the English travellers William Finch and William Hawkins make Akbar its builder, I have ventured to disagree with this view on the basis of Jahangir's own statement. He remarks in his *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, 'I had wished that my father's tomb should be without a parallel in the world. While the constructions were going on, Khusrau's rebellion took me to Lahore and the architects had built it in their own way, so that a fairly large sum had been spent in the last three or four years. Now (*i. e.*, on the 28th October, 1608) I ordered that the masons after consulting the wise men should reconstruct some portions of it and by degrees a lofty building came into existence.'

It is another of the garden-tombs, square in shape and extending three furlongs and a half in each direction. It is built in five storeys, the ground floor measuring 339' square the upper floors successively 182'7", 109'8", 88' and 87'7" so that the work looks pyramidal in form. Without going into the many peculiarities of the building, one may venture to remark that Jahangir while imitating his father's design of the Panch mahal, has not been very successful as an architect for whereas the mahal was designed for the comforts of the royal ladies and hence the pyramidal form suited it, the mausoleum because of its numerous pavilions and kiosks is lacking in mass effect and the quality of coherence. The work looks light for a tomb and as a specimen of Jahangir's works is disappointing.

While it is true that Jahangir cannot be ranked among the supreme patrons of architecture, his minor remains proclaim him an elegant artist. The throne of black marble

on the terrace of the Diwan-i-khas at Agra is a case in point. The quality of its stone and the sharply chiselled inscription in low relief all round its edges bear testimony to the excellence of his taste. Some of the other examples are the Salimgarh fort at Delhi, the village of Nur Mahal 16 miles south of Jalandhar, the embellishment of Babur's tomb at Kabul and of the Nili Chhatri at Delhi. But the best illustrations are to be found in Kashmir, where he laid out three gardens, the Shalimar in the vicinity of Shrinagar, another at Achhabal 41 miles from it and a third at Verinag near the source of Jhelam. While the first looks enchanting with its verdure, flower beds, dense Chenar trees and the fountain sprays in the midst of a canal 12 yards wide with its water flowing to the Dal lake and the second is an imitation of the former, the third appears as a contrast to the other two. The Verinag with its central reservoir surrounding a spring from which the water flows down into the valley has a natural fascination of its own. Since there is not much of a carefully laid out garden and the environment looks wild and breathes silence and solitude, one feels inclined to enthuse over Jahangir's choice and pronounce him a lover of natural beauty and solitude as much as of pomp and splendour of court.

While taking leave of Jahangir it may be observed that he received considerable encouragement from his equally talented and artistic queen, Nur Jahan. If he escaped the bustle of his court it was to enjoy nature in its silent grandeur in the company of his queen.

The tomb of Itimaduddaula is the work of Nur Jahan and being an Irani she introduced many of the Irani innovations in the building, *e. g.*, the central hall with smaller chambers at its corners, first noticed in Humayun's mausoleum. But the most striking feature of the building under consideration is its *pietra dura* work displayed both on the interior and the exterior. The profuse ornamentation looks too gaudy and out of place in a tomb though the substitution of the marbles and precious stones in place of the iridescent Irani tiles has mitigated the defect. According to Havell, 'the Irani craftsmen of the Delhi court indulged the Padshah's taste for Persianised decoration and sumptuous materials—for glitter and suggestion of fountain spray and signing birds.'

Shah Jahan's monuments like those of Akbar are scattered all over the country and one feels embarrassed by

their very abundance. The most commonly known are the Taj mahal, the marble works in Agra, Delhi and Lahore forts, the light pavilions by the side of Ana sagar at Ajmer, the Shalimar garden at Lahore and a few scattered works at Burhanpur, Udaipur, and in Kashmir and other places. They evoke a feeling of admiration for this magnificent emperor and we raise before our mind's eye a glorious picture of the splendours of Ind. Recent writers like Moreland and Pant have thrown cold water on such a picture and pointed out that Shah Jahan's land revenue assessment was about 50% of the gross produce and since the assessment made no allowance for land utilized in other ways, *e.g.*, as pasture land or construction of houses, or cattle pens, it sometimes was even more than 50%. They also draw our attention to the frequent famines that visited the country in Shah Jahan's reign and the inadequacy of the reliefs granted by the state. In contrast to this picture of misery stand these splendid but costly remians. I hope the historians will be able to tell us which of the two pictures convey a correct impression of Mughal India in the second quarter of the seventeenth century.

The death of Mumtaz Begam in the early years left an indelible mark on Shah Jahan. The laying out of the Taj mahal garden was started in 1631 in memory of his dead spouse and the work continued for the next twenty years or more. Then he undertook the laying out of a second garden, Mahtab bagh, opposite to the Taj mahal garden to serve for his own mausoleum but before he could complete it his deposition took place. The works at the Taj mahal set a standard in architecture which was as costly as it was delicate in conception. Almost all of Shah Jahan's works whether in plain or inlaid marble are situated like the Taj mahal in the midst of a garden by a river or lake or have a canal running through them. The historians have generally approved of his buildings and praised the sobriety of their inlay decorations. Only Havell has struck a contrary note. According to him, 'Shah Jahan had none of Akbar's force of character and his palace at Delhi with its effeminate forms and precious inlay belong rather to the category of exquisite bijouterie than architecture.'

Of course in architectural beauty and grandeur there is no comparison between the Taj mahal and any other building in India, or for the matter of that, in the Muslim world and one of the reasons for this excellence was the fact that Shah Jahan had invited designs from the master-artists

of the different countries of the world including perhaps Geronimo Verroneo, Austin de Bourdeaux and the architect of the Ibrahim Rauza of Bijapur completed about the time when Mumtaz Mahal's death had taken place. Ultimately the emperor selected Ustad Isa Nadir Effendi from amongst them and then chose the other renowned artists to work under his superintendence. The *Tarikh-i-Taj*, a manuscript in the Alwar State library mentions Amanat Khan of Shiraz as the chief illuminator or calligraphist and Muhammad Hanif of Baghdad as the master-mason both drawing the same salary as Ustad Isa. *viz.*, rupees one thousand per mensem. Other artists came from Samarqand and Syria, or belonged to the country. A combination of so many artists widely differing in their conceptions of architecture naturally led to incongruity in some of the details, *e. g.*, the location of the four pillars on the platform instead of on the terrace of the main building, the pile on the east of the mausoleum as a counterpart of the mosque on the west, and the marble grille round the queen's cenotaph in the mortuary chamber. Still the supreme beauty of the Taj mahal is universally admitted and it is generally acknowledged as the culmination of the Indo-Muslim art which had been developing during the last four centuries or more. While the early Muslims in imitation of the Hindu artists took to the profuse ornamentation of their buildings, under the Tughluq kings a strong reaction set in to such an extent that the works of Firuz Tughluq are plain even to the point of ugliness. In the Sayyid and Lodi period embellishments were gradually re-introduced which continued under the Mughals also and in the Taj mahal, this decoration of white marble in low relief or of *pietra dura* work in semi-precious stone reaches its perfection. In the Taj, apart from the skill shown in the choice of the site, preparations of the foundations and the substructure of the platform, the delicate chiselling of the grille with its graceful volutes and the enrichment of each scroll with inlaid precious stone and the dadowork of flowers, sprays and foliage, even the atmospheric effects have been fully utilized and today the slight incrustation of the marble surface has tended to impart to the building a wonderful variety of tints according to the nature of the light falling on it. In the words of Percy Brown, 'It looks cold grey at dawn, shimmering white at noon and suffused with a tender blush rose in the afterglow with a wide range of half-tones in between. And in the light of the moon another and entirely changed palette is called in requisition.' Undoubtedly 'it seems as

if the hand of nature and the hand of man had united and done their utmost to produce a spectacle of supremely moving beauty.'

The excessive love for extravagance and splendour under Shah Jahan may afford a clue to the decay of the Mughal empire. A virile nation cares little for mere ease and display. The Greeks and Romans were great so long as they had maintained virility and simplicity of living and the same is true of the early Muslims and the ancient Hindus. Shah Jahan who as the leader of the Indian society was expected to set an example to his followers in stamina and hardihood was unable to do so; instead complained in the last days of his reign that his son, Aurangzib, had denied him drinking water from the well of his choice. He writes

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ دِيرُوزِ صَاحِبِ نَهْ لَکِ سَوَّارِ بُوْدِمِ دَامِرْدُزِ بِيْگِ کُوْزَهْ آبِ مَحْتَاجِمِ
اَفَرِيْنِ بَرِ هِنْدُوْدِ دَرِ هَرْبَابِ - مَرْدَهْ دَامِيْ دِهَنْدِ دَائِمِ آبِ
اَبِيْ پَسَرِ تُوْ عَجِبِ مَسَالْمَانِيْ - زَدَهْ جَانِمِ بَابِ نَدَسَانِيْ

'Praise be to Allah! Yesterday I was the master of nine lacs of horsemen and today I am in need of a goblet of water.

In all matters praise be on the Hindus
(For) they always give water (even) to their dead.
O son thou art a strange Musalman
I am alive and thou carriest not water to me.'

It would appear that Shah Jahan the prince and hero of his father's reign had changed into a confirmed ease-lover as king.

As a widower he found solace in religion and piety. He became stricter in his religious practices, observed scrupulously the Ramzan fasts until in his sixtieth year he was excused by the ulama from any further observance. He abolished the *sijda* or prostration ceremony in his presence and encouraged conversion of his Hindu subjects. That he did not turn ultimately into a heartless fanatic might be due to the soothing influence of the saintly Jahanara or the broad outlook of the philosophic Dara. So that in the last decade of his reign, Shah Jahan became less zealous in the cause of Islam and appeared more parental in his relations with the subjects.

The tale of the continued progress in architecture comes to a close in the long reign of Aurangzib. Whether

due to his championship of orthodoxy as against Dara's Sufism or due to his dislike of his father's love of extravagant display or due to his conviction that the Mughal architecture had reached its acme under his father and that no further improvement was possible, whatever the reason, he put his foot down on the elegant and costly style of architecture with the result that Mughal architecture as seen in the Rabia-i-dauran mausoleum at Aurangabad or in the Lakshmantila mosque of Lucknow lacks beauty or elegance. Most of the principal Mughal architects left Delhi to take shelter in the states of Rajputana, Bundelkhand or Baghelkhand so that the Mughal art continued to exist, though under slightly modified conditions in these distant regions.

Probably the unpretentious tombs of the emperor and his sister, Jahanara, illustrate his own conception of tomb-architecture, *viz.*, that even the most opulent individual should not be tempted to raise a magnificent pile on his remains, but be content with a humble open structure. This led him to put a stop to Shah Jahan's work in the Mahtab bagh and bury his father by the side of his spouse in the Taj itself.

The epithet 'devoid of beauty' will not apply to two of Aurangzib's early works *viz.*, the Moti masjid of Delhi built in 1662 according to the guide book of the Archæological department and the Nagina masjid of Agra sometime still earlier. Though small, the Moti masjid looks pretty and the sum spent, rupees one lac and sixty thousand, appears extravagant when we remember that the much more spacious prayer-house of the same name at Agra cost only three lacs of rupees.

The Badshahi masjid of Lahore, built in 1673-4 is an ambitious work; but Aurangzib personally had hardly anything to do with it. His foster-brother and confidant, Fidai Khan, as the inscription testifies, built it. But even here the influence of his ultra-puritanic master is plainly visible in the poverty of the designs.

It is interesting to notice that whereas the Muslims in general consider him the noblest and chastest among the Muslim rulers of Delhi, the non-Muslims in general, both Indians and Europeans have attributed to him the downfall of the Mughal empire. But the more patent fact is the decay of the various arts and the general poverty in the domain of philosophy, literature and religion, in this reign.

I have come to the end of my discourse. I am aware that I have been able to do but scant justice to this fascinating theme of the Mughal monuments. My only excuse is the vastness of the materials available and the limited time at my disposal. I hope future students will not fail to pay a closer attention to this interesting aspect of Indian history. I may conclude by emphasizing that many an interesting conclusion have been obtained from a study of the Mughal monuments.

MEMORABLE EVENT IN THE HISTORY OF BRITISH
INTERCOURSE WITH INDIA, MONOPOLY OF
COMMERCE IN THE EAST INDIES DURING
THE MOGHUL PERIOD; 1605 to 1627.

BY

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It should be noted that upto the closing years of the sixteenth century only one European Nation had held the monopoly of Commerce in India which was known to Europe as "The East Indies". The opening of English trade with India was followed by the arrival in the Mughul Empire of European Travellers,¹ and the publication of their wide and varied experiences. Two Sea-Captains, Hawkins and Herbert; Sir Thomas Roe, the ambassador; two clergymen, Terry and Ovington; Dr. Fryer and Hedges, the Company's Agent and Governor form a good and tolerably representative group of Englishmen, and there were many more. France sent Pyrard, who did not get beyond the Portuguese settlements in India; but the travels of Tavernier, Thevenot and Vernier are considered to be the best authorities.

William Hawkins to the Court of the Great Moghul.

The visit of William Hawkins to the Court of the Great Moghul at Agra is a memorable event in the History of British intercourse with India. He was the first Englishman ever received by the Emperor of Hindustan as the official representative of the king of England, and he girded up his loins to get from the Great Moghul the first distinct acknowledgment of the rights of British Commerce on Indian soil. Hawkins sailed with

1. S. Lane Poole.

Sir Francis Drake on his voyage to the South Seas in 1577. Thirty years later in 1607, he commended "HECTOR" for the East India Company on a voyage to Surat, charged with letters and presents from James the First to the Princes and Governors of Cambay, on account of his experience and language. He arrived at the bar of Surat in August 24, 1608, and soon discovered that his credentials would have to be presented to a higher potentate than that of Cambay. After 20 days, he obtained leave to land his cargo, and was told he must deliver the King's letter to the Great Moghul in person. Accordingly he dismissed his vessel to trade with a new cargo to Bantam. The Portuguese, however, were not innocuous; and their ships captured the "HECTOR" as soon as she sailed. The Portuguese Captain Major received Hawkins' remonstrances with contempt and set to "vilely abusing his Majestie, tearing him King of Fishermen, and of an Island of no import, and a.....for his commission." To these ignominious expressions a Portuguese Naval Officer added that "These seas belonged unto the King of Portugal, and none ought to come here without his license." Such was the reception of the first envoy of England at the port of Great Moghul.

At this stage, Hawkins found that his troubles had only begun. In spite of Akbar's Administrative Policy, it is quite clear that the local authorities in Gujarat were oppressive and a bribe would be the most effective remedy. Matters came to such an extent that the traveller had to defend himself. At last, on February 1st, 1608/09, he was able to get his pass for his journey to Agra. He saw the Viceroy of the Deccan at Burhanpur, who gave him a cordial welcome, talked to him for a couple of hours in Turkish (with which Hawkins was familiar) accepted of course a present, and invested him with two cloaks, one of fine woollen and another of cloth of gold; "giving mee his most kind letter of favour, to the King which availed much. This done, he embraced mee and so we departed." A Guard of Pathans hardly sufficed to save the traveller from several attempts at assassination, or what he believed to be such. At length after suffering great difficulties, Hawkins was able to arrive at Agra on April 16, 1609. Later Sir Thomas Roe presented his credentials as Ambassador of the King of England in January 16, 1615. Roe had come to complete what Hawkins had only succeeded in making a beginning. The former indeed was, disposed to judge favourably of the Moghul authorities (1618) considering their ignorance and the uncertainty of their Official position,

BIHAR IN THE TIME OF SHAHJAHAN

BY

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Mirza Rustam Safavi,¹ a great-grandson of the Persian King, Shah Ismail, and father-in-law of Prince Parwez, was the last Governor of Bihar during the reign of Emperor Jahangir. He was appointed to the province, in succession to Prince Parwez,² and after the death of his deputy, Mukhlis Khan, in the 21st year of Jahangir. But he was recalled to the Court and replaced in the Government of Bihar, on Shahjahan's accession to the throne, in February, 1628, by Khan-i-Alam. Mirza Bar Khurdar who received the title of Khan-i-Alam in the 4th year of Jahangir's reign was the last of the 10 Governors of Bihar with whom we are mainly concerned for the purposes of the present paper.

Khan-i-Alam was raised to the rank of 5000 3000 horse and was granted a drum, a flag, and a horse and an elephant when he was sent to Bihar on the coronation day of Shahjahan, 8th Jamadi II,³ 1037. A letter of the English factor of Agra, dated the 17th February, 1628 says "Okawn Hallam⁴ is ordered speedily

1. Life in M. U. III; The Mirza, poetically sue named Massud Fidai, was pensioned off as too old at 120,000 rupees per annum. His eldest son, Mirza Murad, son-in-law of Mirza Abdul Rahim Khan-i-Khanan, got the title of Iltefat Khan from Jahangir, and having received an annual pension of 40,000 from Shahjahan (1052) he settled down at Patna, where he built a mansion on the bank of the Ganges. His tomb, within the compound of the Patna General Hospital is still an object of veneration. The well-known Mahalla of Muradpur of Patna bears his name. Nauzar Katra, a Mahalla of the old City, is named after Mirza Nauzar, a grandson of Mirza Muzaffar, the brother of Mirza Rustam Safavi. Mirza Nauzar was gradually promoted to the rank of 4000 3000 horse as a result of his various services in different places. Lahori says that "as Mirza Nauzar, on account of his protracted illness, could not efficiently discharge his duties in his Tiylul of Bahraich, he was pensioned off at 30,000 per annum. in Moharram, year 26, and was ordered to proceed to Patna where his first cousin, Mirza Murad, was already passing his life."

2. See the writer's paper read at the Aligarh Session of the I. H. C.

3. Shahjahan Nama 590; Badshah Nama of Qazivi.

4. English Factory Records 1634-36, p. 114. Peter Munoy visited Hajipur (founded by Haji Ilyas a King of Bengal in the 14th century) on the 14th of November after his 2 month's stay at Patna and says "Having accomplished my business I crossed over the river (Ganges) to Hajipur-Patna, of 4 Kos and about 3 miles further we went on sand. This place is very ancient (but now decayed) and in former times was much resorted to as chief place in than parts, all the traffic (which was on a former time) now reduced to Patna which had been built and inhabited of late."

to go to Hajipur-Pattana to govern the country side thereabouts". Abdul Hamid Lahori, the official historian, tells us that as Khan-i-Alam was given to Koknar (opium or hemp) he failed to discharge his duties as efficiently as he ought to have done, and was, consequently, deposed before the first year had elapsed. The only events of importance, during his brief regime, about which we learn from the contemporary authorities, was the bestowal of the title of Raja, along with a Mansab of 1500, 1000 horses, on Pratap Singh Ujjania, the son of Dalpat⁵ Ujjaina, on the 4th Ziqad, Year I, and the appointment of Mukhtar Khan to the Faujdari of Sarkar, Monghyr, on the 18th Ramzan. The other important officials of Bihar, during this time, were Khawaja Qasim, surnamed Aqidat Khan, the Diwan of the province, who had sent to the imperial Court 4 elephants which were presented at the end of Rabi II, year I, and Syed Jafar⁶ Barha, who was exalted with the title of Shujaat Khan, and with a Mansab of 3000 2000 horse, and was also granted a horse, an elephant, and 15000 rupees in cash. He was entrusted with the Faujdari of Sarkar-i-Tirhut.

Khan-i-Alam's successor, Mirza Safi, better known by his title, Saif Khan, which he received from Jahangir as a reward for defeating the rebel forces under Abdulah Khan near Sarkhej⁷ in 1623, was appointed Subadar of Bihar, on 23rd Moharram,⁸ 1038 or 12th September, 1628, and he continued to govern the province till the 15th of Ziqad, 1041 or 24th May, 1632. He was a son of Amanat Khan, and the husband of Malka Banu, the eldest sister of empress Mumtaz Mahal, the Iday of the Taj. He had already served as Viceroy of Gujrat in which capacity he had granted a Parwanah for free trade to the English factors of Surat. No wonder that Peter Mundy, who came to Patna shortly after his transfer to Allahabad, in 1632, describes him as "Seife Ckawn,"⁹

5. Khan-i-Alam's father had died in a fight with Dalpat (M. U.) Dalpat had been captured and kept a prisoner till the 44th year of Akbar's reign, when, on payment of a heavy *peshkash* he was allowed to return to his home. Mirza Barkhurdar, wishing to avenge the death of his father, lay in ambush for Dalpat, who, however, managed to escape. Akbar was so angered at this breach of peace that he gave order to hand-over Barkhurdar to Dalpat but at the inter-cession of the grandies he was imprisoned and was soon released in the 4th year of Jahangir. Barkhurdar received the title of Khan-i-Alam T. J. 74). Two years late (1021) he was made to lead an embassy to Persia with a suite of 12000 men.

6. S. J. N., Another Barha Syed, Sher Khan Barha was appointed Faujdar of Tirhut at the end of the reign of Shahjahan, on 2nd Shanwal, 1068 on 23 June 1658. Bihar has numerous colonies of the Syeds of Zaidi family to which the Barha Syed also belonged. The influence of the Barha Zaidi Syeds in Bihar is to be traced long before the 18th century.

7. M. U. II: T. P. M. Introduction.

8. S. J. N. 826.

9. T. P. M.

our ancient acquaintance and a man of more than common eminence." Mundy refers to the esteem in which Saif Khan had been held by the people of Bihar and contrasts the "tyrannical and exacting regime" of his successor, Abdullah Khan. He says "Safi Ckawn¹⁰ is generally commended and his return wished for by all, as much as, the new Governor, Abdullah Khan, is hated, feared and his expulsion by them is desired." Indeed, Saif Khan proved himself to be one of the best Governors of Bihar under the Mughals, and his regime of slightly more than 4 years was characterized by peace, prosperity and splendour for the province. The author of *Māsir-ul-Umarā* refers to "the lofty public buildings that this Governor constructed at Patna," and we hear of no risings or disturbances during his regime. Peter Mundy writes about the famous Madrasa¹¹ or College and the Mosque attached to it; and about the "fair garden" built by him, on the other side of the Ganges. He is lavish in his praise for Saif Khan's Sarai or inn "the fairest Sarai that I have yet seen, or think, is in India, not yet finished". The learned translator of *Rayāz-us-Salātin* informs us about the Safiābad town, near Jamalpur, or Monghyr, Saif's sarai near it, and a big well in Monghyr, with an inscription to show that it was built by Saif Khan. In all probability, these were constructed by Mukhlis Khan, the Faujdar of Monghyr, and were named after Saif Khan, for it may be that it was at the instance of the latter that the Faujdar got an increase in his rank, being raised to the command of 2000 500 horse,¹² in Jamadi II, 1038.

It was during the period of Saif Khan's Governorship that two sons of Bihar gave a display of their remarkable intellectual powers in the imperial Court. According to the contemporary

10. *Ibid*, p. 157. On 9th September. 1632 Mundy met "Haider Beg an omrah of 1500 horses belonging to Saif Ckawn with whom he was going and came from Patna." He met him at Khavaya ki Sarai.

11. We can still see the Mosque and the remains of the College and other buildings in Patna City on the bank of the Ganges. The mosque bears an inscription which contains a chronogram "Majmua-i-Khair-i-Dunya", yielding the year 1039 A. H. = 1629 A. D. The Arabic College of which the mosque was only a part continued to be a great seat of learning as late as the time of Haibatjung, the father of Siraj-ud-dowla, and himself a Governor of Bihar (1740-1746). The Principal of the College was regarded as an authority on Muslim Law when Ghulam Husain wrote his well-known history, *Seir-ul-Mutakherin*. The College is said to have had 3 quarters for Professor and seats for 136 students. The rooms were all single-seated with hemispherical domed roofs. The two-storied gateway is now in ruins. Some of the cloisters in the surrounding wall are still intact. We now find only a few beautiful cupulas, each standing on slender foot pillars of stone and traces of glazed tiles of geographical patterns.

12. S. I. N. 906b.

authorities,¹³ on the 5th of Safar, year II, Asaf Khan, presented two Brahmins of Tirhut before the Emperor, each of whom claimed the power of not only to quote, word for word, and in the same arrangement, the 10 fresh lines of "Hindi" poems, composed by 10 poets, without having heard them even once before, but also to compose, off hand, similar lines, and in similar metres and rhymes, so as to constitute replies thereto. "When His Majesty made them undergo the test more than once and found their claims to be justified by facts, he granted them each a robe of honour and a cash reward of Rs. 1000 and permitted them to leave for their homes." The author of *Amal-i-Saleh*, however, tells us that they were also granted two villages in Tirhut to which they belonged. Another son of Bihar who distinguished himself in distant campaigns, and whose mosque, with a dated inscription, is still extant in Kharagpur, Monghyr, was Raja Roz Afzun,¹⁴ the converted son of Raja Sangram of Akbar's days. Syed Sadulullah¹⁵ of Hajipur, figures in the campaigns against Bijapur, later, in Rajab, year 10th.

The good and capable governor, Saif Khan, was transferred to Allahabad and the Government of Bihar was conferred on Abdullah Khan Bahadur Firoz Jung, on the 15th Ziqad, year 5th = 1041 *i. e.* 24th May, 1632. Mr. Beveridge,¹⁶ Sir R. C. Temple,¹⁷ and others have wrongly stated that Abdullah Khan continued to govern Bihar till 1643 when he was transferred to Allahabad. They have been misled by a statement in M. U. Lahori, the official historian, says that Abdullah Khan was replaced by Shaista Khan, on the 16th of Shawwal,¹⁸ 1048 or 10th February, 1639, when he was sent to subdue Champat Rai Bundella. Even this period of slightly less than 7 years was not wholly spent by Abdullah Khan in Bihar, for at the end of 1634, he received orders to march to Ratanpur, in C. P.¹⁹ and he presented its refractory but suppressed

13. S. I. N. 9a ; B. N. ; A. S. 152a. Did 'Hindi' mean Maithili, the language of Tirhut? If so we can presume the presence of the Maithil Pandit in the imperial capital at this time. Perhaps it means Sanskrit; the classical language of the Hindus. It is to be noted that the tradition says that a similar feat was performed by Mahesh Thakur the ancestor of the present Maharajadhiraj of Darbhanga, in Tirhut, who possesses a farman granted by Emperor Akbar.

14. J. A. S. B. 1907.

15. T. P. M. Int.

16. S. J. N. *Amal-i-Saleh* 432a

17. Saxena; S. J. N. 165a.; A. S.

18. S. J. N. 74a, 118b; A. S.

19. S. J. N. 196a. Qazvini and Kanboh have mentioned with great respect the name of the Sufi Saint Mullah Khawaja Bihari, a disciple of the famous Saint of Lahore, Hazrat Mian Mir. Mulla Khawaja belonged to Bihar but he went to Lahore where he lies buried near the Mansoleum of his spiritual give. The emperor Shahjahan saw him and was highly impressed with his piety, ascetism and rank character. He died in 1048.

chief, along with other Zamindars, and the spoils of victory, before the Emperor, on the 27th Ramzan, 1044,=6 March, 1635. He received orders to proceed to his province, on the 19th of Shawwal i.e. 25th March 1635 but was diverted from²⁰ the way to Patna towards the Bundela Country to suppress Jujhar Singh, and his son. He was granted audience by the Emperor on the 17th of Shaban 1045=16th January, 1636 and "received orders²¹ to return to Bihar of which he was the Governor," on the 23rd of Rabi I 1046=15th August, 1636. We do not know who acted as his deputy in Bihar during his absence. He had also to remain absent from Patna, the metropolis of Bihar, once more for, at least, 6 months, in order to suppress the rebellion of Raja Pratap Ujjainia of Bhojpur, in Shahabad district.

The contemporary historians give no reasons for the rising of the Ujjainia Chief, an imperial Mansubdar. Steward's statement that "during the period that Islam Khan was employed in Assam, the Raja of Bhojpur took advantage of the temporary absence of the Governor of Bihar and extended the hand of usurpation on the greater part of the province" is unhelpful and misleading. The author of *Tarikh-i-Ujjainia*²² (Urdu) Vol. II says that the Rajah by his inefficiency and oppressive acts had alienated some of his near relations, the old officials of his brother, Raja Narsin Mal, and also the powerful Qanungo family of Bakhra²³ Kayesthas who had great influence at the Court of Patna. We are also told that the Raja had been summoned by Shahjahan but he failed to proceed beyond Ajodhya for fear lest he should have to answer for his fights with the Muslims, within his jurisdiction. He is said to have paid no heed to a Parwanah issued by the Governor of Bihar. The Rajah does appear to have been an orthodox Hindu and he had erected some holy temples²⁴ in his land. Shahjahan's orders, in 1634,²⁵ for the demolition of newly built temples in his whole empire, specially at Benares, which was so near the territory of Raja Pratap may have excited him and driven him into a state of defiance of the imperial authority. His activities must have become sufficiently menacing so as to evoke peremptory orders from the imperial Court to the Governor of Bihar and to Baqar Khan Najm-i-Sani, the Subedar of Allahabad, to march simultaneously against him. Their forces were strengthened by the unasked for arrival of Fidai Khan,²⁶ the Jagirdar of

20. S. J. N. 170a; A. S.

21. *Ibid*, 193b.

22. There are 4 big volumes published by Nawal Kishore Press. But the facts are mixed up with fiction in it.

23. The writer has seen and translated some of the farmans in possession of this old Kayastha family of Muzaffarpur.

24. T. U. II

25. Saxena.

26. S. J. N., 708a, A. S. 401 Saxena has given a very brief account of the expedition.

Gorakhpur, and by Mukhtar Khan who had hastened from Monghyr. The Ujjainia Raja was unable to cope with the situation, though he put up a stiff resistance to the combined army. Bhojpur, the Raja's main stronghold was closely invested, and the siege lasted for 6 months, from Rajab to Zihijja, 1046. Many were killed before the fort of Tribhag was taken. The fortress of Kallapur was conquered by Zabardas Khan and Sufi after a seige of one month. Ten other fortresses were wrested from the Ujjainies. The Rajah had finally to shut himself up in a newly built stronghold within the main fort. Muzaffer and Faridun Beg, the two sons of Zabardast Khan, succeeded in making a breach in the wall of the garden surrounding this building, but they were overwhelmed by the Ujjainies, and lost their lives. The Raja made repeated and desperate attempts to sally out and effect his escape, but every time he had to return after many of his men were cut down. The Raja was finally worsted in a bloody contest that lasted from one pahar of Monday, the 8th Zihijja till the morning of the next day. Realizing the situation to be hopeless, he at first thought of killing his women and children and practising Johar, but soon changed his mind and sent men to Firoz Jung asking his pardon. But he had no patience to wait for the reply and having thrown off all his clothes, except a piece round his loin, and taking the hand of his wife, he made the last desperate attempt²⁷ to effect his escape. He was, however, detected and taken captive with his wife by an eunuch who brought them before the victorious Governor of Bihar. They were put under arrest and a report of the whole affair was sent to the imperial Government. Orders were issued authorizing the Governor to execute the rebellious Rajah and possess himself of his property and his family. The wife of the Rajah was converted to Islam and given in marriage to the grandson of the old Governor. The Rajah was taken to Patna and probably executed at the western gate of the City. Stewart's absurd²⁸ story about the Governor at first feeling inclined to spare the vanquished foe and subsequently changing his mind on hearing from his eunuch about the ravishing beauty of the Rani, and his advice to the Hindus to mark the contrast and "rejoice in their change of masters" should be treated with the contempt that it deserves.

Peter Mundy, a country man of Stewart, who arrived at Patna, in September 1632, has also painted the strong and stern Governor of Bihar in the blackest colour. "He was the most"²⁹

27. A. S. 400-401b. We don't feel inclined to accept the version in S. J. N. or B. S. N. that the proud Ujjainia chief demeaned himself by an abject surrender and voluntarily came to see Abdullah Khan "Wearing only a loin cloth, leading his wife by her hand."

28. T. U. II.

29. T. P. M.; History of Bengal.

covetious and cruel tyrant that ever came to this place" and "He was a man more fitter to be always employed against thieves and rebels than to reside in a peaceable Government." Mundy has mentioned several of his acts of fiendish cruelty, "such as³⁰ the killing of an almost dying woman and her crying child" saying he would remedy them both, "setting fire to a building" filled up with women and children, "flogging" Chowdhary Pratap, "an ancient man of great place and respect," and then "beating him with staves and shoes to get out of him some thousands of rupees," "causing diverse Mughals of respect to ride in open shame on asses' back, with their faces blackened all over with soote whereof one of them, for very grief poisoned himself the next day," and "imposing new customs both inwards and outside that made ever so much as a poor woman that sells milk up and down streets pay customs for it". We get no other contemporary account of these affairs, though a book,³¹ quoted in M. U. II, records the boast of Abdullah Khan that he had erected Minars filled with the heads of 2 lakhs of non-believers on both sides of the road from Patna to Allahabad. "But Mundy's description of Abdullah Khan was no doubt biased," says Sir R. C. Temple,³² "owing to the fact that he had to pay Rs. 250, extorted by the Governor from the broker who sold the Company's quick silver alleging that he had sold jewels that I brought which was none at all" In another place, Mundy writes "Notwithstanding that in former times the President of Surat factory supplied him and presented him with sundry horses, he extorted from him, on the 24th September, rupees 314½ for 3 customs, besides 40 or 50 in bribes to his officers, thinking that he did me a great curtesy to remit the one half that other men paid and was due."

30. *Ibid*, 144, 157.

31. This shows that the Governor was no respecter of persons or parties.

32. Zakhirat-al-Khawanin, S. J. N., A. S. and M. U. II, 793 record the strange story of Abdur Rahman Beg Uzbek, the son of the guardian tutor to the son of Nazar Muhammad Khan, the ruler of Balkh. He came from Balkh, in the 11th year of Shahjahan's reign and was granted a Mansab of 1000, 600 horses and also Rs. 25,000 in cash and was given a Tiylul in the province of Bihar. The over bearing attitude and haughty temper of the governor, Abdullah Khan, caused such an estrangement between him and Abdur Rahim as to compel the latter to feign himself one who had lost the power of speech. He kept the show so well for 2 years that even his wife and near relations failed to detect it. When he was recalled to the court in the 13th of the reign, he spoke at length, to the surprize of it, about his grievances against Abdullah Khan.

33. "Kallianpur, now an important village in the Gopalganj Sub-division of Saran district, contains the ruins of the fortress of the Kallian, named after the first Maharaja of Hathwa Raja family. See. C. R. 1883, 1897.

This English traveller and merchant also supplies us with some other useful informations. He refers to the case of the Rajah of Kallianpur,³⁴ probably an ancestor of the Maharaja of Hathwa, in the Saran district; who was at first well received and honoured with a robe, at Patna, but was soon after imprisoned and his goods were pillaged "whereupon his wife and friends rose in revolt and put Bababeg,³⁵ a revenue officer, to the worst. Khawaja Anwar was sent to the aid of Bababeg. Mundy also speaks of the rebel inhabitants of a place near Sasaram and about" Abdullah Ckawn preparing to bring them to obedience." He also tells us that the 'Governor' (Foujdar) of Sasaram in his time was "Mirza Munichere³⁶ who resides in a castle half built by Muzaffer Ckawn, his predecessor who departed in all haste to Pera Pattan" (Baroda). The other officers of Bihar during the time of this Governor were Ikhlās Khan,³⁷ son of Bayazad Beg, who had been appointed Qiladar of Rohtas, in 1042, and Mahaldar Khan,³⁸ who on his return from the Deccan, in Jamadi II, 1043, was exalted with the rank of 4000, 2000 horses, granted Rs. 20,000 in cash, and sent to Monghyr, in place of Mukhtar Khan, who had died at the hands of an assassin.³⁹

The increasing length of this paper and the fear that it may exceed the page limit makes it necessary for us to remain content with the barest outline of the history of the subsequent period. Mirza Abu Talib, well known as Shaista Khan, a brother of Mumtaz Mahal, succeeded Abdullah Khan, and governed Bihar from Shawwal, 1048, or Feb.⁴⁰ 1639, to 15 Zihijja, 1052, or 25 Feb.

34. *Ibid.* Much can be gathered about the social life and economic condition of Bihar from the T. P. M. Mundy makes mention of Naubat Khan "who was going against the Gauvārs of Darbhanga", of Akhtiar's Khan's Jagir in Purmah, "Akhtiar's Khan's Sarai in the suburbs of the City (Patna) where he stayed" of the tomb of "Chandan Shahid" at Sasaram and of a Hindu Shrine near Patna.

35. This man had advised Mundy "to look to myself and that his master was a bad man caring for nobody, not even for the King.

36. See Temple's notes in T. P. M. and also M. U. The Mirza must have been replaced

خان والا کھر مجاھدخان - ساخت مسجد بعمد شاه جہاں

گشت تاریخ ابن سوائے سرور - ہو بیت المقدس العمور (۱۰۴۵)

by one Mujahid Khan for a splendid Idgah built by him at Sasaram is still standing it bears 3 dated inscriptions yielding 1045/1635.

37. S. J. N. 129b. See also M. U.

38. *Ibid.*, 149b, A. S.

39. S. J. N. 235b. See also M. U.

40. See M. U. for the lives of Shaista Khan and Itiqad Khan. Mr. N. N. Ray, on his book. Early Annals of the English Settlement

1643. The most important event of his regime and also that of his successor and paternal uncle, Mirza Shapur, surnamed Itiqad Khan⁴¹ (a brother of Nurjahan) who served as the Governor of Bihar from Zihijja, 1052, to the 3rd Shaaban, 1056, or 4th September 1646, was the subjugation of Palamun in the Chotanagpur division of the province. A fairly detailed and interesting account of the successful campaign led against the rebellious Raja Pratap, first by Shaista Khan in 1051,⁴² and again under Itiqad Khan, by Zabardast Khan, in 1053,⁴³ or 1643 A. D. had been substantially dealt with by Dr. Saxena in his 'History of Shahjahan' (pp. 118-120) and can easily be passed over. But it is necessary to correct a misleading statement made by some writers on the authority of M. U. that "in the 20th year⁴⁴ of Shahjahan's reign when Prince Shuja was recalled from Bengal, Itiqad Khan, in addition to his governorship of Bihar, was appointed Viceroy of Bengal where he continued for 2 years. The fact is that Bihar was not destined to be tacked on to Bengal, ever since the 20th year⁴⁵ of Akbar's reign, when it was placed under a separate Governor, upto the time of Prince Azimus-shan,⁴⁶ towards the end of Aurangzeb's reign. The contemporary historians tell us that orders were issued to Itiqad⁴⁷ Khan to hasten to Bengal, early in the month of Shaban, 1056, and about a month and half later, on the⁴⁴ 18th Ramzan, 1056, Mir Mohammad Baqar, Surnamed Azam Khan, was appointed Governor of Bihar. He could not leave Lahore for Patna for sometime, but, on the 18th of Ramzan, 1056 or 18th October 1646, his second son, Mir Khalil⁴⁸ was promoted to the command of 1000, 500, and despatched to Patna, along with his third brother, Mir Ishaq, and his brother-in-law, Nurud Dawla Mir Hussamuddin, to assume charge of the Province till the arrival of his father.

Azam Khan's governor-ship of Bihar which lasted till the

in Bihar, has appended a list of the Governors of Bihar under the Mughals. It is very misleading. He says wrongly that Shaista Khan governed Bihar from 1649 to 1648 and he marks no mention of Itiqad Khan, Azam Khan, Jafar Khan, Allahvadi Khan, Bahadur Khan, Khan Alam. We do not know how he has brought in the names of Qassim Khan and Saadullah Khan among the Governors of Bihar during the respective periods of 1629-1637 and 1649-1656. He says that Saadullah Khan governed Bihar through his deputy whose name he does not know.

41. S. J. N. 583, A. S. 470a, 498b.

42. *Ibid*, 442, 474-756.

43. R. S., Notes; M. U.

44. Blochman's Ain-i-Akbari.

45. M. A. Wilson's A. B.

46. B. S. N. 583.

47. *Ibid*, 605.

48. *Ibid*, A. S. Mentions 18 Shawwal.

appointment of the next incumbment, Sayeed⁴⁹ Khan Bahadur Zafar Jung, a Mansabdar of 7000, in the 21st year of Shah Jahan's reign has not been printed out by the translator of R. S. who largely relies for his biographical notes on M. U. Four years after, Sayeed Khan was transferred to Kabul and he sought the audience of the Emperor, on the 16th Rabbi-ussani,⁵⁰ 1061. His successor, in Bihar, was Jafar Khan who was raised to the rank of 5000, 5000 and was ordered to proceed to Patna, on the 1st of Rabbiul⁵¹ Awwal, 1061, or the 16th January, 1651. It was this Jafar Khan later Umdat-ul-mulk and a Vazir, who built the famous historic garden 'Bagh-Jafar Khan',⁵² at Patna, which still bears his name. Though it was not till the 14th Ramzan, 1066⁵³ or 26th June, 1656 that Jafar Khan was replaced in the Government of Bihar by Zulfeqar Khan⁵⁴ Qaramanlu, yet we find him returning to the Imperial court,⁵⁵ in Safar, 1064 or 6th January, 1654. On the 1st of Shaban⁵⁶ 1064, he presented Mir Jafar Astrabadi, a former official of Md. Amin Qutbul Mulk the Sultan of Golconda who had been living at Patna, as an ascetic, for the last 14 years. He had also taken with him, from Bihar, 7 elephants out of the usual annual Peshkash from the Zamindar of Majhwa (west of Rajmahal) which he presented, on the 26th Rabbi-ul-Awwal, year 27, of the reign.⁵⁷ We are not told about his deputy in Bihar. Did his son Abdullah, a Commander of 2000, 1500,⁵⁸ in the 10th year of the reign, officiate for him? More probably it was Bahram Khan, his brother, and a Mansabdar⁵⁹ of 3000, 1500, whom he left as his deputy, for we learn from S. J. N. and A. S. that Bahram's daughter and Jafar's niece had to be escorted from Patna by Md. Ali, on the 25th of Zilhijja 1066 in order to be married with the emperor's grandson, Prince Sulaiman Shikoh, on the 17th Muharram, 1067. Among the other officials of Bihar during the time of Jafar Khan whose names have come⁶⁰ down to us were

49. A. S. 550; S. J. N.; Life in M. U.

50. A. S. 605a, 607b; S. J. N.

51. *Ibid.*

52. It was a place of great public importance in the suburbs of the City. We can still see the ruins of the enclosing walls but the beautiful tower is gone. The coronation of emperor (e.g. Farrukhseyyar) and Darbars were held here and ambassadors were received in it. English records mention it. The Police Station of the place still bears its name.

53. S. J. N. 484.

54. Life in M. U. But there is no reference in M. U. to his Governorship of Bihar. It only says "during the last days of Shahjahan Zulfiqar Khan settled down at Patna."

55. A. S. 632; S. J. N.

56. *Ibid.*

57. *Ibid.*, 451.

58. Qazvini.

59. A. S. 658; S. J. N.

60. S. J. N. 457, 493, 503.

Khwaja Khavind Mahmud, who was appointed Bukshi and Waqia Nawis of Bihar, in Jamadi-ussani, 1064; Syed Abdur Rasul, a son of the Ex-Governor, Abdullah Khan, who was sent as Fawjdar of Tirhut, in place of Nurul Hassan; Attaullah Khawja, who was appointed Diwan of Bihar on the 12th Shaban, 1064; and Md. Hadi Irani, who was sent as Fawjdar of Mujhwa, his duty being to send the usual annual Peshkash of 9 elephants from the Zamindars of that place.

A few changes occurred during the brief period of one year of Zulfeqar Khan's government of Bihar (26th May 1656—22nd April 1657). Syed Abdur Rasul⁶¹ was replaced by Sazawar Khan, son of Laskar Khan, a Panj-hazari, as the Fawjdar of Tirhut, and on his death that office was conferred on Mir Abul Maali, son of Mirza Wali Muhammad. Ibrahim Meshaadi was sent as Bakshi and Waqia Nawis of Bihar, in place of Khawja Qasim, and Sultan Nazar,⁶² a brother of the Ex-Governor, Saif Khan, was honoured with robes and other favours, and he was granted a lakh of rupees and sent to Bihar. Mir Jafar, the sister's son of Sultan Itamadud-Dawla of Iran, was promoted to the command of 2000 and was granted Teyuldari and Fawjdari of Chainpur,⁶³ in Bihar, in Jamadi-ussani 1067. Prince Shuja, the Governor of Bengal, had been already granted one lakh from the treasury of Bihar, under Jafar Khan, and he was allowed a further amount of 5 lakhs from Bihar during the time of Zulfiqar Khan.

The successor of Zulfiqar Khan, in Bihar, was Allahwardi⁶⁴ Khan (wrongly named Qasim Khan in A. S.) who was promoted to the command of 5000, 5000 and sent to Patna, on the 18th Rajab, 1067 or April 22, 1657. The new Governor traced his descent from Sultan Sanjar, the last of the great Saljuk Emperors, and he was a younger brother of Mukhlis Khan, who had once served as the deputy of Prince Parwez, in Bihar. He was at first won over by Prince Shuja when the latter marched to Patna, on his way to the west, to contest for the imperial crown. But when he began to waver in his allegiance to that Prince, the latter managed to secure him in his grips, and disposed him off.⁶⁵

The last person to be nominated Governor of Bihar, under Shah Jahan, was Baqi beg,⁶⁶ better known as Bahadur Khan,

61. S. J. N. 492, 593, Syed Sher Khan Barha appointed to the Faujdari of Tirhut. Shawwal 1068 or 23rd June, 1658, T. S. Chaghi 29a.

62. S. J. N.; 427; A. S. 690.

63. *Ibid*, 665, 507.

64. S. J. N.; 504 A. S. 166 life in M. U.; See also Masum's Tarikh-i-Shah Shujai.

65. Masum; 21a Alamgirnama.

66. Prince Sulaiman Shikoh was accompanied by Raja Jai Singh, Diler Khan, Bahadur Khan Badakarsnani Ikhlas Khan Chisti and others but Bahadur Khan was a tutor of the Prince and he was sent as a Deputy

an old servant and confidant of Dara Shikoh, who secured his promotion to a command of 4000, 3000 and his appointment to Bihar and was sent in Jamadi-ussani 1068 or March, 1658 along with the prince, Sulaiman Shikoh, to oppose the advance of Shuja. The author of M. U. has suggested that it was Shaikh Farid Fatehpuri, the second son of Qutbuddin⁶⁷ Shaikh Khuban, who was granted the title of Ikhlās Khan, together with the Mansabdari of 3000, 2000 horse, and was appointed Subadar⁶⁸ of Bihar. He was sent, according to M. U., in the 31st year of Shah Jahan's reign, along with Prince Sulaiman Shikoh to oppose his uncle, Shuja. The historian of Alamgir⁶⁹ also mentions both Bahadur Khan and Ikhlās among the Governors of Bihar during the period of fratricidal wars among the sons of Shah Jahan. As regards the former he was appointed Deputy of Dara Shikoh in Bihar but he does not appear to have exercised any actual authority over the province, and was a constant companion of prince Sulaiman Shikoh till his death⁷⁰ in 1658. Allahvardi appears to have retained his faithful hold on Bihar till his suspected defection from, and death at the hands of Shuja, sometime in Jamadiul Awal 1069. But his position may have been challenged by Ikhlās Khan, another nominee of Dara, whom Sulaiman Shikoh may have left in Bihar when he had to leave precipitately for the west after patching up a treaty with his uncle, Shuja in May⁷¹ 1658. Ikhlās Khan left Patna on the 16th Zilhijja,⁷² 1068, and was ordered by Aurangzeb to proceed to Allahabad and reinforce the army of Khan-i-Dawran. He was rewarded for his defection from Dara, and was given the title of Ihtisham Khan.

of Dara Shikoh to whom the government of Bihar upto Monghyr had been allotted by Shahjahan in Rabi I 1068 = December 1657. See A. S. 678, 682; Nasim.

67. He was killed by Sher Afghan at Burdwan during the time of Jahangir See S. N. J.

68. He was one of those sent along Sulaiman Shikoh against Shuja and take part in the battles of Bahadurpur. S. J. N. and A. S. do not mention his name in connection with the government of Bihar but A. N. and M. U. describe him as the "Subadar of Patna."

69. A. N. 191.

70. Bahadur Khan was the last important of grantees to stand by Sulaiman Shikoh.

71. Sarkar H. A. II,

72. A. N. 191.

MIR JUMLA'S DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH SRI RANGA RAYAL AND SHAHUJI BHONSLA.

BY

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Mir Jumla played a conspicuous role in the history of India for about three decades as a trader, a minister and a general. But above all he was a diplomat, and his diplomacy was hardly less in importance than his activity in other spheres. Indeed, it may be affirmed without any exaggeration that Mir Jumla towered above all his contemporaries in India as regards his diplomatic acumen and sagacity. Even Aurangzeb so well-known for his astuteness and craft yielded palm to this Persian adventurer in this respect and since the latter's employment in imperial service, looked up to him for advice as his friend, philosopher and guide, in all matters, *viz.*, invasion of Golkunda and Bijapur and planning and conducting of certain phases of the War of succession. It was to the Mir, then Wazir of the Mughal Empire, that the Viceroy of the Deccan appealed for pulling his chestnuts out of the fire of imperial wrath and the Crown Prince's counter-intrigues. We might as well speak of Mir Jumli's diplomacy just as we speak of Kautilyan craft or Machiavellian policy. Like Bismarck tossing five balls at a time, Mir Jumla, could carry on intrigues successfully with several powers, far and near, without in any way compromising his own position. Thus, in order to save himself from the wrath of his master, Sultan Qutb Shah of Golkunda, he negotiated with the Shah and the Wazir of Iran, the Raja of Chandragiri, the Sultan of Bijapur, the Mughal Viceroy of the Deccan and through him with the Emperor, the Abyssinian Governor of the Bijapuri Karnatak and even the Maratha Captain, Shahuji Bhonsla. Yet, he could retain his freedom of action and lean on any one power as he thought expedient, could play off one against another and succeed in improving his own diplomatic position.

In this paper an attempt has been made to review the Mir's diplomatic relations with Sri Ranga Rayal, the Raja of Chandragiri, and Shahuji Bhonsla which well illustrate his diplomatic genius.

(a) *Mir Jumla and Sri Ranga Rayal.*

It is well known that Sri Ranga Rayal, the Raja of Chandragiri, sought the protection of the Mughal Emperor in order to save his dominions in the Karnatak from being absorbed by the two Muslim Sultanates of the Deccan, Bijapur and Golkunda.¹ But

1. See, Sarkar, *Aurangzeb* I. 222-25.

a critical study of a passage in Zahuri's *Muhammadnamah* and a letter in the *Adab-i-Alamgiri*¹ clearly shows that it was Mir Jumla who persuaded the Raja of Chandragiri to appeal to the Mughals and even tried to induce the Mughal Viceroy of the Deccan to help the royal supplicant. At the same time it becomes clear that Mir Jumla did this only to save his own position and was not at all sincere in his profession of helping the Raja.

To understand this phase of Mir Jumla's diplomacy it is necessary to recount briefly the situation in the Deccan about the middle of the 17th Century. By 1653 Mir Jumla accomplished the task of conquering the rich plains of the Eastern Karnatak, to which he had been deputed by his master, the Sultan of Golkunda. But within a year we find him "up in arms"² against that master and by end of 1655 he definitely deserted him and joined the Mughal imperial service. Aware of his master's wrath, he eagerly endeavoured to protect himself "by acts of finesse and tricks of diplomacy."³ Probably his first impulse was to return to his home country and to endeavour to secure the good-will of the Court of Iran before Qutb Shah could do it.⁴ But the reply of Shah Abbas II, containing a gesture of help came too late and was too vague for Mir Jumla to be of any use to him. Moreover, he could not have been under any illusion about the arrival of timely help from Persia.

Hence he had to look around for shelter nearer home. He evidently considered the Rayal, the erstwhile victim of his (or his master's) aggression, as the most suitable and nearest man to approach and tried to conciliate him by promising respite in return for his support.⁵ Smarting under the humiliation of defeat at the hands of Adil Shah and of having had to receive Gandikota (1652) as a gift from him,⁶ Mir Jumla had naturally desired to retrieve his honour by attempting to regain through diplomacy what he had lost in battle. His refusal to grant a right of passage to the Bijapuri general, Khan Muhammad, to Jinji, his intrigues with Mysore and overtures to the Rayal, who was emboldened

1. M. N. 453; *Adab*, 76a-b.

2. Fort St. George Letter to the Company (18th September, 1654) FFF. 1651-54 290; Love I. 115.

3. *Adabi Alamgiri* 30a.

4. See my articles on *Correspondence of the Deccani Sultans and Mir Jumla with the Court of Iran*. JBORS, March and June 1942. Tab-rezi's *Golkonda Letters* 70e-73a; Tahir Wahid, *Ruqaat-i-Shah Abbas Sani*, 154-56.

5. *Adab*, 36b, 39a.

6. See my article on 'Some Letters of Abdullah Qutb Shah and Mir Jumla relating to the Partition of the Karnatak' in Pr. I H. R. C. (Mysore session), 1942.

to return to Vellore,¹ might well be regarded as part of this diplomacy. But the master-stroke of his policy, was his proffered mediation on behalf of the Rayal with the Mughals. First, an understanding took place between Mir Jumla and the Rayal, and then Mir Jumla carried on an active correspondence with Aurangzeb. Zahur-ibn-Zahuri, the author of the *Muhammadnamah*, indeed, writes that "Sri Ranga had created trouble in the fort of Vellore, and through correspondence made Mir Jumla his own *wakil*, and for his own self agreed to pay.....peshkash to the Mughals. Mir Jumla had also taken the responsibility in this affair, and he was tempting the Mughals by all means to help the Raja."² It was about 1653 that the Rayal, evidently persuaded by Mir Jumla, sent his confidential Brahman agent, named Srinivas, to Aurangzeb with a petition addressed to the Emperor expressing willingness to adopt Islam and offering to send, besides an annual tribute in cash and materials, 50 lakh *huns* and 200 elephants and costly jewels, in return for protection of his territories from the aggressions of the Sultans.³

By such a course Mir Jumla expected not only to win over the Rayal to stand by him in an emergency but he would also be able to outwit Adil Shah and avenge himself on his own master Qutb Shah. Moreover, the benefits derived by the Rayal as against the Sultans would be neutralised by his apostacy. The success of Mir Jumla's policy can be seen from the fact that the news of the appeal of the Rayal to the Emperor, his willingness to accept Islam and the deputation of a sagacious Mughal ambassador, Muhammad Mumin Safdarkhani in 1653-4 to him for enquiry, caused a flutter in the minds of the Sultans. They feared that they would lose all their recent conquests in the Karnatak. Adil Shah was alarmed into hurrying on with his conquests (*e. g.* Vellore, 1653) and became fully prepared to take Mir Jumla in his pay. Qutb Shah now tried his best to appease Mir Jumla by restoring to him his posts and *mahals* as before. But it was too late now. The astute Wazir, already won over by the Mughals and probably in expectation of a reply of Persia, resorted to dilatory tactics towards his master, only because they were "good and proper for the occasion."⁴

He adopted towards Aurangzeb also the same dilatory policy as towards Qutb Shah. Even when the Emperor, yielding to Aurangzeb's repeated importunities, agreed to take Mir Jumla

1. *Ibid.*

2. M. N. 453.

3. *Adab*, 33b (45 elephants, acc. to M. N. 453). For petition see *Adab*, 33b-34a; 54b-55a; *Majmua-i-Maktubat* (ASB. MS) 81a-82b; 84a-85b; *Guldasta*.

4. *Adab*, 34b. 35a, 44a, b; *Guldasta* (Alamgir to Abdullah).

under his protection, Mir Jumla hung back and prayed for a year's respite. As Aurangzeb wrote to the Emperor on the strength of Muhammad Mumin's report; "His (Mir Jumla's) profession of submission to the imperial court is just a matter of policy and so long as he can dexterously avert the hostility of the two Sultans, he will not leave that country and turn to any other place. Having won over the zamindars of the Karnatak with courtesy and beneficence, and making friendship with Ikhlās Habshi (the Abyssinian Governor of Bijapuri Karnatak), Mir Jumla is passing his days with much care and caution."¹

To neutralise Mir Jumla's strongly entrenched diplomatic position, the two Sultans counter-intrigued with the Mughals. In Shawwal 1064 (5 August—12 September, 1654) Aurangzeb asked Mumin to assure Qutb Shah of favours as the Shah had expressed "the intention of renewing the old agreements."² The Sultan of Bijapur also continued his intrigues. The result was that the Emperor, heavily bribed by the two Sultans refused to extend the hand of protection to the Rayal.³ The growing success of the Sultan's counter-intrigues menaced Mir Jumla's safety. He had therefore to cast his diplomatic net wider than before. Having won over Ikhlās Khan, he endeavoured to win over the Maratha leader Shahji Bhonsla to neutralise the success of the Sultan of Bijapur.⁴ Again, Mir Jumla had once mediated on behalf of the Rayal to feed fat his grudge against Bijapur and Golkunda and secure his position. Probably to neutralise Qutb Shah and to create a second line of defence Mir Jumla now wanted to win over the Rayal again and thereby counteract the moves of the Deccani Sultans and so he now informed Aurangzeb of "the facts about the sincerity of the promises of the Rayal," evidently asking him to reconsider the latter's fact. Aurangzeb replied that though Mir Jumla's earlier reserve about the Rayal had prejudiced his case, he would put up the case anew before the Emperor. Aurangzeb wrote: "If the affair of the Rayal had been known from before, as you have written now, and if you had written about him to me to help him he would have been then favoured. But in spite of enquiries (on our part) you were then silent about his fate. But as Padshahs have to keep an eye everywhere, so I am putting up your case regarding the Rayal anew before the Emperor. You may state what you have thought about him and send an intelligent person to explain the things to me, as you had spoken to the official *harkara*."⁵

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1. *Adab*, 39a, 36b; Sarkar *Aurangzeb* I. 200-1; Tabrezi, 75a-76b.
 2. *Adab*, 55a (Year wrongly written in text as 1044 A. H.)
 3. *Adab*, 44b.
 4. See next section.
 5. *Adab*, 76a-b.

When the plan of the invasion of Golkunda was settled by Aurangzeb and Mir Jumla, Aurangzeb advised the Mir to win over the Rayal at the time of his advance northwards from the Karnatak.¹

(ii) *Mir Jumla and Shahuji Bhonsla.*

Mir Jumla endeavoured to win over the Maratha leader, Shahuji Bhonsla, who had a grievance against Adil Shah, and had expressed a desire to join the Mughals, by interceding on his behalf with Aurangzeb. Aurangzeb, hoping to use him against Bijapur, approved of Mir Jumla's assurances of favours to him as "highly proper" and wanted to know from the Mir about Shahuji's intentions, as communicated by the latter's agent, so that he might duly consider them.² Probably Mir Jumla began negotiating with Shahuji, even when Muhammad Mumin was in the Karnatak and Aurangzeb wrote to him approving of the conduct: "It is necessary for you to conciliate a person, who in fear of his own master, expresses a desire to serve in this (imperial) court."

Even after his appointment as the Mughal Wazir, Mir Jumla interceded on behalf of Shahuji. The details are not known why Mir Jumla did so, what he actually pleaded etc. But it seems that Mir Jumla tried to induce the Emperor to support Shahuji as against Bijapur, and thereby to prepare the ground for giving effect to the plan of invasion of Bijapur. This naturally caused mortification to Dara who was the champion of the Deccani Sultans. Aurangzeb approved of Mir Jumla's actions and advised him to dispose of the matter quickly by continuing false negotiations with him. Aurangzeb wrote to Mir Jumla.

"What you have said before the Emperor about Shahuji is well-timed, fit and proper (بسنیدہ و بہ موقع). As it is necessary to dispose of this matter for certain reasons you should endeavour to place before the Emperor what you consider fit and see that the affair is managed in that way. Do not neglect this matter. I have received the Emperor's *farman*, written in his own handwriting. I have learnt its contents. It will be highly desirable if you reveal (to me) those delicate matters, which can be included only in an interview, from out of the curtain of mystery. I, too, will give the reply to these points in the proper form. The sooner you can conclude the business of that Bhonsla (namely Shahuji) the better, as it has been the cause of the manifestation of lack of spirit (or ambition) on the part of *anha* (i.e. Dara's party);

1. *Adab*, 76b, 72a.

2. *Adab*, 76a-b.

3. *Ibid*, 73a-74b. For Shahuji's first rupture with the Bijapur Court in 1644 and subsequent disloyal intrigues, see Sarkar, *House of Shivaji*, pp. 85-7, 16-23.

continue false negotiations with him.”¹ Moreover, Mir Jumla wanted to utilise Shahuji Bhonsla in defending his Karnatak dominions against the rapacity of the Deccani Sultans during his absence in Delhi. So he advised the Viceroy of the Deccan to approach Shahuji for the purpose.

Thus, while Aurangzeb was engaged in taking appropriate military action and writing letters of threat to the Deccani powers, to dam the flood of their activities in Mir Jumla's jagirs in 1656-57 he did not forget to play suitable tricks of diplomacy. According to the advice of Mir Jumla, he kept up a busy but secret correspondence with Shahuji Bhonsla, and he kept the Mir informed of the progress of negotiations. Shahuji was to be utilised in protecting the jagirs in return for some preferment, in order to counteract Dara's secret intrigues with the Sultans. Many a time did Aurangzeb instruct Shahuji Bhonsla to keep information of Mir Jumla's jagirs, and not to neglect the management of the Karnatak, and to remain on the alert, so that no complications might arise in that locality. He also wrote to him, with promise of rewards, about checking the Hindu revolt, asked Mir Jumla to write to him personally if he thought it necessary.² Shahuji probably expressed willingness to help the Mughals, as we find Aurangzeb sent to Mir Jumla (in reply to his letter of 28 Shawwal 1066 9th August, 1656) the copy of the translation of the letter of *Zubdat-ul-amsal* (Shahuji) to his brother Trimbakji for his information and necessary action. Aurangzeb also requested Mir Jumla to inform him of the orders of the Emperor on Shahuji's petition. Probably an attack on Adil Shah's flank by Shahuji was contemplated, for Aurangzeb concludes the letter with the following :—

“It is not my concern at all if the injury on this perfidious person (Adil Shah) becomes irremediable; rather it is very desirable. (verse) what is good for you is also good for me.....”.³

Taking advantage of the preoccupation of the Mughals in Bijapur and the Karnatak (1656-57), Shahuji Bhonsla sneakishly endeavoured to snatch away some portions of the Karnatak with the help of Siddi Jauhar, the Abyssinian governor of Kurnool in Bijapur employ. But Shahuji met “defeat after defeat” at the hands of the imperial officers and the men of Mir Jumla due to the defection of Siddi Jauhar who was evidently alarmed by the Mughal victories in Bijapur.⁴

1. *Adab*, 84a-b.

2. *Adab*, 88b-89a; 81a-b.

3. Advised by Shahuji Aurangzeb wrote to Antaji Pandit (*Adab*, 87a-b) and to others also, *Ibid* 193b-194a.

4. *Adab*, 161b.

STUDIES IN MARATHA HISTORY

Netaji Palkar

BY

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For a clear perspective of the 17th Century Maratha History, a detailed study of the biographies of those illustrious personages who helped Shivaji to build up the great structure of the Maratha State is absolutely necessary. Unfortunately however legend has woven such a thick cobweb round them that it has become very difficult if not impossible to separate historical facts from mere gossip. Again because of the paucity of sources of the 17th Century period very little information is available about those people. An attempt is made in the following lines to draw a full pen-picture of Netaji Palkar, Sarnobat, Shivaji's Master of the Horse.

After perusing all the available records of the period we fail to find any mention about the time and place of his birth. From his surname Palkar it seems that he was born at Pali. (Thana district, Bombay presidency).

The earliest reference to Netaji is in the year 1652, when Randullakhan and Baji Ghorapade, on behalf of Bijapur marched against Shivaji. Netaji Palkar who was at Vardhan Gada with 2000 cavalry and 3000 footmen was asked by Shivaji to advance as far as Wai. While Shivaji himself with 5000 picked Mavlas started from Rajgad with a view to trapping the Bijapuri army in between his own and Netaji's men. The result of the strategy was a complete rout of the Bijapur men, The Marathas got a loot of 500 horses and 300 camels.¹

This is possibly the first time when Netaji played a prominent part on the actual battle-field. This was Shivaji's first great encounter against Bijapur.²

We find no mention about Netaji in Shivaji's Jawali campaign.

On the death of Mankoji Dahatonde Sarnobat in 1657 Netaji was appointed Sarnobat—Master of the Horse.³

In 1659 Afzalkhan came with a determination to capture Shivaji alive or dead. As per the pre-arranged plan just after the

1. Shedgaokar Bakhar p. 19.

2. Sabhasadachi Bakhar P. 78, also see Shedgaokar Bakhar p. 20, Siroar—Shivaji 3rd Ed. p. 58.

3. Wakaskar—Shiva Chatrapatichi 91 Kalm Bakhar p. 75

death of Afzalkhan, Netaji and Morapant Pingale launched a sudden attack on his army and routed it completely.⁴

The debacle of Afzalkhan incensed the Bijapur Darbar who sent Rustum-i-Zaman and Siddi Johar against Shivaji, the very next year. On their way the Bijapur army was harrassed by Netaji by guerilla tactics.⁵ According to one account when Siddi Johar besieged Shivaji in Panhala, Jijabai thought of rescuing him personally. She therefore sent for Netaji and discussed with him her plan.⁶ In accordance with this Netaji started for Panhala. On his way he burnt the town of Shahapur.⁷ However, as he had under him only a small force he could not achieve his object.⁸

While Shivaji was thus busy in his struggle with Bijapur, Aurangzeb sent Shahista Khan against him. Shahista Khan came to the Deccan and occupied the very palace of Shivaji at Poona. One night Shivaji gave him his life's shock by a surprise attack. Netaji was one of these picked men selected for this night attack. Shahista Khan finding the Poona palace not congenial left it and encamped himself near Poona. While he was thus threatening the very heart of the Maratha territory Netaji and Moropant Pingale harried the Moghul territory from Junnar to Aurangabad.⁹

In April 1661 Shivaji started for his campaign against Southern Konkan. Before going there he asked Netaji to keep a watch over the Moghuls should they advance further.¹⁰

Shahistakhan however had not left the Maratha country. He had taken his place near about Poona for some time. In order to lessen his pressure on the Maratha country, the Maratha frequently raided the Moghul territory. In March 1663 in one of such raids Netaji who had gone a long way in the Moghul territory was pursued "by a large Moghul division of 7,000 horse so close as to force him to march 40 to 50 miles a day". "Netaji escaped, though not without the loss of 300 horses and himself wounded."¹¹

After the treaty of Purandar (1665) with the Moghuls, in accordance with the understanding arrived at, Shivaji helped the Moghuls in their campaign against Bijapur. During this campaign in one of the battles—the battle of Mangal Vedhe (18-12-

4. Sabhasadachi Bakhar p. 15, Shivabharat 23 47 Shedgaokar Bakhar p. 30.

5. Kavindra Paramanand... Shiva Bharat, 24, 32, 40, 59, 48, 68.

6. Ibid 26-12-24.

7. Ibid 26-6.

8. Ibid 26-25, 27 also Sardesai—Shakakarta Shivaji p. 76.

9. Sabhasadachi Bakhar page 28, Shedgaokar Bakhar p. 42.

10. Sardesai—Shakakarta Shivaji. p. 8.

11. Sircar—Shivaji. 3rd Ed. p. 87, 229, also Shiva kalin Patra-sara-sangraha. No. 923.

1665) "the Maratha rear guard under Netaji bore the brunt of the attack".¹²

Desertion of Netaji.

About this time Netaji left the service of Shivaji and joined the Moghuls. There are two different theories about this desertion of Netaji. According to the first when Siddi Johar had besieged Shivaji in Panhala, the latter asked Netaji to rescue the garrison. But Netaji failed to do so. For this failure Shivaji dismissed him from his service.¹³ The Shiva Chatrapatichi 91 Kalmi Bakhar gives a different storey. "One night when Shivaji was meditating an attack, the brother of Netaji's wife was found to be absent. Shivaji was in consequence very angry and ordered his name to be marked down absent for one month. A dispute occurred between Netaji and Shivaji on the subject and the former spoke with so much warmth that Shivaji dismissed him from his service,¹⁴ and appointed Prataprao Gujar as Sarnobat in his place. Sir Jadunath Sircar, however, believes that Netaji deserted "probably because he deemed his valuable services and gallant feats of arms inadequately rewarded."¹⁵

After leaving Shivaji, Netaji first accepted the offer of Adilshah, of 4 laces of huns and on his behalf raided the Moghul territory.¹⁶ Jayasing who was dreaming of conquering Bijapur with Shivaji's assistance could ill afford to lose such a man. "He lured Netaji back (on 20-3-1666) with many persuasive letters and the granting of all high demands viz. the mansab of a commander of 5000 in the Moghul peerage, a jagir in the settled and lucrative old territory of the empire and Rs. 38,000 in cash."¹⁷

Arrest and Conversion of Netaji.

After the escape of Shivaji from Agra Aurangzeb became sceptical about all the arrangement that Jayasingh had made in the Deccan. He now became suspicious about Marathas in general. He therefore ordered Jayasingh to arrest Netaji and his uncle Kondaji and send them to Delhi.¹⁸ Aurangzeb however was well aware of Netaji's martial qualities; he therefore tried to persuade Netaji to convert himself to Islam. Netaji refused, whereupon he was sent with Mohabatkhan on the Afgan campaign. On his way to Afghanistan seizing an opportune moment Netaji escaped

12. Sirkar—Shivaji, 3rd Ed. p. 134.

13. Sabhasadachi Bakhar p. 49.

14. Forrest, Account of Shahaji and his son Shivaji p. 13.

15. Sircar, Shivaji 3rd Ed. p. 137.

16. Ibid.

17. Ibid.

18. English Factory records 12, p. 204 6; also Elliot and Dawson History of India Vol. VII p. 281.

from the army but was chased and rearrested. When Aurangzeb was informed about this he ordered him to choose between conversion to Islam and death. Netaji accepted conversion, was circumcised, converted, renamed Mohamud Kuli Khan and was married to a Muslim woman (February 1667).¹⁹ He was now given a mansab of 3000 horse and was sent to Afganistan. Netaji played a great part in this campaign for which he was handsomely complimented by the Emperor. He spent about nine years at Delhi.

Return of Netaji.

In the meanwhile Shivaji was extending his power in the Deccan. In spite of all that the Moghuls did to thwart his progress Shivaji succeeded in establishing his kingdom and had himself crowned in 1674. Finding his Subhedar in the Deccan incapable of coping with Shivaji, Aurangzeb sent Dilirkhan with Mohamud Kuli Khan (Netaji) to the Deccan. He, however, took care to keep Netaji's Muslim wife and children in Delhi possibly as hostage. When Netaji returned to the Deccan he stole away from the Moghul camp and joined Shivaji, because the return to the old field of action influenced his mind that way. Shivaji with a broad vision—rare in those days—got him reconverted to Hinduism by means of religious purification (19-6-1676).²¹

Netaji now joined Shivaji in his Carnatic campaign. He served Shivaji till the death of the latter and afterwards his son Sambhaji also. When Aurangzeb's son Shahzada Akbar came to Sambaji (1-6 1681) with Durgadas Rathod, Sambhaji deputed Netaji to look after them possibly because the latter was well conversant with Muslim customs and manners.²² Nothing more of him is heard after this. He may, therefore, be presumed to have died about the year 1681-82.

Estimate of Netaji.

As a general Netaji won a number of laurels. His name is mentioned as one of the 19 trusted men (Bharavashachi Manse) of Shivaji.²³ His diligence in giving decisions in civil suits is referred to in a Sanad granted to him.²⁴ We know from the Sanad that for deciding a point of dispute in a civil suit he caused a person to be sent to Mahabaleshwar to get a copy of Vidnyaneshwar. He gave his decision after discussing the point of law with the pundits in accordance with Vidnyaneshwar. Three more of his decisions have also been preserved.²⁵

19. Elliot and Dawson History of India Vol. VII p. 282.

20. Sardesai Shakakarta Shivaji p. 133.

21. Shiva Charitra Pradip, Jedhe Sakavali p. 28.

22. Sardesai—Ugraprakriti Sambhaji p. 28.

23. Shedgaokar Bakbar p. 34.

24. Mavji & Parasnis—Sanada Patratil Mahiti p. 115.

25. Shiva-kalin patra-sar Sangraha Nos. 859, 954, 956, 2322.

THE PROBLEM OF NATIONALITIES IN MEDIEVAL INDIA

BY

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The history of India indicates that in the political sphere two opposite tendencies have been in operation and their conflict has defied solution. One of them is the attempt to establish a centralised government over the whole country ; and the other is the equally strong counter tendency—tendency towards decentralisation. The Mughal Empire which had almost succeeded in establishing a stable empire, foundered on this very rock.

Various explanations have been given by scholars of history of this conflict between centrifugal and centripetal tendencies. One point however has not received the attention that it deserves. The object of this paper is to focus the attention of scholars on this point.

Perhaps the main reason why a centralised government could not succeed in India was that in this land of ours, as a result of the peculiar historical forces in operation, a number of nationalities have been in the process of formation, and their full development was incompatible with the existence of a strong central government. Here an attempt has been made to trace the forces which helped in the formation of northern Indian nationalities. It is not possible, of course, to deal with a profound subject like this in the course of such a short paper. This paper leaves aside the detailed historical facts of the period and contains only a few formulations on the basis of the broad outlines of the subject. Its purpose would be served if these formulations are carefully examined by scholars of history and either improved upon, amended or rejected. The writer of the paper himself considers them as mere tentative suggestions indicating lines of study.

It is difficult to find a commonly accepted definition of Nationality. But a few observations may safely be made. First, the conception of Nation-hood is essentially modern, although the factors which shape a nation have been historically evolved. Secondly, as far as most of the modern nations are concerned, their emergence as nations follows the rise of commerce capitalism. In view of these observations Stalin's definition of a nation may be regarded as a fairly workable proposition. He says that "A nation is a historically evolved stable community of language, territory, economic life and psychological make up manifested in a community of culture." Obviously the mere accumulation of a common language or culture does not convert a people into a nation, just as it is not correct to say that the Germans, who

spoke the same language and enjoyed a similar culture as early as say the 15th century, constituted a nation. Nations are definitely the results of historical processes. If we look at the fully developed nations of the world, we shall notice that people living in contiguous territories draw near each other as a result of certain historical forces, and then at a particular stage of economic development, they are welded into the bonds of nationhood. The British, French, German, Italian and American nations arose in the wake of capitalism. But in these countries we notice the rise of a single nation. There were certain other countries where as a result of the dissolution of feudalism and the rise of capitalism, a number of nationalities arose in a single state, *e. g.* the Balkans, the pre-revolutionary Czarist Empire or the Austro-Hungarian empire, which may be considered as multi-national states. What is the reason that a similar stage of economic development leads to the evolution of some uni-national and some multi-national states? An explanation of this phenomenon may be sought in the fact that in these multi-national states, as a result of certain historical forces, people living in different areas had been developing along divergent lines of cultural process. The coming of industrial economy gave shape to this submerged, and till then indistinct tendency of separate development.

It will not be correct to compare India with uni-national states like Britain or France. On the question of national development, India would bear better comparison with the Russian empire. India has not yet sufficiently progressed economically as to provide opportunities for her various nationalities to develop fully. Indian nationalities are still in the process of evolution, although some elementary economic progress and the struggle for freedom have helped in this process.

On the eve of the establishment of Turkish rule, the economic foundations of Indian Society were laid on the system of village economy. Every village could on the whole be considered a self contained unit. There was no direct relation between one village and another to infuse among them any sense of unity. Their only affiliation to each other was that sometimes they happened to be ruled by the same *raja*. Even politically large tracts did not possess common governments as the country was divided into a number of small states, ruled over by the head of one clan or another.

The establishment of Turkish rule created a new situation. The whole of northern India was brought under the political sway of one central government. The political fragmentation of the country disappeared, and at least politically, large areas came into closer contact with each other.

The Muslims, at this stage, however, were still a distinct unit. Their political and economic organisation and their cultural

traditions were different from the rest of Hindustan. In order to maintain their rule in an alien land they maintained their separate existence.

At a time when the means of communication were not developed it was difficult for a central government to keep its grip over a country of such vast distances, split up by so many natural barriers. The empire was therefore parcelled out to a number of *Subadars* or *Jagirdars*, who soon began to enjoy virtual autonomy. So long as these provincial governors felt that they would not be able to maintain their political domination without the support of the central government, they owed it allegiance. But the moment they felt secure in their own provinces and felt that the central government was not strong enough to coerce them, they proclaimed their independence. One of the first governors to proclaim independence was Tughril Beg, the governor of Bengal, who rebelled against Balban.

These governors realised that in order to strengthen their own position against the central government it was necessary for them to develop close political and cultural affinities with the local elements. This became all the more necessary because these *provincial* rulers had to face a dual conflict—conflict not only with the central authority but also with those local elements who wanted to win back political power. If we study the history of the provincial dynasties, we shall find that they did not have much difficulty in counteracting local opposition. The local Hindu *rajas* felt that being unable to overthrow the provincial chief, the best alternative for them was to make an alliance with him, since he was in need of their help and was prepared to share power with them. Moreover, it was in any case better for them that the political centre of gravity should remain near them, rather than they be treated as mere 'provincials.' Thus we notice that fairly close relations were developing between Hindu upper classes and the provincial rulers. Probably, the best illustration of the dual conflict and its solution is furnished by the history of Bengal.

Under these political circumstances, two other tendencies were in operation which facilitated the process of formation of nationalities. One of these tendencies, was economic and the other was cultural.

The *Jagirdari** system dealt a blow to the system of village economy. Some of its effects are clearly visible, for example the gradual reduction of the isolation of villages. Secondly, the separate political rule of the *rajas* and along with them the

*The term *Jagirdari* system has been used to denote the Indian form of feudalism.

domination of the higher castes tends to disappear. From the point of view of the masses, the tyranny of the local chief also comes to an end. There is now no symbol of tyranny before their very eyes, whom they could perceive. To the common people the new government was on the whole, largely impersonal.

An important consequence of these factors was that the political and economic interests of the people living in the provinces tended to become common. These common political and economic interests bound the Hindus and Muslims living in the provinces in common ties.

The above should not be taken to mean that the formation of different nationalities is visible at this stage. What is noticeable is that common interests are helping to prepare a psychological makeup among people with sufficient potential homogeneity who could ultimately under favourable circumstances, rise as a nationality. The pre-conditions of national evolution are being created at this stage. Of course in some areas this tendency is more marked than in the others.

In the cultural sphere, the lessening of village isolationism and the disappearance of small independent states, and along with them the domination of the higher castes, led to the weakening of the belief in several tribal gods and deities. Polytheism began to yield place to some form of the ultimate unity of godhead. One God, who is the god of all, as one king who was supreme in that entire area. Before this Supreme God, all men are equal, just as before the Sultan, *Thakur* as well as *Ahur*, *Brahmin* as well as *Sudra* all were equal, even though in subjection. It is true that many centuries earlier Sankara had preached monism, his theory of *advaitavada* being logically the most perfect form of idealism the east has yet produced. But the teachings of Sankara were too non-material, abstract, and they did not reach the masses. The social conditions of this later age, however, led to a mass drift towards some form of monotheism. In certain areas, as in Bengal, large number of people, particularly from among the followers of later Buddhism, were converted to Islam. In other areas, masses become the devotees of the preachers of the *bhakti marga*. From the 13th to the 15th century, preachers of the cult of *bhakti* spread over a very large area, in Bengal, Gujrat, Punjab, Sind, U. P. Central India—almost everywhere. There is no doubt that the ascendent Hindu religious movement of this was the *bhakti* movement, preaching the brotherhood of man and the unity of God-head. Similarly if we look at the popular Muslim religious movements of this period, we find that they are dominantly Sufic movements. It is significant that the popular Hindu and Muslim preachers are stressing those things which promote ideological affinities between their respective followers.

It should again be remembered that national development was not taking place in various regions with the same speed.

Certain areas such as Bengal or Gujrat developed earlier in this respect than the others. Similarly, the pattern of development too was not the same everywhere. In Maharastra, for example, the Muslim domination was weak, and therefore in that area the national development was not based on the fusion of Hindu and Muslim culture. Still the other considerations hold good on a broad plane in that area also.

To resume the theme, let us see how the formation of nationalities finds expression in the cultural sphere. The evolution of a distinctive national culture is clearly visible in the provinces of Bengal and Gujrat. Let us take for example the question of national language and architecture. Bengali language is a living symbol of the unity of Hindus and Muslims in Bengal. The rise of Bengali as a full fledged literature may be said with some truth to have dated from the establishment of an independent Muslim Bengal. The same can be said about Gujrati literature. Similarly, in the realm of architecture, a similar tendency can be noticed. The Muslims had brought with them certain distinct Arab, Iranian and Turkish traditions of architecture, the more important of these distinctive features were: the dome, the arch and the minaret. If we look at the buildings built by the Slave and Khilji rulers we shall find in them an incontinuity, a distinct heterogeneity. But both Gujrat and Bengal in their own way solved the problem of mixing the two styles of architecture. The Muslim and non-Muslim features of architecture have been blended so effectively that each building appears to be a homogeneous whole. The Juma Mosque at Ahmadabad and the Adina Mosque at Gaur are fine specimens of the Gujrat and Bengal styles.

This evolving national consciousness manifested itself politically as well. Just a few examples may here be considered. During the first kingship of Humayun when Askari was made the Subedar of Gujrat, he is reported to have been thinking in terms of independence and Hindu Beg had agreed with him. An explanation of this may be found in the fact that Askari and Hindu Beg may have realised that the Mughal government would have better chances of success in Gujrat if there were an independent Gujrat ruler rather than if he were subject to Delhi. Similarly, during the second kingship of Humayun, he is reported to be thinking in terms of creating 12 semi-autonomous provincial states, while the king himself was to have toured from one centre to the other. We might also consider the abnormal difficulties which Akbar had to face in conquering Gujrat and Bengal as expressions of growing national consciousness.

During the 16th century the coming of a new form of economy accelerated the process of the formation of nationalities. The hitherto submerged growth of national characteristics began to take definite shape.

This new form of economy was the rise of merchant capital in India. In the 16th century trade and commerce developed tremendously. The growth of merchant capital leads almost universally to the rise of commodities, of money values. These effects were noticeable in India as well. The rise of money values can be judged from the fact that in most cases during the days of Sher Shah and Akbar, revenue began to be collected in cash. The developing economic bonds and the improvement of the means of communication consequent upon this, made national demarcations very distinct. It is significant that both Bengal and Gujrat were pioneers in the field of trade and commerce.

Akbar's attempt was to synthesise the growing unity between the Hindus and the Muslims in different national regions into an all embracing unity on an all India scale. He tried to prevent the Mughal Empire from becoming the monopoly of any single race or nationality. Therefore, on the one hand he associated Rajputs, Iranians etc. in addition to the Turks and Mughals in the administration, on the other hand he established a provincial administration under which the provincial nationalities found some scope for development.

But from this very period two opposite tendencies are visible. On the one hand as a result of the rise of merchant capital, of the benevolent provincial administration of the Mughals and the peace offered by the Empire, various nationalities began to take shape; on the other certain Indian and foreign Muslim nobles, fearing that political power may go out of their hands, begin to encourage those tendencies among the Muslims which might keep them apart from the Hindus. Politically this effort manifested itself in the struggle between Saleem and Khusrav or between Aurangzeb and Dara. This section of the Muslim nobility was partly successful in its efforts. Culturally this tendency manifested itself in the rise of the Naqshbandi movement, the movement of Mujaddid Alif-i-Gani, who tried to prevent the fusion between the Hindus and the Muslims and who sought to draw Sufism nearer the fold of Orthodox Islam. It is worth noting that this Muslim revivalism was the strongest in the Punjab.

This section of the Muslim nobles sought to maintain the domination of the central government over the various provincial regions under the slogan of enhancing the glory of Islam.

On the other hand, by promoting conditions for the rise of nationalities, the Mughal Empire helped to generate forces whose rise could only be at the expense of the Empire itself. Thus after a time, the existence of the Empire demanded the prevention of the growth of nationalities. Therefore, the conflict between the Mughal Empire and the various national units was the logical outcome of historical forces.

In view of the fact that the Muslim revivalist section was most concerned with the maintenance of the Imperial unity at the expense of the nationalities, it could easily dominate the Empire and being revivalist in its own ideology, it carried on its work in the name of Islam. Therefore, in the case of dominantly Hindu nationalities, their struggle against the Empire adopted the form of Hindu religious struggle e.g. the struggle of the Maharattas.

It is significant that in the days of Aurangzeb, the Mughal Empire did not have to face individuals or mere dynasties, but national groups, most of whom had developed potential national characteristics e.g. the Mahrattas, the Sikhs, the Rajputs, the Bundelas, the Bengalis, the Jats, etc. To hold Aurangzeb personally responsible for the dissolution of the Mughal Empire is to ignore the basic historic forces. It disintegrated because a number of national groups were striving for independence, and their rise had been facilitated by the conditions created during the Empire. This is the historical significance of the fall of the Mughal Empire.

Thus we find that towards the last days of the Mughal Empire a distinct tendency is noticeable; among people living in geographically contiguous areas and speaking the same language, common bonds are growing and conditions have definitely been created in which as a result of later historical forces (e.g. economic progress and freedom movement) the emergence of distinct nationalities becomes possible.

Of course the development of nationalities has been unequal. It is true that some of these national groups contained germs of future progress, and therefore, economic development and the struggle for freedom helped in their evolution considerably. Certain other peoples, due to economic or political reasons fell into an eclipse, and would arise again under favourable economic and political conditions.

AN ECHO OF THE SIEGE OF JINJEE IN A SANSKRIT DRAMATICAL WORK

(Between A. D. 1690 and 1710).

BY

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Varadaraja, a pupil of Bhaṭṭoji Diksita lived between A. D. 1600 and 1660 or so. He composed a work called the *Girvanapadamanjari* which is a sort of Sanskrit conversational grammar

based on the daily life of a Benaras Brahmin from morn till eve. Dhundirāja, son of Śīrangabhaṭṭa composed an imitation of Varadarāja's work also called the *Girvanapadamānjari*. Dhundirāja appears to have been a Maharashtra Brahmin of the Madhava sect. In his work he appears to have inserted a true story of the previous life of a *Sanyāsin*. This *Sanyāsin* according to the story before us was a Brahmin grandee from *Chanji* in the Karnāṭak. *Chanji* is identical with modern *Gingee*. The story states that this grandee had many horsemen under him besides all types of equipment required for war purposes. He was in the employ of Zulfiqārkhān, the son of Asadkhān the minister of the Delhi emperor. When Zulfiqārkhān went to Karnāṭak, the grandee was in his employ for several days. While enjoying the pleasures of life in the company of beautiful women he paid no heed to the orders of Zulfiqārkhān which demanded the grandee to appear before his master without delay. This disobedience enraged Zulfiqārkhān so much that he sent his commanders with four thousand horsemen, put the grandee under arrest, rebuked him severely and kept him in confinement for four months. The grandee was later released but being stung with remorse he abandoned his family etc. and went to Kurukṣetra or Delhi. There he practised penance for some time and became a *Sanyāsin*. As a *Sanyāsin* he wandered for full twelve years and then went to Benares and there lived in a *Matha* of *Sanyāsins* for about four months. At this time a Benares Brahmin invited him for dinner. At the conclusion of the dinner his host was curious to know the previous life of the *Sanyāsin* and the present story was told by the *Sanyāsin* in reply to the question of the host. The *Sanyāsin*'s story is colourful, vivid and romantic. It appears to be a true story, the details of which need to be verified by students of the Maratha History. The siege of Jinji was conducted by Zulfiqārkhān son of Asadkhān the grand Vazir of Aurangzeb from A. D. 1690 to 1698. The name of the grandee under reference is not recorded in the story. It appears however that this story is not merely fictitious though it is possible to suggest that it was introduced for literary embellishment by our author from his own experience. The identity of the author with the Benares host who entertained the *Sanyāsin* at a dinner is too transparent to be concealed. *Dhundirāja's* work needs to be published, as many Manuscripts of it are available in our Manuscript libraries. It is also necessary to verify the story of this Brahmin grandee of Jinji, which appears to be an echo of the siege of Jinji. Rajaram Chatrapati, the son of Shivaji who was besieged in the fortress of Jinji ultimately made his escape but the display of the Mughal forces under Zulfiqārkhān and his father Asadkhān had captured the imagination of the people of the Karnāṭak to such an extent that it found reflection in many contemporary documents and literature, historical or otherwise. The present story is one such reflection with literary colour and artistry.

IBRAHEEM QUTUB SHAH, THE ORGANISER OF THE QUTUB SHAHI KINGDOM OF GOLCONDA

BY

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Ibraheem Qutub Shah, who reigned for thirty years from 1550 to 1580 A. D., was the third king of the Qutub Shahi Dynasty. He was the organiser of the Qutub Shahi Kingdom of Golconda. When he assumed the reins of the government, the Kingdom was still in the making though his father, Sultan Quli, lived a pretty long life and ruled over the Kingdom for as long as sixty years both as Governor and as independent monarch. Besides, the Kingdom had received an unfortunate set-back during the succeeding reign of his brother, Jamsheed, who had alienated the sympathy of his subjects owing to his abominable character and short-sighted policy. It was Ibraheem who consolidated the Kingdom, externally by his wise foreign policy, and internally, by introducing the civil and military institutions which the Kingdom had hitherto lacked. He applied rigorous measures to maintain law and order throughout the Kingdom. He also rendered valuable services in the domain of art and culture. Still in his teens, he was placed in charge of responsible administrative duties in which he acquitted himself creditably. His flight from Golconda and his exile in the southern Kingdom of Vijianagar during the reign of his brother, Jamsheed, present a thrilling episode of his life which is no less than a romance. He had to pass through many ordeals and had to struggle hard for his own existence before he succeeded in overcoming adverse circumstances and also in seizing the throne of his father.

MAHARAJA ABHAYA SINGH'S LETTER ABOUT HIS GUJRAT CAMPAIGN

BY

MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA PANDIT BISHESHWAR NATH
REU, Jodhpur.

(Introduction).

The letter, reproduced here, was written by Maharaja Abhaya Singh of Jodhpur to his ambassador at the Mughal court, which gives some idea of his campaign against the then Governor of Gujrat.

In 1724 A. D., Emperor Mohammad Shah appointed Sarbaland Khan (Nawab Mubarizul Mulk) as Governor of Gujrat, but in course of time he was compelled by the Maharatta invaders to consent to pay Chauth (fourth part of the revenue of Gujrat) and cede some of its districts to them. This gave an opportunity to Shamsamuddaula, the then minister at Delhi, who was opposed to Sarbaland and he, poisoning the ears of the Emperor against him; got appointed Maharaja Abhaya Singa of Marwar in his place in 1730 A. D. How Sarbaland disobeyed the Imperial orders and what steps the Maharaja undertook to fight successfully with him will be known from this letter. Further, before giving the translation of the letter, I may add that originally this letter was written on the 25th September 1730 A. D., when the Maharaja was encamping at Badas, but was actually dispatched after 7 days from his camp at Kalol near Ahmadabad, hence we find two different dates and two different names of the villages where the Maharaja encamped on his way to oust Sarbaland, the rebellious Governor of Gujrat.

(Translation).

(Upper lines in the Maharaja's own hand writing.....is¹ between the camps. Now we are encamped at Adalach from where we are to chastise the Miyan (Sarbaland) and by the grace of God would shortly kill him. You should rest satisfied and arrange every-thing according to orders. It is our command.

(Seal).

By the grace of Almighty goddess Hingulaj, glory be to sovereign ruler, king of kings, supreme prince, Maharaja Shri Abhayasingh Deva, who shines like the sun on the earth.

Hari, Amba, Shiv, Sun and Vinayak—may these five deities always bestow favours.

(Approval in the Maharaja's own calligraphy).

It is our command.

(Letter).

By the command of the illustrious sovereign ruler, king of kings, Maharaja Shri Abhayasinghji, Bhandari Amarsingh and Purohit Vardhman should note his favours.

Your request has been received and its contents noted. You have requested us for an early march. We have already started and have also intimated to you. Therefore you might have brought it to the notice of the Nawab (Shamsamuddaula—the minister of the Emperor Mohammadshah). An order was issued to Sarbaland Khan to leave (the place) after obtaining the receipt

1. Some upper lines are missing.

of the artillery, etc. (Imperial articles), but he did not like it and therefore, after leaving the place he has encamped in the fort of Kali. His idea of serving the Emperor seems to have undergone a change, hence tell everything to the Nawab. After meting out such punishment as is deserved by a person, who disobeys the Imperial commands, we will send a detailed report to the Emperor. The Nawab should keep himself fully assured. To-day we have camped at Badas, which is at a distance of 24 miles from the enemy's camp. There are some Imperial nobles in his (Sarbaland's) service. Get their jagirs confiscated and if their families are there (at Delhi) get them imprisoned, so that no one may dare help him (Sarbaland). Asad Khan, Karim Khan and Kamaluddin Khan are alert in their services, therefore arrange to send encouraging letters for them as per our orders.

Sarbaland Khan has taken position behind the artillery. If he (Sarbaland) thinks himself a brave soldier, he would come out to fight against us on horseback, and in that case we would be able to kill him within 6 hours. But if he takes shelter behind a protected position it would take some time to get rid of him. Therefore inform the Nawab that as at present we have to maintain large army, so he should arrange for the money. At this time we have a monthly expenditure of 6 lacs and have spent Rs. 10 lacs from our own pocket. Therefore, after informing the Nawab, arrange to send the money immediately. You wrote about the copy of the Sanad of Surat, Tips (Hundis) of the Imperial Khalsa as well as the amount of Raushanuddaula, and of the expenditure along with the remander about two months promise, which has been known. We were about to send the opium, but in the meantime the case of the Miyan (Sarbaland) cropped up. Therefore after dealing with him we would send the same soon. You wrote about giving a Tip (Cheque) of 1500 mohars (gold coins) to Fakir Koki, which has been noted. You should arrange everything according to the orders we would send after reaching Gujrat. You wrote about Mohammad Khan Bangash and Raushanuddaula, which has also been known. You should again write us the detailed news of the place (court). Deliver the petition, enclosed, to the Emperor and the letters to Nawab Khan Dauran, Kamrudin Khan, and Chamberlain Raushanuddaula. It is our command,

Dated the 10th day of the dark half of Asoj (Ashvin), V. S. 1787 (25th September 1730 A. D.).

Camp—village Badas.

Dated (on the reverse) the 2nd day of the bright half of Asoj (Ashvin), (2nd October 1730 A. D.) Camp—village Kalol.

PIRACY .

(An account of Piracy under Shahjahan and Aurangzeb.)

BY

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The neglect of sea-power by the Mughals cost them much. They were never able to secure their seas from pirates. Their ships were not well-equipped to repel the onslaughts of the pirates who were ever on the look-out for Indian vessels laden with riches. They would seem, on the other hand, anxious to seek help from the European East India Companies. Every sort of pressure was brought to bear on their President, resident at Surat, to grant passes for safe conduct of Indian ships sailing to other countries. Even the attitude of the English at Surat could not be sympathetic towards the nefarious activities of the pirates. In view of the mental and physical hardships in the prison, and the financial losses they had to undergo, including the serious menace to the safe prosecution of their trade, they themselves thought it essential to take measures to stop the robberies on the seas. The system of issuing passes was considered the best, though these passes were not always a guarantee against piracy. The pirates belonging to the English nation were requested not to molest the Indian ships furnished with English passes as that was likely to produce an injurious effect on their (English) interests. Moreover, expeditionary ships were sent by the English both from India and England to search out the haunts of the culprits, encounter and extirpate them.¹

The Mughal authorities did not, however, yield to the situation easily. If they were not strong on the sea, they were not weak on the land. They did not sit idle after a ship belonging to India had been subjected to the pirates' raids. They were not slow to inquire about the nationality of the culprits. This known, the government compelled the members of that nation living in India to compensate the sufferers. If a ship was looted by some

1. English Factories, 1642-45. 3.

Ibid., 1646-50, 129, 340.

Ibid., 1651-54, 39.

Ibid., 1655-60, 151.

Ibid., 1661-64, 12-13.

Ibid., 1668-69, 7-9.

Wright, 194-96.

Biddulph, 2-6*

*Cited in Sarkar's Aurangzeb, v, 340.

Englishmen, the President of the English East India Company at Surat had to face a difficult situation. The merchants concerned demanded justice from the Mughal authorities. The latter at once ordered a guard to be placed over the English Factory. The President was taken into custody and asked to make up the loss. Sometimes, the members of the council as well had to suffer imprisonment. If this proved unavailing, they would threaten the English trade throughout India. The English factors at Agra, Ahmadabad, and other places were imprisoned and their goods sealed.

The pirates almost all of them belonged to European nations. They were English, French, Dutch, Portuguese and Swedes. Besides these, there were the Maratha warships which cruised about their newly built forts in the sea opposite the island fortress belonging to the "habshis". Then there were the *Sakans*; they were also notorious for their acts of piracy.¹ But the Maratha and Sakan pirates were not so dangerous as the European ones. The piracy in the Indian seas grew with a corresponding growth of Indian trade.

The Mughal vessels, one of which having a pass from the Surat Factory, were looted in 1635 at the mouth of the Red Sea by Gobb, the captain of a ship licensed by Charles I of England.²

The looting of a Surat merchant-vessel early in April of 1636 put the English to great trouble. As soon as the news of the piracy was whispered into the ears of President Methwold, he went to see the 'governor' (customs-officer). There he had to face the angry looks of the persons who had suffered losses. He returned home and soon found that his house had been placed under guard. A quarrel with the guard was followed by its being redoubled. A few days passed in efforts at compromise. The President, then, went to the 'governor's' darbar. At the end of the proceedings he and his companion found themselves prisoners. They were removed to a close and inconvenient room where 'chindus', a common vermin, allowed them no rest. Their most terrible experience was the 'clamourous swarme of the offended multitude of prae-tenders' which 'they brought upon us'. These people showered upon the two a whole tirade of contemptuous epithets. In the meantime the 'Taufiki', the looted vessel, arrived. Methwold was called before the 'governor' in the darbar where he cross-examined the "nakhuda" of the junk. The English President was not prepared in any case to acknowledge the fault of his own countrymen

1. Elliot, vii, 354.

2. Biddulph.

Cited in Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, v, 340.

But he was helpless to make a stand against the facts.¹ To put further pressure, certain English goods from Agra and Ahmadabad were taken possession of; and the English at Surat complained to the Company that unless the goods at Ahmadabad were released, the 'Discovery' must sail partly empty.² The outcome of all this was that the company had to pay the huge sum of Rs. 1,10,000 to satisfy the demands of the robbed merchants.³ The President and council at Surat decided to send the "Blessing" to search and seize the offenders.⁴

Just upon the heels of this incident came the news of another act of piracy. A Diu junk was looted by some pirates and the charge was levied against the English.⁵ The merchants at Ahmadabad became clamorous for the satisfaction of their demands. The Diu affair brought about, first of all, the imprisonment of the factors at Ahmadabad. They were not to be released until they found sureties. Then, came the order forbidding them to go outside the city walls. They found, moreover, their effects sequestered. At Agra their house was seized and their broker kept under surveillance. They had to suffer in Sind as well; the goods and money there were confiscated. The Diu merchants had petitioned the viceroy for justice and the latter was making enquiries.⁶ The matters lingered on in this way for over a month when the king ordered the release of their persons and goods at Agra, Ahmadabad, and Thatta.⁷

In October of the same year some English pirates again looted an Indian vessel.⁸ The departure of the interested parties to the court of justice frightened the English at Surat.⁹

In 1638, Indian Vessels were plundered and their crews tortured by an English Captain. The English at Surat had to suffer for these misdeeds of their fellow-countrymen. They were kept in prison for two months and could not secure their release before the payment of Rs. 1,70,000 as compensation.¹⁰

A governor would, sometimes, side with the English from selfish motives. He would turn down the petition of a plaintiff

1. English Factories, 1634-36, 232-42.

2. *Ibid.*, 192-93.

3. *Ibid.*, 195-96.

4. *Ibid.*, 247.

5. English Factories, 1634-36, 196-97.

6. English Factories, 1634-36, 278.

7. *Ibid.*, 294-95.

8. *Ibid.*, 315-16.

9. *Ibid.*, 315-16.

10. Biddulph, 2-6.

(Cited in Sarkar's Aurangzeb, v, 340-41.)

when he had his own axe to grind. A Turkish merchant complained in 1639 that he had been robbed by the English. The 'governor' who wanted to use the English for his own ends, refused him a hearing. The Turk appealed to the court. A farman was at once issued to the 'governor' of Surat to compel the English to pay back the losses; but he was to decide for himself whether the Turks' demands were just or not.¹

Two vessels belonging to the company left Swally for Basra in March, 1641. They captured three Malabar vessels laden with cocoanuts etc. Two of the vessels were burnt, 14 of the principal men were taken prisoners, and the rest of the crews were turned adrift in the third without sail or oars. The Malabars petitioned the 'governor' for justice. The latter turned a deaf ear to their clamours as he required the services of the English to undertake the convoy of his junk to Basra. The matter was dropped after a formal warning to the English.²

In December, 1650, Humphrey Morse surprised a Malabar frigate possessing an English pass. The English President at Surat was called before the 'governor' who threatened to write to Shahjahan. The President urged Morse to compensate the losses without delay and to abstain from similar acts in future³ The President and Council however, disclaimed all responsibility for the activities of Morse, and informed the 'governor' that the duty of securing his seas from the pirates lay with the king.⁴

In July 1661, the English at Surat got into some trouble with the 'governor' of the place. They were responsible some years before for the capture of some Malabar ships trading to the port of Surat and this had caused friction between them and the Surat authorities. Now, they had brought a Malabar prize to Swally, and the 'governor' forced them to relinquish their prey.⁵

Some five years after a fresh trouble arose on the seizure of a Muslim ship by some pirates. It ended only when it was known that the pirates were the Swedes.⁶

Since the annexation of Bengal by Akbar till the conquest of Chatgaon in 1666, the Magh and Feringi pirates of Arracan proved a constant terror to the peace and prosperity of the province. They penetrated with their boats into all parts of Bengal and seized upon the inhabitants without distinction of caste, age and sex. Even tiny babes and their mothers had no escape from their

1. English Factories, 1637-41, 107-8.

2. *Ibid.*, 1642-45, 2-3.

3. *Ibid.*, 1646-50, 129.

4. English Factories, 1651-54, 39.

5. *Ibid.*, 1661-64, 12-13.

6. *Ibid.*, 1665-67, 33.

merciless jaws. Like the Huns they perpetrated unheard of cruelties upon their victims. The Feringi pirates would, as a rule, sell their prisoners to the English, French and Dutch merchants at the ports of the Deccan. But the captives under the Maghs were forced to serve on land and do other kinds of service.¹

A letter written from Bombay in 1669 makes mention of the injuries and affronts that the Mughal subjects received at sea at the hands of the Portugese. Aurangzeb flew into rage at this report, and resolved to send a mighty army against them.²

In 1684, a richly laden vessel belonging to a Persian merchant was sailing to India. The six Europeans who had begged their passage in it killed in the gulf of Persia the merchant, his two wives and many other persons. Fifteen of the lascars succeeded in escaping to Masqat. More atrocities were perpetrated by these pirates who made their way to Goa. But on their arrival at Honore they were arrested by the local governor.

Four years later two ships under English colours plundered vessels in the Red Seas.⁴ In 1689, a number of pirates from the West Indies infested the Malabar coast, and looted Indian and English vessels alike.⁵

A ship, belonging to the distinguished Surat merchant, Abdul Ghafur, and containing nine lakhs of cash, was on its way to India in August, 1691. Certain pirates sailing under English colours plundered it near Surat. A guard was placed on the English Factory at Surat and trade was forbidden to them in the country. The embargo was removed, however, when one of the pirate crew, who was captured, proved to be a Dane.⁶

The most notorious of these pirates was Henry Bridgman, alias Evory. He seized off Socotra in September, 1695, the Fath Muhammadi, a richly laden ship belonging to Abdul Ghafur.⁷ Evory rifled the ship of all its valuable contents and took captive a young Muhammadan lady of good family.⁸

Popular feeling at Surat rose to fever heat at the news of the piracy. The angry mob rushed to the English Factory, which,

1. Studies in Mughal India, 123-24; (Translated by Prof. Sarkar from the contemporary Persian account of Shihab-ud-din Talish, in the Bodlein Ms 589).

Manucci, i.e. 371.

2. English Factories, 1668-9, 257.

3. Orme MSS. 117. 291 (Cited in Sarkar's Aurangzeb, v, 342).

4. Madras Diary (Cited in Sarkar's Aurangzeb, v, 342).

5. *Ibid.*

6. Biddulph. 13 (Cited in Sarkar's Aurangzeb, v, 342-3).

7. *Ibid.*

8. Wright, 160.

in effect, had received protection from the Military Commander of the city. A vigorous appeal to the Surat 'governor' for the execution of Annesley and his leading colleagues for this heinous crime received no favourable response.¹

Evory had not long to wait before he committed a new and more startling act of piracy, the capture of the 'Ganj-i-Sawai'. The royal pilgrimship was returning from the 'house of God', containing 52 lakhs of rupees in silver and gold, the produce of the sale of Indian goods at Mocha and Jedda. The captain, after a feeble resistance, surrendered his charge. A number of men were taken prisoner, women were dishonoured and all were stripped off what they had. Several women, to preserve their honour, threw themselves into the sea, and some made an end of their lives with knives and daggers.²

The capture of the imperial pilgrim ship fanned to the fiercest heat the fires of fanaticism in Surat. The conciliation of the popular feeling by energetic action became essential. The 'governor' swept into the common prison all Englishmen of the factory that could fall into the soldiers' hands. Heavy irons were put on all of them and a guard of about 300 men was placed over the factory.³

To Aurangzeb the 'audacious crimes of Evory were calculated to be as a spark introduced into a barrel of gun powder', and he gave way to the most violent paroxysm of rage. The English had, however, got a friend at the court in Asad Khan, the Prime Minister. His advocacy for the English made Aurangzeb withdraw his orders favouring strong measures against them. At last, towards the close of the year, a direction was sent to the 'governor' that the English, the French, and the Dutch should send ships to search for and bring in the pirates or pay the damages sustained by the loss of the 'Ganj-i-Sawai'. The obligation to furnish a convoy was entered into and Annesley signed the bond on January, 6, 1696. The English, however, were not released, due to 'the infinite capacity of Mughal officialdom for circumlocution', till the 27th June.⁴

Soon after a new danger arose in the person of "that grand villain Sivers, commonly called Chivers". He and his associates attacked the native shipping from the Persian Gulf to Cape Commorin on one side and from the same point to the Red Sea on the other.⁵

1. English Factories, 160-161.

2. Elliot, vii. 350-51.
Wright, 162-63.

3. Wright, 163-64.

4. Wright, 174-187.

5. Wright, 191.

But the more dangerous man was "William Kidd, destined in due course to blossom into the most redoubtable pirate who ever besmirched the honour of England".¹ The imprisonment of Annesley and his colleagues at Surat made the authorities at India House realise the magnitude of the peril. The government at that particular time was unable to take direct measures for the suppression of piracy. The idea of sending an expedition under private auspices to encounter pirates in the Indian seas gained ground among certain English nobles. So a vessel named the 'Adventure' was fitted out with considerable armament, and the captain of the ship was Kidd.² Arriving outside Calicut early in 1697 he showed himself in true colours, shamelessly telling his victims that his activities had no motive of private gain but were in conformity with a deliberate state policy.³

His first act was the looting of a vessel owned by a Dutchman of Surat. On February 2, 1697, he plundered the 'Queda Merchant,' 400 tons, with a rich cargo worth 4 lakhs of rupees.⁴ Besides these he captured many ships belonging to the East India Company.

Kidd's fame in piracy attracted many restless English seamen, including the greater part of the crews of the East India Company's frigates, the 'Mocha' and the 'Josiah'. The pirate fleet contained 120 guns, and was manned by about 300 Europeans, the greater part of whom were Englishmen. A "more formidable menace to peaceful shipping in the East could hardly have been created in that day."⁵

In the meanwhile, the 'governor' of Surat, who was friendly towards the English, died. His successor was different from him in every respect. The 'Queda Merchant' affair made a great stir as the plundered cargo belonged to Mukhlis Khan, a principal omrah at the court.⁶ "It was useless to assert that the English were not to be identified with the pirates when stories were being brought in daily of movements of piratical craft crammed with English sea-men, many of whom were actually recognised by the reliable native saillores as former servants of the East India Company; it was equally purposeless to maintain that the marauders were merely outlaws when the pirate commander sailed under the English colours and possessed credentials whose authenticity was beyond dispute."⁷

1. Wright, 197.
2. *Ibid.* 394-96.
3. Wright, 197-8.
4. *Ibid.* 198.
5. *Ibid.* 199-201.
6. Wright, 210.
7. Wright, 208-9.

At last, Annesly received a stern letter from the 'governor' demanding that the English should give guarantees for the clearing of the seas of pirates and that the damage should be paid in respect of 'Queda Merchant.'¹

A fresh upheaval arose in the later part of 1689 when one of the pirates captured a richly laden ship belonging to a Surat merchant, named Hasan Ahmedan. Public indignation rose to a high level and an account of the pirates' act of depravity was sent to the emperor.²

A royal order was issued for the enforcement of a rigid guarantee on the European Company against piracy. They were, moreover, to pay compensation for the robbed vessels or cease their trade.³

On January 2, 1699, a guard of about six hundred soldiers was placed over the Factory house. A similar treatment was meted out to the Dutch and the French. Any communication with the factories by an Indian was punished with flogging.⁴

Gayer, the governor of Bombay, sent instructions to Annesly to refuse to part with any money. He could agree to continue the convoy of the Mocha and Jedda fleets for another year, and to promise to hunt out and punish the pirates.⁵

On January 25, the English yielded to superior force and gave the required security. Before this the Dutch, after a bold show of resistance, had given way. They had agreed to offer security for Mughal ships in the Red Sea, to pay a sum of Rs. 25,000 by way of part compensation. Similarly, the French were coerced to give the required guarantee and make compensation.⁶

In 1703 a Mughal ship, returning from Mecca, was attacked by the pirates off the port of Surat. After a struggle they overcame the resistance of the crew and made themselves masters of the ship. They carried off the richest merchants and set the rest free. The 'governor' of Surat, as soon as he became aware of this, took the English and the Dutch presidents at Surat into custody and threw them into prison. The Dutch had to pay Rs. 5,00,000 and 'another sum of money' was paid by the English.⁷

In September 1704, the Dutch captured 3 richly freighted Mughal ships returning from Mecca. The crew did not receive a

1. Wright, 212.

2. *Ibid.*, 230.

3. *Ibid.*, 232.

4. *Ibid.*, 232-34.

5. Wright, 236-37.

6. Wright, 238-9.

7. Manucci, iii, 487-8.

bad treatment, although they were not to be released unless the Mughal authorities paid back the money taken from them forcibly. The Dutch and the English, who were prisoners in their houses, issued forth from prison, and, with a marked boldness, defying all force, went to the sea.¹ They blockaded the port of Surat and seized upon three barques, laden with valuable merchandise from China, belonging to the Surat traders. Despite all this, Aurangzeb did not seem perturbed and 'rather concealed the insult.'² He instructed the Surat governor to secure the release of the captives on any term. He was forbidden, moreover, to take indemnity-bonds from the European in future.³

The Mughals were not always successful in punishing piracy. For any act of piracy, as we have seen, the European traders in India were held responsible. These traders would often refuse to accept responsibility for acts of piracy attributed to their ships. They would threaten the use of force in resisting the 'unreasonable' demands of the Mughal Officers. This would, sometimes, result in the Mughal Government's dropping the case in order to retain the advantages of the European trade.⁴

NEW LIGHT ON THE RELATIONS OF THE EARLY MUGHAL RULERS WITH THEIR NOBILITY

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In considering the relationship between the early Mughal rulers and their nobility, it is essential to grasp fully the nature of mediaeval Indian nobility. This is necessary because sometimes even in the context of Indian history, the word 'nobility' is used in its European connotation.

The mediaeval Indian nobility was fundamentally different from the European feudal aristocracy. In Europe, the feudal lord was the hereditary owner of land. He kept his own private army and was expected to give military aid to the king. The source of his political power *i. e.* land and private army could be inherited by

1. Manucci, iv, 62-63.

2. *Ibid.*, iv, 141.

3. Inayatullah's 'Ahkam' 17, a (Cited in Sarkar's Aurangzeb, v, 358.

4. English Factories, 1634-36; 189; 192-93;
Ibid., 1651-54, 39.

him. His position, therefore, did not depend solely on the good-will of the king.

The Indian noblemen however did not own land, a factor which made all the difference. Since they were not the hereditary owners of land they depended for their political position on the influence they could wield on the king. That influence itself depended primarily on the military importance of individual nobles, *i. e.* on their military utility to the king. Each empire was founded as the result of a sort of a military alliance between a group of military leaders (sometimes leaders of tribes, and sometimes of heterogeneous groups) and a chief, who was probably the ablest amongst them, to put him on the throne. When that chief became the monarch, and the rule of his dynasty was established, the revenues of different parts of the country were assigned to different nobles. It was essential for maintenance of the political power of that particular group of nobles that the rule of the dynasty which it had placed on the throne, should continue. Because, whenever, the empire of one dynasty was overthrown by another group of nobles supporting a different dynasty, the entire aristocracy which was associated with the overthrown dynasty was likewise swept off the political arena. For examples, the Afghan military leaders had combined to support the Lodis to establish an empire in India. But when Ibrahim was defeated and the Mughals established their own empire, the bulk of the Afghan nobility did not find a place in it. Similarly after the defeat of Humayun, almost all the Mughal nobles lost their positions. Such a phenomenon is almost unimaginable in the history of Europe.

The absence of the system of landed estates was the result of three chief factors--the particular system of economy prevailing in India, the tribal nature of the social organisation of the rulers and the laws of Islam.

The traditional system of economy in India hampered the growth of the idea of private ownership of land by the landlords. The village communities generally, although not explicitly, regarded land as communal property. It was assigned by custom to different families for cultivation. The noble was, therefore, not the proprietor of land, but the revenue collector, who also supervised local administration and gave military aid to the king. The peasants, when they paid revenue, did not do so in recognition of the proprietary rights of the nobles.¹

The social system of the invaders strengthened this idea. The Turks, the Afghans and the Mughals all inherited a tribal culture, as a result of which they did not build up the institution

1. Dr. P. Saran has discussed this question at length in his book, *Provincial Government of the Mughals*, pp. 328-355.

of landed private property in India. The law of Islam with its strong disapproval of the private ownership in land and its conception that all land belongs to God and to the community also contributed to discourage the growth of individual ownership of productive land by one who did not cultivate it himself. It was because of these factors that the tribal social system of the Turco-Mongols did not break down when it came into contact with the agrarian economic system. The peculiar economy of India allowed the tribal system to grow. In the absence of landed property, the nobles did not become attached to any particular tract of land. Their position did not depend on their being in control of a particular territory, but on their military capacity.

The nobles of the early Mughal rulers were military leaders of such a type. They had been assigned *jagirs* and *iqtas* by Babur and Humayun. There were frequent transfers of the *jagirs* of even the most influential nobles by the monarch,² and in the event of the death of a nobleman, his *jagirs* were assigned to other military leaders.³ Thus the position of the Mughal nobles depended on their capacity as military leaders (whether or not of tribes) wherever they went and whatever territory they ruled.⁴

In consequence of the considerations described above, there arose an interdependence of the monarch and nobles on each other. No monarch could remain on the throne without the support and cooperation of his nobles. Similarly, the position of the nobles depended on the influence they could wield over the king.

This interdependence contributed in some measure to another social phenomenon—that of conflict between the king and his nobles. Since the power of the nobles was ultimately a share of the royal power, it could be increased only at the expense of the latter. Hence we find that there is a continuous attempt on the part of the nobles, once they establish themselves in the country, to minimise the control that could be exercised over them by the king. The nobles therefore had an almost universal tendency of resisting the attempts of the king to become all-powerful. The kings on the other hand tried their very best to increase their domination over the nobles.

2. E. g. a single *jagir*, that of Zamindawar, was successively held by such influential noblemen as Tardi Beg, Bahadur Khan Shaibani and Ismail Beg Doldai. *Masirul Umara*, Vol. I, pp. 64, 384, 466.

3. E. g. on the death of Haji Md. Khan, his *jagirs* were distributed, Ghaznin having been assigned to Bahadur Khan. Shortly afterwards, Ghaznin was assigned to Hindal, while on the latter's death, it was given to Akbar. *Akbarnama*, p. 311 et seq.

4. This was amply demonstrated during the flight of Humayun from India, vide A. N. and Jauhar, *Tazkiratul Waqiaat*.

Babur was able to keep under control his nobles although he was socially quite free with them. But in spite of the various attempts of Humayun to increase his prestige and power, he was never really able to become politically supreme. Humayun inculcated certain peculiar notions of kingly glory and divinity so that he might be in a position to raise himself above his nobles. The following examples will illustrate this tendency in Humayun's activities. While in Bengal he is said to have put a veil on his face so as to create a halo of divinity around himself.⁵ Jauhar⁶ tells us another interesting story which reveals this mentality further. While Humayun was retreating from Chausa, a nobleman, Mir Fakhr Ali, happened to come in front of him. Humayun was so enraged that he threatened to punish the noble severely. As a counter-part of this desire of Humayun to raise his social position, we find some examples showing a desire on his part to increase his political strength *vis-a-vis* the nobles. There is, for example, an attempt to re-organise the central government and to classify the nobles according to grades. Khwandmir tells us how he established four central departments,⁷ which was probably with a view to exercise some sort of control over the administration of various parts of the country by the nobles. All these departments were subsequently placed under a sort of prime minister (Amir Owais Muhammad being the first incumbent). We are also told that some sort of grades were introduced among the nobility, which, according to Dr. S. K. Banerji, was the first attempt at the organisation of the *mansabdari* system.⁸ These measures were really intended to increase the dependence of the nobles on the king.

But in spite of these efforts, and in spite of the various attempts at conciliation made by Humayun,⁹ we find that the nobles were trying to become as independent as possible. Kamran, Askari, Hindu Beg, almost every governor had grown practically independent, and Humayun was not in a position to exercise any effective control over them. Towards the close of the first period of Humayun's kingship when it appeared that his fortunes were on the wane, many of his nobles resorted to acts of disloyalty which sometimes even amounted to rebellion.¹⁰ The numerous

5. Badaoni, *Muntakhabut Tawarikh*, Vol. I, p. 446.

6. *Tazkhatul Waqiat*.

7. *Qanuni Humayuni*.

8. Dr. S. K. Banerji, *Humayun Badshah*, Vol. II, p. 366.

9. By means of numerous gifts, distribution of treasures, permission accorded to senior nobles to sit in court, increase in the salary of nobles after the first victory over Afghans, attempt to placate Kamran by giving him Hissar Firoza, or the increase in the pay of Askari's officers during retreat from Bengal. A. N and T. W.

10. Details may be seen in Dr. Banerji's admirable monograph on Humayun. Here are just a few examples: Refusal of Zahid Beg to take

instances of disloyalty, notwithstanding a few examples of devotions shown by some nobles to Humayun, amply demonstrate the fact that Humayun was not able to exercise as much control over his nobles as had been exercised by Babur.

The causes why Humayun was not able to control his nobles effectively and receive their full cooperation are following:—

Firstly, there was the difference between the personality of Babur and Humayun. The latter was not able to inspire faith and awe in his nobles. His defeats increased the lack of confidence in his leadership among his nobles.

Secondly, the task of Babur was to found an empire. Upon his ability to do so depended the wealth and power of the nobles. Therefore, the nobles helped him in their own interest. When Humayun came to the throne, the initial task of founding the Empire had been over. The nobles felt that if they allowed Humayun to become too strong, their own political power would be jeopardised. Therefore, their own political power would depend, they thought, on preventing Humayun from becoming strong.¹¹

Thirdly, the traditions of the Mughals divided the loyalties of the nobles. Although they owed a general loyalty to the ruling house, they were not always loyal to any particular individual. In the absence of the law of primogeniture and due to the prevalence of the Mongol tradition of dividing the 'kingdom' among different sons of the ruler,¹² the members of the Timurid family, or the Mirzas, felt themselves justified in claiming a sort of equality with Humayun. These people refused to realise the gravity of the situation, did not unite and "opposed the central government not as puppets in the hands of nobles but as prime movers in the contest".

The disunity among the Mirzas kept the nobility divided.

up command in Bengal; the designs of Khusrau Kokultash, Haji Md. Khan and Zahid Beg who joined Nuruddin Md. Mirza and offered the throne to Hindal; the refusal of nobles to rally round Humayun when the latter gave the call for battle at Ohaus (T. W.); persuasion of Kamran by Amir Khwaja Kalan to return to Lahore on the eve of the battle of Kanauj; the unpardonable cowardice shown by nobles during the battle of Kanauj (Mirza Haidar, *Tarikhi-Rashidi*). A. N., T. W., T. R.

11. Khusrau Kokultash, Zahid Beg and Haji Md. actually advised Kamran not to go to the aid of Humayun after having crushed the rebellion of Hindal, so as to prevent the Emperor from becoming too strong. A. N.

12. Cf. Division of the Kingdom of Sultan Abu Saeed Mirza, Babur's grand-father, among his sons.

In order to increase their own political power, groups of nobles would some time back up one member of the ruling house, sometime the other. The opportunism of the nobles, which was inherent in their class due to the characteristic nature of its institution, made them side either with Humayun, or with Askari or with Kamran. But they tried their best to support the winning party. Even such devotees of Humayun as Yadgar Nasir Mirza, Hindal, Kasim Husain Sultan Uzbek, Tardi Beg deserted him at one time or the other, while among the officers of Kamran, even a trusted follower like Keracha Khan tried to seek favour with Humayun when the latter conquered Kabul.¹³

This excessive opportunism and adventurism among the nobles of Humayun's reign is not wholly un-understandable. The nobles had not much landed property and could not bequeath their social and political position. There was no guarantee that their sons would enjoy the social position won by themselves. Their position as well as that of their family could be seriously jeopardised if the monarchs were unfavourable to them. Therefore they considered it prudent not to back up the losing member of the ruling family. Defeat tended to disorganise them completely.

A bye-product of opportunism of the nobles was defeatism, i.e. an indecent eagerness to accept defeat in the face of even slight difficulty. This was partly accentuated by the absence of territorial loyalty among the nobles. The loss of any particular tract of land was not vital to their power. They could always hope to win it back, or to conquer some other territory instead. And partly this tendency of the nobles was encouraged by their peculiar class position. In order to build up their class power, they did not give Humayun their full cooperation. When, largely due to the lack of this cooperation, Humayun suffered defeats, they started deserting him. It was only when Humayun's fortunes definitely improved, due to other circumstances, that nobles started flocking back to 'the victorious standards of the world conquering monarch.'

Finally, another social phenomenon might have influenced the action of Humayun's nobles in refusing him full cooperation. That was the beginning of the decay of the village system. The self-sufficient village communities had resisted in the previous centuries the attempts of the state to collect revenue, and the collection of revenue quite frequently required military expeditions. Hence there was a constant use of force, and hence there was greater necessity of state support to the nobles. The village resistance was now weakening because the decay of the village system had begun. This may be judged from two new features. Firstly, efforts were being made to collect revenue from the peasants

individually and not from the headman of the village for the village as a *whole*. This shows that individual cultivation was becoming more frequent and communal ties in the village were breaking down. Secondly, realisation of revenue in *money* instead of in kind was becoming more frequent. This shows that there was a generalisation in the use of gold, probably due to the increase in trade and commerce and the growth of towns. Gold converted the articles produced directly for consumption into commodities and it thus established individual cultivation and weakened the village system. Since the village system was becoming weak the nobles might have started coveting the hereditary ownership of land.

Thus to sum up, the following characteristic features are noticeable among the nobles of Humayun:

They did not possess any hereditary vested interests. They were a heterogeneous crowd¹⁴ and could not combine even to protect their class interests, and they were imbued with a spirit of opportunism and adventurism. Therefore, they were greatly dependent on the king for their political position.

These characteristics led to certain contradictions in the class position of the nobles. These contradictions were as follows:

Since the position of the nobles depended on the King, it was necessary that they should support a king who was favourable to them. But if the king, as a result of their support, became too strong, then their own power would decline (for reasons explained above). Hence when they supported the king, they strengthened the rival of their own power and dealt a blow to their own potential power.

If on the other hand they did not give the monarch their full cooperation so as to secure power for their own class, they undermined the very basis of their strength, *i.e.* if as a result of the lack of their cooperation, the ruling dynasty with which they were associated were overthrown, then they would also lose whatever power they had enjoyed.

In the days of Humayun these contradictions became very acute. The nobles of Humayun did not give the sovereign their full cooperation so that the monarch might not become too strong for them. When largely as a result of this lack of cooperation, and sometimes even of hostility, Humayun started suffering defeats, they deserted him even more. The result was that the Afghan nobility, which had been displaced by the Mughals, took

14. Among the nobles of Humayun were Turanis, Iranis, Afghans, Uzbeks, Mughals and others.

advantage of this lack of cooperation among the Mughals united under Sher Khan and made a bid for the capture of power. They succeeded in defeating Humayun, and with the latter's defeat, the entire Mughal nobility had to leave India and to seek refuge in Afghanistan.

This misfortune made them realise that it was essential to re-establish the Mughal empire in India before they could wield any political power. Therefore, they decided to rally round Humayun. But they made a final attempt to safeguard their political interests by means of a compromise.

The occasion for this arose in 1550. In that year Humayun proposed that all the nobles should take an oath of loyalty to him. They were prepared to do so, but Haji Muhammad Khan (who very likely represented the general sentiment as he was the leader of a group and subsequently became Humayun's *Vakil-i-dar*) demanded that "His Majesty should likewise take an oath that whatever we, his well wishers recommend for his interest, he will consent to perform."¹⁵ Hindal objected to this 'insolence' on the part of a 'servant' but Humayun took the oath.

This compact, if it may be so called, marks an interesting development in Indian Constitutional History. It was an attempt on the part of the monarch as well as the nobles to resolve the crisis. The nobles, by taking the oath, recognised that unless the Mughal monarchy were established, Mughal nobility could not have any power; while the king, if he had to reign, must give full consideration to the wishes of his nobles.

There is every reason to believe that Humayun tried to act up to his promise. Whenever his nobles insisted on anything he generally accepted their advice against his own wishes, *e. g.* his giving up of the project of invading Kashmir, or the punishment meted out to Kamran. Humayun even reprimanded Akbar when his nobles complained about the prince.¹⁶

On return to India, Humayun tried to give a constitutional form to his promise. He planned to divide his empire into a number of autonomous provinces each under a governor. The King himself would not have a force of more than 12,000. The King

15. A. N., Vol. I, p. 302.

حاجی محمد خاں بعرض رسانید بطوریکه حکم میشود همه سؤگند می خورند - لیکن آنحضرت هم قسم یاد کند که آنچه ما "دولتخواهان از عالم خیراندیشی بعرض رسانیم گریه نوجه داشته بعمل درآورند .. آنحضرت... فرمودند که همچنان باشد - هر طور که خاطر حاجی محمد خواهد و از عالم دو تنواهی بعرض برساند آنچنان کنیم"

16. A. N.

was to stay at various centres by turns to keep up the unity of the Empire without reducing the autonomy of the subadars.¹⁷

This plan was intended to provide a solution of two important problems: (a) The conflict between the central government and the nobles; and, (b) the continuous attempt on the part of the provinces, backed up by their provincial vested interests to be free from an overpowering and dominating All-India centre.

But this entire scheme, including the promise given by Humayun to respect the wishes of a united nobility failed. The reasons of its failure were, Firstly, the death of Humayun. Secondly, the presence of serious external dangers to the infant Mughal state, which demanded greater centralisation and the presence of a strong monarch. Thirdly, the serious conflict among the nobles themselves. Fourthly, the growth of trade and commerce which tended to unify different parts of north India. And, lastly, the dominating personality of Akbar which could never tolerate such a compromise. He established a strong monarchy which made nobility completely subservient to itself.

Thus, the relationship between Babur and Humayun with their nobles reveals the inherent contradictions of the early Mughal nobility, and the fact that if it wanted to maintain its social position, it had to surrender its political power.

EARLY PAINTING OF ASSAM

BY

PROFESSOR BIRINCHI KUMAR BARUA, Gauhati.

Summary.

Earliest pictorial engravings are met with in the copper-plate grants issued by the Kamarupa kings of the 10th to 12th century A. D.

The Vaisnavite movement of the 14th century brought about an unprecedented intellectual awakening in Assam in the fields of poetry, art and painting. Religious manuscripts were begun to be illustrated under the fostering care of the Vaisnavite monasteries.

Two illustrated manuscripts of the *Dasama skanda* of the *Bhagavata Purana* are found; one of them dated about 1539 A. D.

Anadi Patan is another beautifully illustrated manuscript of the period.

Under the Ahom's patronage, both the religious and secular paintings began to flourish. *Gita Govinda*, poetical rendering in Assamese of Jayadeva's work was sumptuously illustrated by the orders of the Ahom king, sometime between 1696-1714 A. D.

Ananda Lahari, a Sakta text was illustrated sometime between 1717-1744. The manuscript of *Lava-Kushar Yuddha* of the same period, is full of war pictures.

Among secular manuscripts, *Hastividyanava*, a book on elephantology is a masterpiece of Indian painting. The book was illustrated by two Mahomedan painters in 1734.

(Characteristics of these illustrations, and their relations with Gujarati and Bengali paintings of the period will be discussed in the paper. Folios of the manuscripts will be shown.)

SECTION V

Modern India

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

BY

DR. BISHESWAR PRASAD, D. LITT., University of Allahabad.

Friends,

I am grateful to you for the honour you have done me by asking me to preside over this section. I am fully conscious of my limitations and I crave your indulgence if I fail to perform my task to your satisfaction. My duty is to serve the Indian History Congress and it is not for me to question the capacity in which my services are required.

It is customary for the President to review the work done. I will, however, confine myself to a survey of the main problems of research in the history of this period.

Two important movements mark out the history of modern India, the expansion of British dominion and the rise of nationalism. In the early stages we are faced with the rapid progress of the British empire till it succeeds in enveloping the whole country within its folds. In the later stages more and more prominently comes to our view the rising tide of a nationalism which seeks expression through a democratic self-governing India. The story of these two mighty processes makes up the history of modern India. The task of the historian, on the one hand, is to probe into the factors which made British conquest possible, and on the other hand to analyse the many streams which have united to form the channel of nationalism and have helped to swell its current.

British sway over India has not been merely political. It has reacted on every aspect of the life of our community. The conquest has not only led to the ousting or subjugating of the many independent states which had emerged on the decline of the Mughal Empire, but has effected a far-reaching transformation in the social, economic and cultural life of the country. The new administrative system has

disrupted the foundations of our social structure, the educational system has brought about a cultural revolution and the economic policy has brought changes of great magnitude in the commercial, industrial and agricultural pursuits of the people. Above all, the fact of foreign rule has considerably affected the psychology of the governed and has shaken the very moral foundations of the community. It will be possible to account for the immensity of these changes and the seismic effects of European contact if we examine the nature of political confusion and socio-economic chaos which prevailed in the eighteenth century, and from which have flowed the rapid expansion of British dominion and its attendant consequences.

The surging tide of foreign dominion prompted resistance by the organised territorial sovereignties, but when they were swept away, the opposition was taken up by the people, so that by the end of the nineteenth century a vast popular agitation for national independence developed. This national movement grew out of the clash between the British and Indian political and economic systems. It has been one comprehensive effort for emancipation economic, social, religious and cultural from the dead-weight of imperialism. Its main object has been the establishment of a free democratic state. It has also stimulated a renaissance which aims at the purging of the Indian culture of exotic influences which checked its growth and mutilated its form. The importance, therefore, of this renaissance, of this resistance to an all absorbing alien domination, is considerable for a historian whose duty it will be to analyse the content of this movement, and trace the sources of its main currents.

It must be painfully admitted that so far the work done in Modern Indian history has not touched even the fringe of this vast problem and has failed to interpret the character of these mighty conflicts. The pioneers of modern historical research were some Englishmen of great erudition and scholarship, but who were interested in painting an artistic picture of the glories of British achievement. Some of them have been unhesitating critics of their compatriots, but on the whole the English historians have tried to seek moral justification for British hold over India. Most ingenuously they have tried to establish the dictum stated by Montgomery Martin: "Just as, in the animal world, the struggle for existence results in the survival of the fittest, so in the great struggle of nations,

does the fittest also survive." And they have without a moment's hesitation assumed "the superior fitness of the Englishman, which gives him the moral right to displace these 200 and odd millions of inferior people." They have claimed their "moral right" by declaring that England fulfils her "moral duties towards her inferior subjects." Occasionally one comes across some trenchant criticism of the actions of English administrators here, but excepting such propagandist pamphlet literature of the earlier days, impartial objective treatment of modern Indian history from British writers is seldom available. Generally, they have narrated the achievements of individual governors, and military officers, who were their heroes, and whose policy and doings they have sought to gloss over. This subordination of history to political purpose has prevented them from attempting an objective treatment of the multitudinous problems of modern Indian history. So far as Indian scholars are concerned, the study of the modern period is still in its stage of infancy. Stray works have appeared so far, either on some isolated aspects of administration or on some rulers of provincial states. Work, however, is progressing and new sources of information are being discovered to illumine the dark corners of our recent history. Yet wide fields remain unexplored, various problems seek solution, and diverse aspects require careful examination.

The new political role of the East India Company in the middle of the eighteenth century has found many historians and considerable literature is available on the exploits of Clive, Warren Hastings and other early architects of Company's territorial sovereignty. But similar care has not been given to the contemporary political development and inter-state relationships in India which opened the way for British hold over some of its territories. The politics of northern India centring in the competition for influence and control over the effete Emperor of Delhi, and the contest for supremacy between the Nawab of Oudh, the Rohellas, the Jats and the Marathas culminating in the emergence of Mahadji Sindia as the chief controller of the Delhi throne and jealous intrigues of the English have not yet been fully studied by scholars. They are of fascinating interest to the student of modern history, for in Delhi was set the stage for subsequent expansion of British dominions. Nor has sufficient energy been spent on the study of the aims and policies of Balaji Baji Rao, Madho Rao, Mahadaji Sindia and Nana Fadnis, which

will explain the rise and fall of the Maratha confederacy and the causes of the ultimate overthrow of Maratha supremacy by the British. It is a pity that the great Maratha statesman, Mahadji, has not yet found an adequate historian, and Nana Fadnis has not been deemed worthy of scientific study. A clear undersanding of Delhi politics and thorough analysis of the relations established by Mahadji and his successor with the states of Rajputana and other parts of Northern India and a complete study of the mutual relations of Maratha chiefs are necessary to account for the sudden collapse of Maratha resistance to British power and the rapid establishment of Company's supremacy in the days of Wellesley. We have yet to learn fully of the character of the Maratha confederacy, particularly the precise nature of central authority which kept the various units together and cemented their unity. Light has yet to be thrown on the reasons of the inefficacy of this system to prevent the rise of centrifugal tendencies which destroyed the last Indian attempt to establish a united central authority. The history of these fateful years of the later eighteenth century calls for careful investigation and research.

The expansion of British Empire in the nineteenth century is another subject of engrossing interest. The career of the last of the Peshwas and the absorption of his territories into British Dominion have been treated by Dr. P. C. Gupta and Dr. M. S. Mehta in their books. But the whole course of British advance into the north-east and north-west involving the annexation of Assam and Burma on the one side and the expansion of the Company's dominions upto the Indus on the other is awaiting examination. The historian must find an explanation of the collapse of the Punjab and Sind kingdoms and determine the motives of imperial policy which prompted interest in Afghanistan and the other north-western regions. He has also to account for Dalhousie's annexations. To what extent was the urge for more territories influenced by the new economic ambitions of Britain? Whether the British steam roller was directed by the instinct of preservation or it was the result of greed for dominion and lust of power? These questions have yet to be answered. In this connection reference may be made to the foreign or north-western frontier policy throughout the nineteenth century which has not yet attracted the attention of any Indian historian. The "Russian bogey" born of the central Asian question has to be examined in all its naked reality, and without

prejudice, the bases of British frontier policy have to be determined which led to two major wars with Afghanistan and numerous struggles in the tribal zone. These problems are of intimate interest to our nation, and will, if carefully studied, portray European imperialism in one of its most important sectors.

It is quite natural for us to be inquisitive about the attitude of Indian people to the growing expansion of British Empire here. In these days of growing national consciousness people are eager to know whether the British had an unimpeded triumph over the lands of India or any resistance was offered to their dominion. They have a right to know the character and extent of this resistance. The histories so far written have discreetly ignored this aspect. In addition to the opposition of the rulers of Mysore, the Marathas and other organised states, either individually or collectively, which forms a stirring episode of our history, stray references may be gleaned from the narratives and records of the period which give glimpses of the abortive attempts for organising an united opposition to the alien intruder. In his recently published book, "The Last Peshwa", Dr. P. C. Gupta has hinted at the various intrigues for freeing Baji Rao and restoring him to his lost gaddi. Pt. Bisheshwarnath Reu in his new book "Glories of Marwar" has quoted correspondence of Ranjit Singh which shows the attitude of the Indian rulers at the time. The efforts of Pratap Singh of Satara which cost him his throne, are indication of the feelings of the Princes. But more numerous are the references to the heroic opposition of the Zamindars and other local chiefs in the North-western provinces or the risings of the jagirdars in the Maratha country or Poligars in South India which made smooth progress of British administration impossible. How far this local resistance was related to the opposition of the Indian states and what was the measure of its vigour and extent and to what degree was it connected with the complex upheaval, known as the Mutiny, are questions which scientific research in the records of this period alone will be able to answer satisfactorily. The history and causes of the Mutiny are an important quest for the historian. Unfortunately no Indian historian has yet considered this episode as a subject worthy of his serious study. The origin of the subsequent national movement will remain shrouded in darkness without a clear analysis of the many trends of the Mutiny.

There is one more subject which calls for immediate

attention by the students of modern history. It is the development of British policy towards the Indian states. Lee Warner's unscientific account still holds the field on this important problem. Quite arbitrarily he classifies the periods of its growth and gives fanciful nomenclature to them. His study as well as that of others, both Indian and European, is based largely on an analysis of the Treaties, engagements and sanads and is therefore a juristic interpretation. But every student of history knows that a picture drawn from this source alone is quite incomplete. We have to form our conclusions by reference to the actual practice, for which a scrutiny of the records of the Government of India, residency papers and the unopened archives of the Indian states is necessary. Happily there is no dearth of material, published and unpublished, on this important topic. An examination of the practice in Bengal in the early days and the analysis of the character of control exercised over Oudh long before Wellesley, will reveal that his system of Subsidiary Alliance was no new development but merely an application of the earlier experience gained in Bengal and Oudh, to the Indian states, generally. Elements of later development are inherent in the subsidiary system, and the evolution of paramountcy merely revealed its latent potentialities. Lord Hastings's application of that system has received attention at the hands of Dr. M. S. Mehta, but the no less important regime of Bentinck wherein the theory of suzerainty was restated remains completely neglected. The developments, in theory and practice, in the days of Dalhousie, and the open assertion of Paramountcy involving loyalty and obedience to the crown, as well as the later manifestations of the implications of paramountcy demand close investigation and scientific approach. Much of the material for the later period remains hermetically sealed at present, but even limited sources of information which are available in the Imperial Record Department, or have been published as Parliamentary Papers etc. will considerably help in forming conclusions of abiding interest.

The modern period is not merely an age of destruction and disintegration, it is a period of great constructive activity which will remain the foundation of our future national life. Numerous forces contributed to the release of a vast store of creative energy which galvanised the rise of a multilateral movement for freedom. In its political aspect it aimed at substituting democratic parliamentary government of the Indian people for bureaucratic administration directed from London. In its economic and cultural

aspects it was directed at making the country economically independent and culturally free from the incubus of foreign domination. A study of this comprehensive movement in all its ramifications is a subject worthy of the best historical talent.

Many problems at present baffle the student. Soon after the Mutiny comes prominently to view a sturdy constitutional agitation for political and administrative reforms. It soon grows in dimension and by the end of the century it is accompanied by a secret, violent subversive effort which seeks to uproot the bureaucracy. What are the bases of this national protest and to what date should its origins be traced? Is it possible to integrate it with the pre-Mutiny resistance against British rule? To what extent was the incentive provided by the cultural renaissance of the nineteenth century? Or is the truth to be found in relating it to the Benthamite Philosophy which largely inspired the administrative and political measures of the British Government at the time? What is the contribution of the new English educated community and how far did the political movement merely express its ambitions? These and kindred questions can find their answer only in a critical examination of the politico-socio-economic history of the nineteenth century.

It is not necessary to take serious notice of the opinion that history cannot take cognizance of recent movements for which adequate material is not available. It is true that the Government will not for some time throw open its records which will shed light on its policy towards popular aspirations and agitations. But Government records are not the only source of information. Considerable and voluminous literature exists which includes published papers of the Government, writings of the leaders of the people and periodical literature, and it will easily yield to critical analysis and scientific investigation.

An equally important subject for research is the character and development of the literary and artistic renaissance which unfolds itself in the last century. A number of authoritative works on the history of literature of various provincial languages have been so far published. But the historian is not so much interested in the changes in literary style or technique or literary works. For him the main object is to trace the influence of historical developments and significant events on the content and style of literary productions and to find out how far literature

represents the spirit of the age and aspirations and feelings of the people. The same holds good for art. Scientific treatises on art and literature of the modern period are a great desideratum. For is not the sudden revival of art and literature in the nineteenth century a phenomenon of great significance and considerable magnitude ?

Closely allied with these manifestations of national energy is the mighty movement of religious reform which seeks to transform the whole conception and form of the religious life of the community. Is it not necessary for a student of history to enquire why, and impelled by what forces, in every religion a wave of reform directed at the eradication of medieval superstition and purging the faith of all exotic influence rises simultaneously and reformers begin preaching similar gospel ? Will historical criticism support the claim of foreign missionaries that the impact of Christianity provided the needed incentive for religious progress and that earlier movements like Brahmo Samaj were largely Hinduised versions of the nineteenth century Christianity ? Is there not discernible a strain of unity running through all the new faiths, Brahmosamaj, Arya Samaj and host of others, Hindu and Muslim alike, and is not that directly derivable from the manifest religious activity of the preceding centuries ? If this view is supported by facts will not the dogma of foreign Christian influence on India's religious reformation be seen in its proper perspective. Though histories of the various movements are happily being written, yet a comprehensive survey of the religious reform activity in its proper historical setting is still lacking.

In this connection another problem attracts our notice, namely the growth of communal solidarity. How far back in history do its roots go ? The eighteenth century inherited the process of cultural blending social integration and politico-economic fusion of the two communities, Hindus and Muslims, and continued it further. The common following of many religious sects which had their origin in that period and the similarity of their beliefs indicate interpenetration of religious thought among the people. Sharp differences in their social life and cultural pursuits were being rapidly rounded. Diplomatic relations and economic collaboration did not rest on religious distinctions. Culturally a common system was evolving. Every student of eighteenth century history is impressed by this significant development. Yet the process got

reversed in the nineteenth century when about its close a great socio-political chasm divided them. What social, religious and political factors are answerable for it is a problem for the investigator.

Dr. Datta last year rightly emphasised the importance of the history of the people and pleaded for the study of social history. It is a sign of the infant stage of our historical scholarship that excepting P. N. Bose's haphazard early pioneer attempt to trace the history of Hindu Civilisation under British Rule written in the early nineties of the last century, the attention of historians has not been to this subject. There is no dearth of material for such a study, particularly because a host of European travellers, missionaries, officers and officer's wives have left accounts of their wanderings and impressions of their observations during their long sojourn in this land. The information gleaned from them must be supplemented and tested by a critical study of the literary sources and archival records which are available in vast quantities. The revenue reports of the Governments are copiously replete and meticulously exact in the range of their information on this subject. The social heritage and the effect of the new ideas and environments and more positively of the Government's administrative measures on it are subjects demanding enquiry.

Nor can I omit to mention the importance of the study of economic history of this age for which ample material is available in the Blue Books and records of the Government of India and Provincial governments, besides contemporary periodical and non-official literature. The intimate connection between the land-revenue system, tariff regulations, fiscal policy, transport developments and the prosperity and poverty of the people cannot be gainsaid. But curiously enough our studies in this region are so imperfect that the age old controversy with regard to the incidence of land taxation and its relation to famines or the responsibility of the British Government for the decay of indigenous industries, among many others, are still live issues. It is necessary to improve upon Mr. R. C. Dutt's Economic History, which, with all its merits of a pioneer attempt, lacks scientific precision and comprehensive approach. It is difficult to be content with Baden Powell's Land Systems of India, which though admirably suitable as a guide for revenue officers, hardly satisfies the historian. It is unnecessary to refer to other works of similar nature

whether they deal with revenue system, railways, irrigation or even commerce and industry, which present the appearance of gazzeteers or partisan reports. I wish to take this opportunity of impressing upon my fellow workers the supreme importance of devoting our energies and attention to the economic aspects of our national life which have been considerably affected by the contact of India with the outside world.

History of the connection between European developments, Britain's changing foreign policy and domestic needs with administrative and political changes in India equally needs the attention of the historians.

While adequate attention has not been given to the pre-Mutiny period, the history of our country under the so-called Crown rule has suffered even more from indifference. Indian scholars have not yet mustered sufficient courage to tackle the comparatively recent age. English writers have either produced biographies of Viceroy, governors and military commanders, or written memoirs and accounts coloured by the prejudices of the time. The result is that the entire range of administrative experiments and departmental reorganisations, or of the subtle political devices to meet the constitutional demands remain unexplored and unexamined. Even subjects like local-self-government, development of legislature, scope and extent of central authority and control from London, trend towards federation, structure of provincial and local administration, police and judiciary etc. have not yet been tackled. I need not emphasise the importance of the reign of satraps like Lytton and Curzon, or the experiments in forward policy in the time of Lytton, Lansdowne and Elgin, which call for the earnest attention of a scientific historian. I do not under-estimate the difficulties and handicaps in his way, particularly the drawback of not being sure of treading on solid ground of official records which the Government of India and the Provincial Governments have not yet seen their way to make available beyond 1880 for research. More efforts are needed to exert pressure on the Government to make its records available to the year 1909 at least. Nevertheless, the lack of unpublished records is largely compensated by the vast volume of published official papers, reports, and findings of the enquiry commissions and the varied wealth of non-official literature.

There is one more aspect to which I shall invite your attention. Local histories are an important aid to the

construction of national history. They give colour to the otherwise drab and dull record of general events. But except for Prof. Srinivasachari's admirable History of Madras and the histories of the local dynasties of Madura, Tanjore etc. written under his guidance, I do not believe this subject has yet caught the imagination of the younger scholars. In every province, there are cities or families the study of whose history will easily recompense the labours of any scholar. In this connection I have to point out the lack of histories of even a large number of Indian States, particularly of Rajputana, Central India and the Punjab, which have played no mean part in the events of the past two centuries, and without a correct appreciation of which much of our history will remain enigmatic. May I hope that scholars in the states will take up this subject and fully utilise the state archives which perhaps for long will remain closed to the outside world. I further hope that the Universities will set their research scholars to the investigation of local history of their neighbourhood and thus bring to light a large field of hitherto unexposed history of the nation. For this purpose local records, traditions and manuscripts etc. in private and official custody will have to be ransacked and fully utilised.

I have taken a great deal of your time in surveying the vast field of historical research which awaits the magic touch of historian. I have purposely avoided reference to the work already accomplished, which I have no hesitation in affirming does credit to the writers, for I wanted to essay the extent of the unexplored region in the hope of inviting the energies of younger scholars to these fields. I shall now with your permission say a few words about the way of approach and the need for effort in quest of fresh sources and of availability for research of the material hitherto out of bounds to the scholar.

Till recently people believed "that the central focus of man's attention, in current affairs and historical study alike, should be the state, its fortunes and misfortunes." And because the destiny of the state was generally governed by the actions of individuals, kings, ministers, governors, generals etc., a record of their doings was considered to be the main purpose of history. This view has greatly influenced the writers of histories of our country, particularly of the modern period, and still seems to haunt them, for they are prone to weave the story round a central figure, a Governor-General or provincial chief. The victories of

Clive, the administrative acts of Warren Hastings, the conquests of Wellesley and Hastings, or the stirring episodes of Hyder's life and the brilliant achievements of Madho Rao Peshwa have been painted by them. But these no longer satisfy the present generation which rightly believes that "the central focus of attention should be *society*, not the state." It calls for a new approach. And if the role of history is of "a maker of nations" and their "inspirer", the importance of the history of the people, of our society and its institutions in the modern period cannot be too much emphasised in the present condition of our nation. Nevins says, "The work of historians will be most read when men are roused to a sense of their own dignity, when great events wake them to their most serious and responsible temper." That stage has now been attained by our people. In these days of national awakening full truth which is the only real truth" is what they demand. Will historians fulfil the need?

We must not forget that history is not narrative, a mere chronicle of events. The task of the historian is not "the mere recital of a series of facts and events, but their arrangement in a pattern which illustrates some underlying truth." A historical work is "important by virtue of its ideas; that is its interpretation. While analysis of historical evidence is an important process, the synthesis or interpretation is a much more vital element." Great ingenuity, industry and judgment are required in collecting all the authentic and relevant facts, which have to be assorted and classified and explanation of their significance set out. But the historian's work does not end there. He must synthesize his material so as to discover some dominant idea, "some concept which governs the whole of it." Unfortunately many of our scholars have failed to get beyond the primary stage of analysis and are generally lost in the wood of multitudinous events and minute details gleaned from official records. Their vision becomes narrow and they are unable to rise above the thickets they are exploring to realise "the trend of the terrain—the significance of the valley, or the mountain range of which the thickets are a part." It will continue to be so till official records remain our sole basis of information, and accounts of official doings and individual events our main purpose. We must not forget, however, that the history of India is one continuous story of the many vicissitudes of the life of the Indian society. Every event has value only as it is integrated in this general scheme of things Indian.

The central fact of modern Indian history is the impact of the west upon India—a powerful socio-economic and politico-cultural conflict. No other basis of interpretation is, therefore, possible but that of explaining events with reference to this all important motif of our history. English historians have been apt to consider events from the point of view of the interest of their Empire. Their histories, therefore, must in the nature of things be biased and lacking in objectivity. A similar but contrary trend is discernible in many histories written by Indians which go under the name of national histories. But the task of a scientific historian is to examine events in the light of their reaction on Indian society as a whole, of their effect upon the destiny of the people and the development of their institutions. This is the only real criterion of historical judgment and all our criticism must conform to it. National history, if this phrase has any meaning, can imply merely the history of Indian people written with reference to the total development of their social, economic, cultural and political life.

Modern historical work rests upon the basis of books, whether manuscript or printed, public archives and collections of private papers. A critical and exhaustive study of political transactions is not possible until Government documents are available. Similarly the role of personalities in any movement or conflict can be examined only with the aid of letters, memoranda and diaries of individual leaders. Modern Governments of Europe and America have done a great deal in collecting, arranging and throwing open their official records. The Government of England by creating the Public Record Office in 1833 established a central repository for archives which was open to all students of the past. Moreover the Parliament had appointed a Record Commission in 1800 whose duty it was to examine records, publish lists of documents and make calendars. When it ceased work in 1849, the Queen appointed a Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts to enquire as to the existence of private manuscripts and papers. Similarly noteworthy are the French national archives in the Hotel de Soubisse at Paris, the German Reichsarchiv at Potsdam and the national archives at Berne and the Hague even in the smaller countries like Switzerland and the Netherlands. The recent construction of the National Archives Building of the United States at a cost of 12 million dollars has provided a monumental home for the records of that country. The facilities available to a student there were

recorded in the first Archivist as follows : "These beautiful "Search Rooms" well lighted, air-conditioned and furnished with comfortable desks and chairs are provided for the use of students. Around the walls of these rooms is open shelving for approximately 50,000 books,..... If he wants this material copied by other methods than pen or typewriter, reproductions can be made for him by photostating, photographing, microfilming or multilithing processes." These governments have also extended aid to historical study by publishing historical texts-chronicles, annals, collections of letters etc. and selections from their official records particularly for the formative periods of national life. Who is not familiar with Vom Stein's enterprise, the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* which had attained its 125th volume by 1925, or Guizot's plan of collecting unpublished documents in French history, the first volume of which was published in 1836 and whose work was taken up in 1881 by the *Comitades Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques* which has published more than 300 volumes. The *Monuments Historia Patriae* of Italy, the publications of the *Archeographical Commission* (1835) of Russia which had published the old Muscovite chronicles or the *Royal Academy of History* of Spain and *Royal Historical Commission* of Belgium or the famous *Rolls Series* of England, before the last war, are a testimony to the efforts of European governments to promote the study of historical records. Learned societies and enterprising publishers have also rendered substantial help in this direction. The names of *Camden Society* of London, *Hakluyt Society* and *Pipe Rolls Society* are remarkable. Their united labour of providing source materials for historical study has resulted in the collection of official papers, manuscripts, letters, diaries etc., the publication of lists, calendars and volumes of documents, and the editing of annals and chronicles.

But very limited progress in this direction has been made in our country in spite of the vast wealth of historical sources, which include the records of the Anglo-Indian government, the valuable collections of official papers and records in the Indian States and a large mass of private papers, official documents, and periodical literature in the possession of individuals. Yet even the records of the British Indian Government are not available at one central place in India and no effort has been made to secure the Indian records or their copies from London, Lisbon, Paris or Leyden. The Imperial Record Department does not

contain the records of the earlier days for which a student has to look up to Madras and Calcutta. Many valuable papers still lie scattered in a state of comparative neglect in the district courts, divisional commissioner's offices, residencies, and High Courts. Not all the Provincial governments have organised record rooms. Repeated demands for the centralisation of pre-Mutiny papers in the United Provinces, Bihar or Bengal have met with little encouragement from those local governments. Only a few Indian States have yet realised the value of establishing proper Record offices, which may be open to research students. This diffusion of the source material and its non-availability for purposes of research have been potent factors in the slow progress of our historical study. There is need of establishing a central repository of archives, which will treasure the vast mass of historical sources and cultural heritage of the nation. Then alone can historical research proceed effectively. The records should be centralised in the Imperial Record Department which should become the National Archive, and all papers bearing on the story of the nation should be separated from the records of merely local or provincial interest which might continue to remain in the Provincial or State Record offices. The scandal of district courts possessing historical records must immediately cease. To this National Archive should be attached a National Library similar to the British Museum or the Bibliotheque Nationale.

The Imperial Record Department has opened its records only upto the year 1880 for bonafide research. It has also adopted a scheme of indexing its papers and publishing selections of some of the earlier records. The publication of selections from Records, or Calendars of Persian Correspondence, and the recent scheme of publishing correspondence between London and Fort William and some other papers relating to the eighteenth century are healthy beginnings in the right direction. Yet much remains to be done. The series commenced by Forrest of Selections from State Papers in the Political Department should be continued further so as to cover the important periods of Wellesley, Hastings or Bentinck and Dalhousie. Selections from papers in other departments, particularly Revenue, Public Works, and Finance will greatly help the study of administrative development. The time has also arrived when the records upto 1919 should be available for research. When confidential and current records have been separated there is no purpose in restricting access to the historical records till 1880 only.

The example of the governments of Madras and Bombay in publishing some of their most important records relating to the earlier period, such as the Madras Old records or Selections from the Peshwa's Daftar or Poona Residency Papers, ought to be emulated by other provincial governments in order to bring to light the records maintained by them. More effort has to be made for the discovery of private papers. The scheme of Regional Surveys sponsored by the Indian Historical Records Commission must be pushed forth with vigor by the governments, learned societies, universities and private individuals. It is the duty of the Government here to set apart adequate funds for the publication, editing and calendaring of historical texts, chronicles, official papers, private letters, diaries etc. The publication of this valuable source material will greatly stimulate historical study. The Indian History Congress should consider whether it should not now undertake this work and prepare a plan for coordinating the publication of source material between the governments and learned associations.

Apart from official documents, there is extensive literature particularly of the nineteenth century, which is awaiting scrutiny. The periodical literature of that time is a considerable source of information. I may here refer to the valuable work being done by Mr. Kasim Ali Sajan Lal in bringing to light the Urdu newspapers of the mid-nineteenth century. Similar newspapers in other languages should be tackled by other scholars. So far very few private diaries, or chronicles have been discovered or published. The letters of the Indian leaders also require search. This work can be undertaken by learned societies, and the work of Bharat Itihas Samshodhak Mandal or Bangiya Sahitya Samiti should give stimulus to others. Only by an earnest nation-wide drive can our sources of modern history be brought to light and saved from destruction which unfortunately has been the fate of so many. Our efforts in these directions will blaze the path for others.

The last two centuries are the great formative period of our national life. A correct history of our society, its institutions and vicissitudes will lay the solid foundation of our future progress. Indian historians have a sacred duty to perform. Their mission is to inspire the nation and direct its path to a glorious future. Only by their scientific attitude and devotion to truth will they justify their role.

A SUMMARY OF THE ANGLO-FRENCH DISPUTES
IN BENGAL DURING THE ADMINISTRATION
OF CARTIER (DECEMBER, 1769—
APRIL, 1772).

BY

NANI GOPAL CHOUDHURI, M. A.

Before the Battle of Plassey (1757) the Nawab was the supreme ruler in the country and both the English and the French lived side by side in Bengal on equal footing. But after the battle the English became the *de-facto* ruler and the Nawab became a mere figure-head. Consequently the French lost their former status of equality with the English in the Country. Moreover by the Treaty of Paris (1763) the military power of the French was crushed and hence they could not resist the English aggression.

Many commercial and political disputes arose between the English and the French. In Chandella the French factory was demolished at the instigation of the English and this shows that the English did not look upon the extension of the French Commerce with favour. In Ceded as well as in Diwani Lands the French found difficulty in realising the money advanced to the weavers who were given protection by the English.

Some political disputes also occurred between the two nationalities which called for an interpretation of the International Law. Once an English regiment entered into the French territory of Chandannagar despite, it was alleged, the resistance given by the French guards at the gate. A Court Martial was instituted by the English to decide the case. But the French questioned the authority of this Court to decide such a case. On another occasion a French ship anchored at Budge-Budge where the English had a fort. The English doubted whether the French possessed under the Treaty of Paris (1763) any right of anchoring ships in front of an English fort. This led the king of England and the French Government to appoint Sir John Lindsay and M. Law Lawriston respectively to enquire into the Anglo-French disputes.

TIPPU'S ENDOWMENTS TO THE HINDUS AND THE HINDU INSTITUTIONS

BY

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Writers on TIPPU can be said to be of three schools. The first school led by the foreign writers like WILKES assert that Tippu was an unmitigated Muslim fanatic as Aurangazib or even worse. To the Second School of writers belongs Mr. S. N. Sen who, commenting on Tipu's Letters to the Swami of Sringeri Mutt in the Indian Antiquary Volume 48 (Page 102), writes "Tippu tolerated the practice of Hindu Religion within his own territory and became popular with all his subjects, but the same toleration was not allowed to the population of the enemy countries by the zealous Mohammedan ruler of Mysore." The Third School of Writers say that since his letters to the Sringeri Mutt date from 1791, Tippu came to have certain amount of faith in Hindus in the later part of his reign only as a result of his faith in the efficacy of Hindu ceremonies of incantation etc. to destroy his enemies which became from 1791 his one obsession. (Vide the article on "Side Lights on Character of Hyder Ali and Tippu" by Dr. S. Krishnaswami Iyengar published in the Hindu dated 2 April, 1939.)

But these writers have not gone deep enough into the matter, which, if they had done, they could have found out that Tippu from the very beginning of his rule was as sympathetic and faithful to the Hindus as to the Muslims. The numerous charities and endowments he made to several Hindus and Hindu institutions are given below :—

1782. (i) An order directing Haridasayya, Amildar of the Baramahal Territory to resume for the Sarkar, all the lands and franchises, except Devadayam and Brhamadayam (Temple and Brahmin Endowments). (Vide Baramahal Records section V Page 39).

(ii) The grant of Kothanuthala, a village in the present Cuddapah District, to one Ramachar, son of Komachar, for the puja of the Anjaneyaswami temple of Gandikota. (Local Records Volume IV, Page 434).

(iii) A Maharatta Sanad issued to his Amildar Konappa directing him to allow the Swamji of Pushpagiri Mutt to enjoy the revenues of Thongapalli and Golapalli. (L. R. Volume IV, Page 474).

(iv) A Sanad ordering the continuation of usual worship of Venkatachalapali temple and restoration of the discontinued puja of Anjaneyaswami temple at Pulivendla in the Cuddapah District. (L. R. Vol. IV, Page 280).

(v) Grant of Gattupet Agraharam as "Serva Manyam" for the expenses of Narasimhaswami temple of that place at a lesser rate than in his predecessor's time. (L. R. Volume IV, Page 289).

1783. (i) An Agraharam grant to Himakuntala Lakshminarasimha Somayyaji and five other in the South of the village of Potladurthi, Kamalapuram Tq. (L. R. Vol. 2, Page 294-95).

1784. (ii) A Sanad granting Venktampali Agraharam to Venkatachala Sastri and a number of Brahmins requiring them to dedicate their time praying for a length of his life and prosperity. (B. R. Vol. V, Page 135).

(ii) On Baba budangiri, there is what is called Dattatreya Peetah. An inscription referring to Tippu's restoration of twenty villages given originally by the Kings of Anegondi to the Pettah. (Mysore Archaeological Report of 1931, Page 21).

1785. (i) A Grant to Naraswami Temple of Melkota of 12 elephants sent through the naik Srinivasachar (S. R. 77, Vol. 3 of Epigraphia Carnatica).

(ii) Grant of Chintagunta to Krinampatu (L. R. Vol. 3, Page 32).

1786. (i) Grant of kettledrum to the temple of Narasimhaswami of Melkota. (Mysore Archaeological Report of 1916, Page 39).

(ii) A Sanskrit verse in Canarese script recording the grant of lands to the temples and Brahmins on the banks of Tungabhadra. (L. R. Vol. 24, Page 16).

(iii) Grant of village of Ramakrishnam Botlupalli as shotryam to Ramakrishnam Botlu. (L. R. Vol. 3, Page 31-32).

1787. Grant of permission for the construction of a Mosque on the side of a Hindu temple got from the Brahmins with their goodwill. (Mysore Archaeological Report of 1935, Page 61, and the History of the Reign of Tippu Sultan by Colonel Miles).

1788. (i) A Maharatta inscription ordering Asuf Mohamed to continue the enjoyment of the Villages of Oballapet and Koppolu to Rangacharlu and Sumati Srinivasacharlu together with other allowances. (The Inscriptions of Madras Presidency by Rangachari, Cud. 364).

(ii) Continuation of all manyams to Chennakeswara-swami Temple of Machunur. (L. R. Vol. 2, Page 275).

(iii) A Sanad of Tippu granting hereditary annual

pension of ten pagodas to one Narasimhajoshi, a panchangi. (B. R. Section 18, Page 98).

(iv) Continuation of grant of life pension to Rama Pandit, a physician, (B. R. Section 18, Page 98).

1789. Grant of pension to Venkannachari and Srinivasa Moorthi Achari (B. R. Section 18, Page 111).

1790. (i) A Canarese Inscription recording Tippu's grant as Inam of Kamalapuram to Lakshmikanthachari (L. R. Vol. 10, Page 258).

(ii) An order of Tippu to Haridossiah, Amildar of Baramahal, directing the restoration of the land attached to the Devasthanam of Chandramowliswara in the village of Kaveripatti for the purpose of Paditharam and Dhiparadhanam on the representation of the fact by Sankarayya Pujari of Salem District, with all the produce that may have been collected from it in the interim, agreeable to the established custom. (Baramahal Records Section 5, Page 116).

1791 to 1799. *Letters to Sringeri Mutt.* 1. (1792) Supply of men and money necessary for the reconstruction of the Saraswathi Idol pulled out during the Mahratta raid of Mysore (Mysore Archaeological Report of 19, Page 74).

2. 1793. A letter to Sringeri Swami requesting him to live in his country only and pray to God for the increase of his prosperity.

1782-92. Directing that 1/64 of the grant made to Anandabhatt Gopalabhat of Anayam Pettah must be used for the maintenance of Lakshminarasimha Pagoda of that village. (Baramahal Records Section V, Page 10).

(ii) Presentation of a Dutchbell (carried from the Christian churches of Malabar) to Venkaramana Temple of Nagar (N. R. 78 Epigraphia Carnitica Part II, Vol. VIII).

(iii) Presentation of a jewelled cup (Silver) to Sri Kanteswara Temple at Nanjangud. (Mysore Archaeological Report of 1918).

(iv) A proverb in vogue in Kanakala of South Canara District 'Tippu Sultan Ale Ruppe' in referring to the silver jewels that Tippu presented to Veera Hanuman Temple of Kanakala.

(v) Babayya Durga at Penukonda and the Durga of Sayyad Salar Masul Sahib near Tonnur (Mysore Archaeological Survey Report of 1939, Part II, Page 27).

(vi) Pervali Kyfit—During the rule of Tipu, the temple of Sri Ranga of that village all the daily, annual and other periodical pujas, festivals, processions, worships, will all facilities and privileges provided for everyone connected with that temple

according to traditions and all the court officials personally supported all the performances of the pujas. (L. R. Vol. 40, Page 462-463).

(vii) In Tipu's time, the idol was installed in the Prasanna Venkateswara temple in Uratur in Kommaditima and provision was made for the expenses of the daily worship of and inam lands were granted to Archakars and other servants of the temple (L. R. Vol. 10, Page 180).

(ix) On Bababudangiri there is what is called Dattatreya Peetah. An inscription referring to Tipu's restoration of twenty villages given by the kings of Aregundi to the Mutt. (Mysore Archaeological Report of 1931, Page 21).

(x) Tipu's Sanad for an annual allowance of 85 chakras to the two Pagodas of Lakshminarayana and Somasundaraswami of Doulatabad (Baramahal Records, Vol. 22, Page 8).

"THE RIGHT OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT TO REGULATE SUCCESSIONS TO THE NATIVE STATES OF INDIA."—(1864-1868).

BY

DHARM PAL M. A.,

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(Summary)

The "Doctrine of Lapse" as applied on a large scale by Lord Dalhousie was responsible to a large extent in alarming the rulers of the Native States of India. Hence after the suppression of the Mutiny the right of adoption was conceded to them. Lord Lawrence was called upon to decide the question of successions to Cashmere and Hyderabad. Mararaja Runbir Singh of Cashmere had a son who was in very delicate health; if he died there would remain no issue of Maharaja Golab Singh to succeed to the territories of Cashmere and Jamoo. Only one son of Moti Singh (son of Dhian Singh—the brother of Golab Singh) was alive. The Maharaja requested Lord Lawrence that in the event of his death without leaving natural issue and without adopting an heir, the British Government should recognise the succession of collaterals (*i. e.* the son of Moti Singh). A heated controversy took place in the Governor General's Council over this question. Lord Lawrence, in whose view the Hon'ble Mr. Taylor and Sir Richard Temple concurred, were in favour of granting this request, subject to the condition that,

in the event of an un-adopted collateral succeeding, a Nuzzurana of a year's revenue of the State should be paid to the British Government. Lord Lawrence expressed the opinion that "the concession now asked is, in reality, no great extension of the boon conferred in 1860. The Maharaja had now the right of adopting any descendant of Throv Deo, and while it is but a small matter to promise to recognise, under all circumstances, as a right what the Maharaja or his successor can at any time secure by adopting an heir, the concession would be most agreeable to the feelings of the Maharaja, who like most Native Chiefs, has an aversion to adopt until the last hour; and it would be an assurance to him that under no circumstances has the British Government any desire for the annexation of his territories."¹ Sir Henry Maine, with whose views the Hon'ble Mr. Strachey and Sir William Mansfield concurred took up a different attitude—"It certainly seems to be a very serious thing to promise the succession to un-adopted collaterals."² Sir H. Maine was of opinion that it was not wise on their part to encourage such a tendency since by the right of adoption the British Government got an opportunity of managing the affairs of the State during the minority of the adopted heir. "One very unfortunate result of diminishing inducement to Hindu Princes to adopt will be that minorities will obviously become much rarer. An adopted successor is almost invariably a child; a collateral successor will almost invariably be a grown up man. It seems to be generally admitted that there is no happier episode in the modern history of Native States than the minority of the Chief. The British Government temporarily assuming the administration in a tutelary capacity, secures for the young Prince the best education available and for the people the best possible combination of Native and British Institutions, without exposing itself to the suspicion of intended annexation, and without placing itself under the temptation to go too far in anglicising the country. No body denies that the best governed Native States owe their superiority to a minority wisely dealt with."³ Sir Stafford Northcote, the Secretary of State for India did not approve of the policy of Sir John Lawrence. He agreed to sanction the adoption of a collateral by the Maharaja but he was not prepared to go further than that.⁴

1. Political Despatch from Government of India to Secretary of State; No. 131; 8th August 1868.

2. Sir H. Maine's minute dated 4th August 1868; Pol A Proges, No. 103; August 1868.

3. Political Despatch from Sir Stafford Northcote to Government of India; No. 181; 30th November 1868.

4. Note by Sir H. Maine dated 18th July 1868; Pol A Proges; No. 98 D; August 1868.

The question of succession to Hyderabad also led to an interesting discussion as to the amount of discretion to be allowed to a ruler of an important state in nominating a successor. The Nizam Afzol-ood-Dowlah had no sons but daughters; one of them was married (she was in the family way and if she gave birth to a son, he would not according to Muslim Law, be his heir). The Nizam had one brother and two paternal uncles, but he was not on good terms with his brothers. Was the Nizam to be allowed to nominate his successor, passing over the next heir or heirs? Mr. G. U. Yule, Resident at Hyderabad was strongly of opinion that "to allow such a selection would be unjust to the heirs and most inexpedient in itself, for the knowledge that the Nizam had our sanction to order the succession as he pleased would cause incessant intrigues and disturbances."¹ The Government of India agreed with the opinion of the Resident and gave him the following instructions:—"If the Nizam sets aside the succession of his brother, the selection should not be allowed."² Sir Charles Wood, the Secretary of State for India approved of the course of action followed by the Government of India.³

"BEGINNINGS OF MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION IN THE PUNJAB"

BY

VIDYA DHAR MAHAJAN

Synopsis

The growth of local self government in the Punjab is evolutionary. The first municipal committees were set up at Simla and Delhi under the Act of 1850 (XXVI). At other towns, there were local committees entrusted with the work of sanitation and police. This system was working till 1860 when the Punjab Government was required to inform the Government of India as to how the system of local self government had worked so far in the country.

1. Letter from Resident at Hyderabad to Government of India 8th March 1864; No. 66; June 1864.

2. Letter from Government of India to Resident at Hyderabad dated 7th June 1864; Pol A Proges, No. 68; June 1864.

3. Political Despatch from Sir Charles Wood to Government of India, No. 8; 3rd August 1864.

The Government of India examined report of the Lt. Governor of the Punjab and made its own suggestions regarding improvements to be made in the future. The Governor-General invited the opinions of the Punjab Government and its experienced officers.

The Memorandum of Mcleod, Financial Commissioner, is a great landmark. He advocated the grant of substantial powers to the local bodies. He wanted the official control to be as little as possible. He warned the Government against the policy of treating the Indians like "children" or imbeciles." He wished the local bodies to grow from below and not from above.

The Lt. Governor of the Punjab passed a resolution on April 2, 1862 in which he gave the details of the system of municipal administration to be set up in the province. According to these instructions, municipal committees were set up all over the Province. There were variations from city to city as regards the total membership of the committees, qualifications of voters, system of voting and the quorum necessary for the conduct of business etc. The Judicial Commissioner was doubtful regarding the success of the committees. They were created hurriedly in very large numbers. He asked for caution.

The Lt. Governor reviewed the situation in 1863 and expressed satisfaction at the establishment of municipal committees in 37 towns. He suggested the necessity of rules to regulate the work of committees to save them from the danger of extravagance and waste of time. After this, more municipal committees were set up every year. This system went on till 1867 when the Punjab Municipal Act of that year legalised the municipal committees which had been created by executive orders and also put the whole system on a regular footing.

A BRIEF SUMMARY OF THE CIRCUMSTANCES CONNECTED
WITH THE ACQUISITION OF THE NORTHERN CIRCARS
BY THE GOVERNMENT AND THE PART PLAYED
BY KANDREGULA FAMILY.

(Zamindars residing in Rajahmundry).

BY

KANDREGULA JAGANNATHA RAO GOPAL RAO,
Advocate and Landholder, Rajamundry.

1. This paper is connected with the History of the Northern Circars during the period between 1750—1800. Some original

letters, Sunads and Persian Firmans already published in the Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society Rajahmundry and some of those which have not been published also have now been exhibited in the Historical Exhibition.

2. My great ancestor Sri Rajah Kandregula Jogi Pantulu alias Srinivasa Jagannadha Rao Bahadur of Rajahmundry Circar acted as the Amabassador and obtained for the Government the Northern Circars and the following is a brief summary of the circumstances connected therewith. Here I have noted in this paper the references on which I have based and narrated the events.

3. The English captured the town of Masulipatam in the year 1759, when the Honourable George Pigot was the Governor of Fort Saint George.

The Company was contemplating to acquire the Northern Circars, and therefore it required the Madras Government to try to obtain Sunnads for the Circars. Accordingly orders were issued to Chief at Masulipatam to carry on negotiations with Nizam Ali, the Navab of Hyderabad.

4. The Company saw that the family of Kandregula Jogi Pantulu was having much influence both locally in the Circars and in the Court of the Nizam.

Jogi Pantulu was confirmed by the Nizam as the Muzumdar of the Rajahmundry Circars as the successor of the maternal grant-father's line. He was afterwards appointed as the Sir Sheristadar also for the Circars. He was then granted all the emoluments attached to the offices and he was conferred the titles of Rajah and Bahadur. The appointments and the granting of the emoluments etc. have been circularised by means of various Firmans to all the Zamindars and officers etc. by the Navab.

5. Having learnt that Jogi Pantulu was granted the offices of Muzumdari and Sir Sheristadari, by the Nizam, the Honourable East India Company confirmed the same by means of a Sanad of the President and Council of Fort Saint George.

6. Robert Palk the Governor of Fort Saint George addressed a letter to Kandregula Jogi Pantulu in accordance with the wishes of the Company.

"You are appointed to proceed to

Vide :—

Guide to the Records
of the Masulipatam Dt. Vol.
I—378.

D/ 9-12-1763.

Judgment Order.
Original Persian.
Firmans Originals
Persian.

The translations
have been published
in the journal in the
Andhra Historical
Research Society
Vol. VIII,
Part 4.

Vide :—

(2) Guide to the records
of the Masulipatam Dt.
Vol. I—379.

Nizam Ali's Court and to negotiate with him the Company's renting of the Circars of Ellore, Mustaphau Nagar (Kondapalli), Ra'jahmundry, Murtasan Nagar (Kondaveedu in the Guntur District) and Chica-cole.....".

7. John Pybus, the Company's agent at Masulipatam corresponded with Kandregula Jogi Pantulu in this connection and instructed him from time to time by means of a number of letters. Their dates are noted in the margin. The following is a summary of the negotiations conducted by Jogi Pantulu, according to the instructions. The letters of John Pybus have been exhibited in the Historical Exhibition and some of them have been published in the Journal referred to in the margin :—

- (ii) Journal, A. H. R. Society, Vol. II
Parts 2, 3 & 4.
Dated 13-11-1764.

Vide :—

- (i) Guide to the records of the Masulipatam Dt. Vol. II—481 & 149.
(ii) Journal A. H. R. Society, Vol. III—2, 3 & 4, IV—1 & 2.

Dated 17-11-1764,
24-11-1764,
17-12-1764,
16-1-1765,
17-6-1765,
23-6-1765,
24-6-1765,
28-6-1765,
30-6-1765,

8. (i) The first mission of Kandregula Jogi Pantulu to the Durbar of Nizam Ali failed to obtain for the Company the 5 Circars on rent for at least 5 years.
- (ii) So, a second attempt was made by sending him again with instructions to get something for the Company by some means or other.
- (iii) This time he is directed to visit the court as an ambassador with no special mission, but only to offer the Company's presents in furtherance of the Company's friendship. Jogi Pantulu is instructed to obtain information about the Circars to be taken on rent and to ascertain the amount attached to each. He is also instructed to negotiate if Nizampatam Districts are also to be rented as they are required for trade.
- (iv) If the whole Circars cannot be obtained, he is advised to try for the grant of a Jagir of certain villages on the borders of the Guntur Circars for the assistance that may be offered to the Amuldar who will be taken in to manage the Districts. Something or other must be obtained,

- (v) He is warned that Hussain Ali is moving to the court and that he may create difficulties.
- (vi) Kuckun-ul-doulah may be approached and told that the Chicacole circar—being constantly impoverished by Wars and struggles with his Zamindars, the Company's assistance will be promised if Jagir grants of certain Districts are promised.
- (vii) It is surprising that Hussain Ali has been able to prevail upon the Diwan to send troops for collections of Revenue. The Company is sure he may fail. Thus the revenues of the Circars may fall. The Company will assist if the Jagir grants are made. It is good news to hear that the Diwan is moving down for a personal interview.
- (viii) If the negotiations succeed, refractory Zamindars may be removed or displaced, all forts may be procured for possession. Emphasis must be laid for the Fort of Mustaphanagar for internal and external protection of the Circar. At least a garrison may be requested to be put in there to repel any enemy.
- (ix) As the Governor and Council wish to avoid any friction with Basalat Jung the Guntur Circars need not be negotiated now, unless the Soubah will grant the Sanad for it publicly.
- (x) If there should be difficulty in settling the outstanding balances and if any consideration should be asked from the Company, it may be agreed that it will be shown as soon as possession is given.
- (xi) Instructions have already been given regarding the mode of payment of rents and they should be insisted upon.

9. Jogi Pantulu finally succeeded in arranging and fixing up a treaty for the renting of the Northern Circars.

John Pybus gave a certificate to Jogi Pantulu for his excellent conduct and behaviour. It is exhibited in the Historical Exhibition.

10. Jogi Pantulu is appointed by the Company as Deshpondya in the Rajah-mundry Circar and he is also directed to act as Muzumdar and Sir Sheristadar. A sanad is granted to Jogi Pantulu accordingly by the Governor in Council.

Vide:—

- (i) Guide to the records of the Masulipatam district Vol. 1-23
24 pages
- (ii) Journal A. H. R. Society Vol. IV,
Parts 3 and 4,

Dated 8-2-1767,
16-2-1766,
5-5-1767.

11. Seeing that Jogi Pantulu was useful in reducing the country, he was next asked to proceed to the Chicacole Circar. Smith accordingly addressed a letter to him.

Vide:—

(i) Guide to the records of the Masulipatam district Vol. 1-27, 29, 30, 31 to 38 pages.

(ii) Journal A. H. R. Society, Vol. IV, Parts 3 and 4.

Dated 7-8-1767,
19-7-1767,
24-9-1767,
8-11-1767.

Ditto.

12. Captain Madge and Jogi Pantulu entered into a treaty with Narayanudu in the Chicacole Circar. Charles Borchair and Alexander Wynch addressed letters to Zamindar directing that Jogi Pantulu's Offices should be respected and that necessary help should be given to him in his employment. Several Cowls are granted to him on a *bilmukta* rent for certain villages. Some of the Cowls and his remittance receipt were exhibited in the Historical Exhibition.

13. Jogi Pantulu was then requested by the Government for the reduction of the Guntur Circar and other places beyond Guntur. There are many references in this connection, noted in the Guide to the Records of Masulipatam District.

14. Jogi Pantulu's brother Kandregula Venkatrayulu was next appointed as the Sir Sheristadar and Muzumdar by means of a Sanad granted to him by the Governor in Council. The Nizam also granted a Sanad accordingly.

The appointment is also notified by circular letters to the Zamindars and other officers.

The Cowls are again granted in the name of Kandregula Venkatrayulu, as Jogi Pantulu died in 1773.

15. The offices of Muzumdari and Sir Sheristadari were abolished in 1778.

But in 1781 Government realised

Vide:—

Journal A. H. R. Vol. IV, Parts 3 and 4.

Dated 13-7-1773,
3-5-1774,
20-10-1774,
24-10-1774.

Vide:—

(i) Guide to the records of the Ma-

that the Desapandyas are important for administration.

Government therefore reinstated by means of a sanad granted by the Governor in Council, Kandregula Venkarayulu as Sir Sheristadar and Muzumdar of the Northern Circars.

16. Next after Kandregula Venkatarayulul, his uncle's son Jagannadharao Ramasu Bahadur was appointed again by means of a Sanad in 1783.

17. He was also appointed as the interpreter at Masulipatam.

18. After the offices have been directly taken under Government control the family was granted a pension during the time of the successors of Venkatrayulu.

(Note:—A rough skeleton is alone is given here. Many details giving the actual picture of events and the circumstances from the two references quoted in the margin have been omitted for want of space. And most important of all there is a third type of reference which would throw more light and fill up some blanks. They are copies of records retained in our family old papers. As they are copies they have not been taken into account here).

sulipatam district Vol. I—
Page 50.

(ii) Journal A. H. R. Society, Vol. IV, Parts 3 and 4.

Vide.—

(i) Do. Masulipatam Records, Vol. I, Page 55.

(ii) Journal A. H. R. Vol. IV, Parts 3 and 4.

DUTCH INTERVENTION IN THE SOUTHERN POLIGAR WARS

BY

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I

The English had to wage several wars against the Southern Poligars on behalf of Nawab Muhammad Ali, Nawab of the Carnatic, before these chiefs were finally subdued and brought under control in 1801. The first English expedition to Tinnevely was undertaken in 1751 when Lieutenant Innes at the head of an English detachment accompanied the troops of Nawab

Muhammad Ali to help to bring about order. Four years later, a larger number of the Company's troops, both Europeans and sepoys, under Colonel Heron, accompanied Mahfuz Khan, the brother and representative of the Nawab, to help him in reducing the country to obedience. The Poligars of Tinnevely controlled a large portion of the present district including the taluks of Sankaranainarkoil, Tenkasi, Ambasamudram and Kovilpatti. The Poligars of the Kovilpatti region were very largely of the Telugu Tottiyar tribe and akin to their overlords, the Nayaks of Madura; and the most important among them were the Poligars of Ianchalamkurichi and Ettaiyapuram. In the western taluks of Tenkasi and Ambasamudran, the Poligars were mostly of the Marava tribe; and the leading chiefs among them were the Puli Thevar of the Nelkattansevvai and the Poligar of Chokkampatti; besides, there was also the powerful Vanniya Chief of Sivagiri. Neither the military, nor the political record of Heron in the south country was creditable. He failed in his objective against Panchalamkurichi and had to retreat before Nelkattansevvai, though he had captured Nattakottai. After the discomfiture of Heron, the Poligars became even more truculent than before and were encouraged by the help that they got from the Travancore Ruler and from three Pathan soldiers of fortune who had been functioning in the country as representatives of the late Nawab Chanda Sahib.¹ The Puli Thevar cleverly planned a union of the Poligars of the eastern region with his own confederation and even negotiated for assistance from the chiefs of the Madura country. The Poligar situation was very ugly in 1756-57. Then followed the rule of Yusuf Khan on whom the Renter of the country, Mahfuz Khan, and the Nawab himself tried to foist the responsibility for the continuance of the troubles. His difficulties were worsened by the opposition of the Nawab's renters, by the treachery of Mahfuz Khan and by the negotiations that the rebel chiefs conducted with the King of Travancore and even with the Mysore troops then encamped with aggressive designs near Dindigul. For a time the situation was even worsened by the departure of Yusuf Khan to Madras to help in the operations against Count De Lally who besieged Fort St. George (December 1758).

1. Nawab Chanda Sahib appointed Alam Khan as Amil of Madura in 1750; the Amil subsequently subdued the Tinnevely country and appointed Nabir Khan at Tinnevely and Mantimiya (Moodemiah) at Madura as his lieutenants. After the death of Moodemiah the authority of Mahfuz Khan was established in the Tinnevely country in 1754 and 1755.

See Caldwell: *History of Tinnevely*, (1881), pp. 125-26; C. S. Srinivasachari: *Ananda Ranga Pillai, the 'Pepys' of French India*, (1740) footnotes on pp. 198 and 199.

When Yusuf Khan returned in 1759, he directed his first efforts towards the disruption of the newly-formed alliance between the Eastern and the western Poligars and the bringing about of an understanding with the Travancore troops, which had been freely plundering the country. Puli Thevar was, however, equal to the situation. His ally, Mahfuz Khan, had spread the false news that the English had been defeated at Wandiwash; and he had agreed to cede to the Ruler of Travancore the district of Kalakkad, if the latter would send his troops to help the confederate chiefs. Yusuf Khan feared that with the help from Travancore, the opposition would be too strong for him; and he therefore decided to secure from the Maharajah support for himself and, on his own part, offered to cede to Travancore the promised district. But though he got the assistance of Travancore troops and also some ammunition from Anjengo, he was foiled before the stronghold of Vasudevanallur, belonging to Puli Thevan, who had gathered together an immense number of *Colleries*. Yusuf Khan had to retire to Tinnevely where he was suddenly confronted with the news that the Dutch factors of Tuticorin had received reinforcements from Batavia despatched probably at the instigation of the Poligars and in response to offers from Travancore.²

The Ruler of Travancore and the Dutch had become mutual friends by the treaty of 928 M. E. (1753 A. D.) and the Dutch were bound to supply Travancore with ammunition of war, annually to the value of Rs. 12,000. Mahfuz Khan had by the time become reconciled with his brother, the Nawab; and Poligars had to keep inactive for the time. Yusuf Khan entertained their followers to the number of 2,000 "colleries," in the Company's service. In May 1760, he secured a successful action against Kattabomma Nayak near Ettaiyapuram. But, in the same month, hostilities were

2. In the years 1752-55, Kalakkad and Valliyur were annexed to Madura by the Nawab's agents. Maharajah Martanda Varma, knowing the Nawab's agents to be corrupt, sent Rama Iyen Dalawa to negotiate with Moodemiah and purchase the tract between Cape Comorin and Kalakkad to the extent of 30 miles; a garrison of 2,000 men was stationed at Kulakkad for the protection of the country thus obtained. On the advance of Colonel Heron and Mahfuz Khan, the garrison of Kalakkad abandoned their posts and retired to Tovala. Mahfuz Khan took possession of Kalakkad. After the retirement of the Company's forces, Chanda Sahib's Agent, and the Puli Thevar proposed to the Travancore ruler the reconquest of Kalakkad. A tripartite treaty was entered into and the Maharajah contributed 4,000 Nayars. Then followed the battle of Kalakkad in which Mahfuz Khan's forces were defeated. The Travancoreans retired to their own territory for fear of causing offence to the English Company. Subsequently when they learnt that the English were indifferent, a force was sent under De Lannoy which defeated Mahfuz Khan and recovered Kalakkad. [See V. Nagamaiya: *The Travancore State Manual*, (1906) Vol. I, p. 354.]

commenced by the Mysoreans from Dindigul for meeting which Yusuf Khan had to send a detachment northwards.

Scarcely had the detachment departed from Yusuf's headquarters camp, when the Dutch danger appeared. The Dutch Government of Ceylon had received a large reinforcement of European troops from Batavia which assembled at the port of Colombo; and a part of these arrived, in the beginning of June, at Tuticorin, a Dutch fort, about 40 miles east of Tinnevely, on the north-western shore of the Gulf of Mannar between the mouths of the Tambaraparani and the Vaipar rivers.³

Two hundred Dutch troops, with adequate equipment, tents and with some field-pieces, disembarked and encamped in the neighbourhood of Tuticorin; they gave out that they would be shortly reinforced by more than their present number and that four hundred European soldiers had left Batavia at the same time with themselves in order to proceed to Cochin and from there to join the Ruler of Travancore. Orme has recorded that the people were frightened and thought that the Dutch troops were intended to assist the Poligars in driving the English out of the country of Tinnevely and planned to begin their operations by attacking the headquarters town of Palamcottah itself. Yusuf Khan immediately sent word to the Dutch Chief at Tuticorin to demand an explanation for this action. The latter indifferently answered that he should give none and was not bound to explain anything. A few days afterwards, the Dutch troops advanced and halted at Alwar Tirunagiri where the Dutch had a small factory.⁴

3. Tuticorin was at first a Portuguese settlement from about 1540. It was taken by the Dutch in 1658 and it was again taken by the English from the Dutch in 1782, restored to the Dutch in 1785 in consequence of the treaty of 2nd September 1783 and again taken by the English in 1795, captured and held for a short time by the Poligar of Panchalamkurichi during the last Poligar war in 1801, ceded to the Dutch in 1818 and ceded back to the English in 1825. It is one of the centres of the pearl and chunk fisheries, and was a very important place according to Father Martin writing about 1700. It is a centre of cotton ginning and trade.

4. The Dutch had factories on the coast at Vembar, Vaippar, Punnaikayal, Palayakayal, Manappad and at Cape Comorin and at Alwar Tirunagiri in the interior, at a small distance. There were long-standing disputes between the Marava rulers of Ramnad and the Dutch whose factory at Kilakarai had to be closed down for a time and who concluded in 1767 an agreement with the Tevar's guardian and regent by which the Pamban passage was sold to them, subject to the right of the Maravar's people to its unrestricted use. Subsequently the Nawab claimed a share in the pearl fishery; and after protracted negotiations, a treaty was entered into at Colombo in 1785 between the Dutch Governor and the

Yusuf Khan had previously withdrawn from the eastern stations and quickly marched against the advancing Dutch force, at the head of a body of 4,000 sepoys and some horsemen. But when he appeared in sight of Alwar Tirunagiri, he heard that the Dutch troops had decamped in the previous night in strict silence, back to Tuticorin. The Dutchmen who had encamped at Manappad, went back to Tutricorin in the same boats which had brought them. Nothing more was heard of the Dutch and their hostile operations.

II

The Poligars' hopes of getting help from the French quickly faded after the fall of Pondichery, though a few French adventurers like Marchand were busy in the south country, planning impossible alliances against the British power. After the defeat and death of Yusuf Khan (October 1764) which blasted all the remaining embers of French ambition, Colonel Donald Campbell was sent to conduct some fresh operations in the summer of 1765 against the Travancore troops and to compel them to retire within the Aramboly Lines. In the next year (1766) trouble began anew, marked by the failure of an attempt of Major Flint to reduce some of the more turbulent Poligars. The next year 1761 opened with another unsuccessful campaign of Flint to take Panchalamkurichi by assault and, when he turned the siege into a blockade, the defenders successfully escaped. Colonel Campbell contrived to destroy the forts of Seittur and Sivagiri, captured and garrisoned Vasudevanallur and cantoned his troops at Sankaranainarkovil. As soon as he left the country, the Poligars, headed by Sivagiri, refused to pay the tributes agreed to. But Captain Frischman succeeded with the help of Rajah Hukumat Ram, the Nawab's renter for Tinnevely, and by the Poligar of Vadagarai, contrived to bring about some settlement, including the appointment of others in the place of the Poligars of Sivagiri and Panchalamkurichi, who were banished by the Nawab's manager from the Tinnevely country. Haidar Ali had, meanwhile, written to all the Poligars persuading them to join him against the Nawab and the British. It was with great difficulty that Captain Brown, could, after great negotiations, secure at least an outward promise from the Poligars to act against Haidar Ali; but in reality no improvement was effected in the situation. After a few years of seeming quiet, trouble again broke out, when, towards the end of 1775, the exiled Kattabomma

Nawab's agent, James Buchanan, through the mediation of Sir Archibald Campbell, Governor of Madras, by which the Nawab got half the Tuticorin Fishery and the right to thirty-six boats in the Ceylon Fishery and the right to hoist his own flag and a separate military guard (P. E. Pieris: *Ceylon and the Hollanders*, p 152). Also see J. Hornell—*The Indian Pearl Fisheries of the Gulf of Mannor and Palk Bay*, 1922), p. 41.)

Nayak⁵ returned to his fort and put to death the Poligar who had been appointed in his room by the Nawab's representative, Sayyid Muhammad Khan, in 1771. An abortive attempt was made by the English in 1776 to collect a body of horse and foot in the country round Panchalamkurichi in order to take that place from the usurping Poligar. In the next year 1777, an English and Nawabi combined expedition was directed against the Sivagiri ruler, where a large number of Poligar forces had collected; and on this occasion Kattabomma Nayak supported the Nawab's troops with 4,000 men after having made peace with the Nawab's manager. It is not definitely known how far this expedition was successful in its aims; probably Sivagiri was not reduced. In the following year, there was again serious trouble experienced in the collection of the Poligar *peshkash* amounts. Subsequently dissensions arose between the Hindus and Mussalmans owing to the violence displayed by the latter during the Muharrum season.

In the critical year 1780, Captain Eidington who was in command at Palamcottah saw that all the Poligars had, openly or virtually, thrown off their allegiance to the Nawab, while some of them were actually in treacherous correspondence with Haidar Ali. Soon it was discovered that the Poligar of Sivagiri had secretly and definitely invited Haidar Ali to send troops into the Tinnevely country; and the English commandant had reason to believe that the Nawab's renter himself, Rajah Hukumat Ram, had secretly agreed to go to Haidar's side, being a near relative of the 'Colt' Rajah, who had been appointed by the Mysore Ruler to be the Rajah of Madura and Tinnevely. The English Captain also reported that he could get very little assistance from the Ruler of Travancore for the protection of the country from Haidar's threatened invasion. The Dutch at Tuticorin readily promised the English substantial assistance from their government at Colombo against Haidar Ali whom they deemed to be the common enemy of all the European powers in India. In fact, Warren Hastings, the Governor-General, had proposed and resolved on an alliance with the Dutch against Haidar Ali at this juncture and sent letters to the Nawab of Arcot and to the Dutch authorities at Colombo and at Batavia.⁶

5 The Kattabomma Chiefs of Panchalamkurici.

(i) Pandya Naicker 1736-60.

(ii) Jagavira (1760-91).

(iii) Jagavira Pandya, pp. 791-99 and his brother Kumaraswami Naicker, 1799-1801, and younger brother the Dumb Dorasingan.

6. Letter from the Governor-General to Nawab Walajah, dated January 6, 1781.

It says: The Nawab even knows that in attending to his affairs (defence of the Carnatic) the Company at a great sacrifice

The object of Warren Hastings and his Council was to obtain through the Dutch at Colombo and Cochin a substantial military force to aid in the operations against Haidar Ali. But as the Governors of these two places had to get the authority of the Governor-General of Batavia, for whose definite sanction there was no time to wait, there arose the necessity of offering to the Dutch in Colombo a tempting bait to prevail upon them to send

relinquished the prosecution of the Mahratta War just when it would have terminated in an honourable and advantageous peace to them. Now, in consequence of this hostility of Haidar in the Carnatic and his recent depredations in the territory belonging to the Dutch at or adjacent to Cochin, the Governor-General has prepared the draft of a treaty of alliance between the Nawab, the English and the Dutch East India Companies. This was first sent for the approval of Mr. Ross, the Director and Governor of the Dutch East India Company in Bengal. His concurrence having been obtained, the Governor-General and Council have affixed their seals and signatures to the treaty and declared the same to be binding on them. They have now requested the President and Select Committee at Madras to present it to the Nawab for his assent and ratification with an apology for having introduced his name into the treaty without the previous sanction or his authority. They have further written to the Select Committee to explain to the Nawab that this was merely done to save time and to expedite the conclusion of the treaty. After it has been approved and signed by him it will be transmitted to the governments of Colombo and Cochin for their final ratification. Hopes that the Nawab will render his assistance in the manner and on the terms laid down in the treaty. (TI 24, pp. 1-5, No. 1; AI 4, p. 133).

Letter from the Nawab of Arcot, dated March 14, 1781.

Has received the Governor-General's letter through his ambassador Mr. Dighton, in which he desires the Nawab to discuss and settle certain articles of an agreement with the Dutch.In view of the King of England's proclamation last April declaring the Dutch to be a neutral power it is advisable that they should be precluded from gaining any great influence in the Carnatic. The Governor-General's prudence and authority are sufficient to oppose and destroy all their enemies and the Carnatic will supply resources. Is ready to act according to his directions.Will exert himself to perform what the Governor-General has written to him and after Mr. Dighton's departure will send a trustworthy agent who will explain to him the Nawab's sentiments on this subject as well as on other points. (TR 17, pp. 229-34, No. 25; AR 4, p. 129—Calendar of Persian Correspondence (Imperial Record Department) Vol. VI, 1781-5)—(1936). See Mill's *History of British India* ed. by Wilson (1849) Vol. IV. Book V. ch. V.

The Nawab had previously written to the Dutch Governor-General, on the 25 th October, 1773, on the unfriendly behaviour of the Governor of Negapatam in the Tanjore War of 1773, and on the continuous Dutch aggressions in the South, evidently meaning the operations of the Tuticorin people in the previous years.

See India Office Records: Home Miscellaneous Series by S. C. Hill (1927)—referring to pp. 619-17 of Vol. 156 of the series.

forces immediately from their headquarters. The negotiation was carried on, through the Dutch Director at Chinsurah in Bengal, for the loaning of the service of 1,000 European infantry, 200 European artillery and 1,000 Malays in return for the cession of the province of Tinnevely to the Dutch, together with liberty to effect conquests in the neighbourhood of Cochin and with exclusive right to the pearl fishery along the whole of the Coromandel Coast from Rameswaram down to the Cape. The cession of the Tinnevely country was to be made in the name of the Nawab as his sovereignty over the country was not to be infringed to all appearances. The country to be ceded was deemed by the Supreme Government to be but of small value and the critical situation caused by Haidar Ali's aggressions into the Carnatic were held to necessitate such a cession. Fortunately, the Nawab and the Government of Madras would not at all agree to this proposed cession. They held that the Tinnevely country was too valuable to be ceded to the Dutch and that the offer of a body of Dutch troops for service in the field against the Mysoreans was not really so very essential, when they were much more in want of money to pay and maintain the troops they already had, than of fresh bodies of soldiers; and they resolutely declined to forward the proposed treaty to Colombo, and promptly communicated their own arguments and decision to the Court of Directors.

In reality, however, the Dutch had been entertaining negotiations with the Poligar of Sivagiri. They had been strengthening Tuticorin for sometime and apparently preparing for a war with the English. They rendered considerable assistance to the Kattabomma Nayak of Panchalamkurichi, who had actually hoisted Dutch colours.

From Fullarton we learn that the Dutch had entered into a regular alliance with the refractory Poligars of the Tinnevely country against the English power and that this was not a mere empty suspicion on the part of the English at the time, supported only by the prevailing national jealousy; for on the capture of Panchalamkurichi by Fullarton in 1783, the original of a treaty between the Dutch government of Colombo and Kattabomma Nayaka was found in his fort. After recounting the operations against Panchalamkurichi in the summer of 1783, Fullarton in his second letter to Lord Macartney and the Select Committee at Fort St. George, thus says: "The place (Panchalamkurichi) contained a large assortment of guns, powder, shot, arms, and other military stores, which were of course applied to the public service; 40,000 pagodas were also found, and immediately distributed to the troops. Your Board were pleased to confirm the distribution, on the footing of prize-money; than which no measure could more effectually tend to animate the army in our after-operations. Some other facts respecting these transactions, and the treaty between the Dutch Government of Colombo and

Catabominaigue (of which the original was taken in his fort), were referred to in my letters of the 13th August addressed to your Lordship and the Board."

Further he says that the Poligar of Sivagiri "had collected magazines sufficient to supply the Dutch force that was expected from Colombo, as well as to resist the most tedious blockade; for he did not conceive his fort could be stormed, and every circumstance in his conduct marked, that he held himself beyond the reach of military power."

Fullarton ordered that the defences of Panchalamkurichi should be demolished and the guns, stores and ammunitions removed, to Palamcottah and the road to the Kombi from Sivagiri should be open. Mr. Irvine, the Collector of Tinnevely for the Committee of Assigned Revenue, transmitted the originals and translations of Kattabomma Nayak's correspondence with the Dutch and of their treaty with him found in his fort on its capture, as mentioned by Fullarton. He also recommended that if Tuticorin should be restored to the Dutch after the conclusion of peace as was apprehended, measures should be taken to prevent them from giving their support to Kattabomma Nayaka in future. It was only in 1785 that Captain Bilcliffe, Commandant of Palamcottah, was directed to make over Tuticorin with the stations dependent on it to Mr. Meckern, the Dutch Governor, on behalf of the Dutch, though the treaty had been concluded nearly two years before.

A contemporary professional soldier, Captain Innes Munro has thus observed, in a letter dated Madras, December 1781; he says that the English capture of Negapatam, and of Trincomali, that of Negapatam in particular, "put into our hands a very important key to the Tanjore country and other southern provinces, and in some measure contributed to bring about a reconciliation with the Polligars of Marava and Tinavelly, who had been through the machinations of Hyder Ally, in open rebellion against the Company."⁸

III

During the last Poligar war, Tuticorin was taken from the English who had got possession of it in 1795 and held for a short time by the Poligar of Panchalamkurichi. This was in the beginning of 1801. A young English subaltern was in command of the Fort of Tuticorin with a company of sepoys. Unfortunately while

7. A View of the English Interests in India. in two letters—by W. Fullarton M. P. (London 1787), pp. 126 *et seq.*

8. Page 258 of 'A Narrative of the Military Operations on the Coromandel Coast against the French, Dutch and Hyder Ally Cawn from 1780 to 1784' by Innes Munro—London 1789.

he was trying to resist the enemy on one side the Indian officer under him who was engaged in resisting the attackers on another side and was possibly in treacherous collusion with the Poligar, capitulated and admitted them into the fort. Thereupon the Poligar's men disarmed the sepoys and set them at liberty; but they allowed the English Captain in charge to embark in a fishing boat for an English settlement. They then found another Englishman, Baggott, who was the Master Attendant at Tuticorin and took him prisoner. Meanwhile the rebel Poligar took up his station in the fort; but he was generous enough to listen to the pleadings of the wife of the English prisoner, set him at liberty and restored to him his property. Nor did he molest the numerous Dutch residents of the place, because he considered the Dutch to be neutrals in the Poligar War, rather he regarded them even as friends, because the sympathies of the Dutch through all the troublous years in Tinnevely were rather on the side of the Poligars than on that of the English.

The last struggles round Panchalamkurichi have become famous in tradition and legend on account of the reputation attained by the Kattabomma Nayak brothers whose desperate bravery and defiance were partly due to the tactlessness of the English Collector, one Mr. Jackson, and involved three separate expeditions by Bannerman, Macauley and Agnew before the brothers, including the famous Dumb One, could be got rid of. An unprejudiced contemporary observer who visited South India two years after the close of the troubles thus remarks that the execution of the chiefs was to be regretted, because the provocations the family received from the Resident were such as to palliate the rebellion and that the Madras Government would have better consulted their own honour to sparing their lives.⁹

9. Lord Valentia : *Voyages and Travel to India, Ceylon etc.*, in the years 1802-6 (1811) Vol. I, p. 320.

See for the Panchalamkurichi wars, (i) *Kaliyuga Perunkavyam* (in Tamil (Ms.) (ii) Guruguhadasa Pillai : *The History of the Tannevelly Country* (in Tamil) (1931) (iii) Kaviraja Pandita Jagavira Pandyan : *The History of the Panchalamkurichi Herores* (in Tamil) (1939) and (iv) T. M. Subramanian : *Kattabommu* (in Tamil) (1942).

A NOTE ON THE BENARES CONFERENCE BETWEEN
WARREN HASTINGS AND SHUJA-UD-DAULAH,
SEPTEMBER, 1773.

BY

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Three of the transactions of this conference, namely, the sale of Kora and Allahabad to Shuja-ud-Daulah, the stoppage of the tribute to Shah Alam and the promise of military aid to the former in the reduction of Ruhelkhand, require more than a passing notice. It may at once be conceded that all the three transactions brought immense money to the Company and that the first and the third strengthened the English alliance with Shuja, gave him a natural frontier, made him more dependent on the Company and rendered an alliance between him and the Marathas impossible. It is also true that the continuity of the Company's territory in Eastern India, which would have been marred by the annexation of Kora and Allahabad, remained intact, because of the aforesaid sale, and that the expenditure of the English army was reduced by one-third (as one brigade was almost permanently lent to Shuja) "even in employing it," as Hastings put it. But none of the transactions was based on the principles of equity and justice, and Hastings' laboured defence cannot commend itself to those who possess a detailed knowledge of that epoch. Hastings denied Sir Robert Barker's charge that the sale of Kora and Allahabad involved breach of a solemn agreement and maintained that Shah Alam was an "idol of our (English) creation" and that "his title, dignity and state, and the territory which he possesses, he holds by our (English) bounty.....". These claims were not only extravagant and misleading but also betrayed either insincerity or ignorance on the part of Hastings of the circumstances that brought about an alliance between the Emperor and his nation. It was the pressure of necessity and self-interest and not altruistic generosity that prompted the English to wean Shah Alam from his Wazir, and, not only Kora and Allahabad but the entire¹ territory of Shuja-ud-Daulah were solemnly given to the Emperor by an agreement as the price of the Mughal sovereign's moral, political and even military assistance to the Company in its wars with the

1. For this treaty see Ben. Sec., Cons., Dec. 6, 1764 (*vide* Vol. II, pp. 751-752). The King's *Farman*, fulfilling his part of agreement is dated 4th Rajjab of 6th year of the reign, *vide*, Ben. Sec. Cons., 7th January, 1765. Also see Spencer & Council to C. D., 3rd January, 1765, I. O. R. 1765. pp. 1-5.

Wazir during 1764-1765. The curious reader is referred for the details to the present writer's *Shuja-ud-Daulah Vol. I* (pp. 256-258) and to the X chapter of the Second Volume, which show that though this solemn agreement was in part violated by Clive there is no iota of fact to substantiate Hastings' boast.² As regards the tribute of 26 lakhs, Clive himself admitted that it was given in order to obtain the *diwani*. "I think twenty sufficient," wrote he to Sykes on the eve of the treaty of Allahabad, "*However as we intend making use of His Majesty in a very extraordinary manner for obtaining nothing less than a sunnud for all the revenues of the country six lakhs of rupees will be scarce worth our disobliging the King*, if he should make a point of it."³ Thus Shah Alam possessed an inalienable right to Kora and Allahabad and to tribute from Bengal both as an unchallenged, though titular sovereign of the country and in virtue of a solemn agreement with the Bengal government. To argue, as Hastings did, that the Emperor forfeited his claim to the districts and the tribute when he left the English protection at Allahabad is to ignore unconsciously or perhaps deliberately the fact that these were not given as a condition to his staying at Allahabad. That there was no such understanding is borne out by the fact that as early as August 1765 Clive promised to escort the Emperor to Delhi after the rains, a promise that was repeated successively by Verelst and Cartier, but never fulfilled. Therefore Hastings uttered a palpable falsehood when he said that Shah Alam had "ungratefully deserted and since headed armies against us" and that "by the terms of the treaty (of Allahabad) he was under obligation to us rather than we to him." Far from heading armies Shah Alam had resisted the Maratha demand for the cession of the districts till his troops had been utterly defeated and he was at their mercy. The obligations were mutual and the benefits from Shah Alam's stay at Allahabad immense to the English and that was why they made frantic efforts to prevent him from leaving. Dr. Davies quotes Hastings' remarks that "The sword which gave us the dominion of Bengal must be the instrument of its preservation.....," and agrees with him that "the Emperors' *sanads* and grants were useless."⁴ That was surely so in 1772 or 1773 but not in 1757 and much less in 1764-1765 when their position was precarious indeed. And Hastings could not have a better claim to judge whether the sword alone was responsible for the dominion of Bengal than Clive who wielded the sword during that epoch and who wrote to Orme in 1765 with the frankness of a soldier that in the history

2. Dr. Davies (Hastings & Oudh, p. 37), was misled because this treaty is not given in Aitchison's collections. But this does not mean that it was not entered into by the parties.

3. Clive to Sykes, Benares, 3rd August 1765, *vide* Forrest's Clive II pp. 281-282.

4. W. Hastings and Oudh, p. 28.

of the occupation of Bengal he would find a combination of "fighting tricks, chicanery, intrigues, politics and the Lord knows what."⁵ Human memory is proverbially short, but perhaps no where has this limitation been so much responsible for distortion of facts as in Hastings' defence of the aforesaid measures.

Hastings' policy though strongly condemned by his countrymen of the 18th and 19th centuries, has been defended by the English historians of our generation on the ground that the continuance of the tribute would have meant putting that money into Maratha hands and allowing the Emperor to retain possession of Kora and Allahabad would have meant the cession of the districts to them. But they forget that the Marthas had quitted Northern India in May, 1773, while Hastings stopped the tribute and sold the districts on 7th September of that year when the Maratha menace had disappeared at least for a year and there was no fear of the tribute and the territory passing into their hands during that period. Had not some other reason been responsible for Hastings' decision, he would have waited till the news of the Maratha *preparations to return to Northern India*, if not, till that of their actual start, and would have also given Shah Alam a previous warning before making the final settlement. The Emperor was requested to send a representative to the Conference, but he was kept altogether in the dark about the agenda and he did not know that the sale of the districts and the stoppage of the tribute were in contemplation. It is worthy of note that although Hastings took credit for frankness and plain-dealing with the Emperor, he never really informed⁶ him (even after the settlement) officially or unofficially that the tribute had been stopped for ever and the districts sold off for a sum of money. What he wrote was that owing to a famine in Bengal it was not possible to pay anything of the tribute *till the misery lasted*, and that the districts were given to Shuja "your first servant and the only representative of your person," and "it will enable him hereafter more effectually to serve your Majesty and to retrieve your affairs."⁷ Nor did he take Shuja into confidence, as the latter's numerous letters reporting his efforts to secure the remission of the Bengal tribute betray his ignorance of Hastings' decision. Nay, he encouraged the Wazir to secure a formal remission and even applied to Shah Alam whose *farmans* he ridiculed in his despatches to the English world as of no value, for passing orders to that effect.⁸ Further,

5. Olive to Orme, Murshidabad, 1st. August, 1757, quoted in Forrests' Olive, Vol. p. 34.

6. Shah Alam did not know till long ater the Benares meeting that the tribute was for ever stopped and the districts were sold away. See- C. P. C., IV. 870, 921.

7. Hastings to Shah Alam. *vide* Hastings and the Rohilla War, 98-99; C. P. C., IV. 523.

8. C. P. C., IV. 719, 732, 802, etc.

this English governor betrayed lack of good taste and intellectual honesty, when on the one hand he used exaggerated and unbecoming epithets for Shah Alam in his official despatches and in his letters to his friends in England *e. g.*, "this wretched king of shreds and patches," "this idle pageant," "an idol of our creation," etc. etc. on the other, he continued at the same time professing open loyalty and devotion to the Mughal ruler, before and after the Benares decision and also sending him *nazars* and receiving *Khilaats* from him,—the universally recognized medieval symbols of allegiance to a sovereign authority.⁹

Professor P. E. Roberts approves of the policy, for he says "it is difficult to see what other course was possible."¹⁰ The course has already been suggested. It is to have waited for the news of the Maratha preparations to return to the North for which there was little likelihood for years owing to a revolution at Poona due to the murder of Peshwa Narayan Rao and long dissensions among the ruling factions in Maharashtra. But if a settlement in advance was at all necessary the best solution was to have allowed Shuja to hold the districts in the name of the Emperor, which would have satisfied both Shah Alam and the Wazir, as the latter wanted effective possession of them. This would not have necessitated any change in the plan of their defence, as they were to remain in Shuja's hands in either case. But such an arrangement would not have procured fifty lakhs to the Company, an object so dear to Hastings' heart. It would, however, have been free from moral criticism and Barker would not have described it as a "shocking, horrible and outrageous breach of faith."¹¹

Hastings' foreign policy stands condemned for the injurious reaction that it produced at the courts of Delhi and Poona and also probably at the capitals of other powers in the country. Shah Alam was so irreconcilably antagonised that for years he hatched secret plots for the overthrow of the British power in Bengal, trying to enlist the support of the Marathas and of other people in the proposed enterprize.¹² Had the Mughal lord possessed the requisite ability and strength of character he would have endangered the peace of Bengal, if not actually threatened the safety of the English position there.

Notwithstanding the fact that Shuja's conduct and policy at the conference cannot be justified on patriotic and moral grounds, as he cared only for his own principality and his personal interests as against the interests of the country as a whole and

9. C. P. C., IV 308, 309, 364, 372, 414, 648, 866, 1066, etc.

10. Cambridge History of India, Vol V. P. 216.

11. Bond, Speeches in the trial of W. Hastings, Vol., IV, P. 759.

12. Sarkar, Fall of the Mughal Empire, III, 220-223.

his sovereign and practically repudiated allegiance to the Mughal Emperor by offering to act as George III's Wazir in India and to strike coins in his name,¹³ he was not actuated by material considerations alone. His greatest ambition was to have the satisfaction of not only passing on to his descendants the whole of the territory, without diminution, that he had inherited from his father, but also of adding to it that region which Safdar Jang had, despite his repeated attempts, failed to conquer. This sentiment impelled him to agree to pay such a dear price for the recovery of Kora and Allahabad and still greater for the acquisition of Ruhelkhand. On the contrary Hastings, though he had no personal axe to grind, did seek to acquire a great political object, and was dominated by the desire of getting money to relieve the financial embarrassment of the Company in England, for besides its being a patriotic duty, the appreciation of his services depended upon his ability to add to the income of the proprietors of that mercantile organization. And his efforts yielded a rich harvest of money, one Kror and thirty one lakhs,¹⁴ according to Hastings' own calculation, in two years. In pursuance of the above object, he disregarded considerations of inter-statal law, gave Shuja the promise of military assistance for conquering Ruhelkhand and became the cause of the political destruction of a people who had no quarrel with the Company. The acquisition of the natural frontier (Ganges) for Oudh by annexing Ruhelkhand to it was but a secondary object with Hastings; for, while he made so much of it in his letters and despatches, Shuja himself, who was the author of the Ruhella project and stood to gain by it, did not cant on the subject, and his letters to Hastings contained the only argument that the Ruhelas had treacherously violated a solemn agreement and therefore must be expelled from their country. Nor does any contemporary Persian authority refer to it as one of the reasons responsible for the Wazir's decision. Moreover, even an acquaintance with the map will reveal that the annexation of the entire Ruhelkhand to Oudh could not have provided, as it actually did not provide, Shuja a continuous scientific frontier on the west. His recent acquisitions in the lower and the mid-Doab, for a part of which Hastings' sale of Kora and Allahabad was responsible, had pushed the Wazir's territory to north-east of Agra and had left his frontier line from that place to Anupshahr on the Ganges absolutely without a natural barrier and therefore exposed to Maratha attacks from the side of Delhi. Hastings, who must surely have been aware of it, could not have meant anything more by his repetitions of the scientific frontier plea except misleading the ignorant. But the surprise is that his modern and ancient critics missed this absolutely valid objection

13. C. P. C., IV. 477, 478, Gleig, Memoirs of W. Hastings, II. 137.

14. Davies, W. Hastings and Oudh. 53; Hastings to Anderson, Sept. 13, 1786, *vide*, Hastings and the Rohilla War, 116, F. N.

against his Ruhela Policy. The theory of the Maratha menace to Oudh does not hold water, for the scheme was decided upon in September, while the Marathas had left Northern India in May. Dr. Davies admits that "the Maratha menace had ceased for the time being," but he says that "this was no reason for indefinitely postponing any scheme for strengthening the defences of Oudh".¹⁵ A careful consideration of every aspect of the problem would not have meant an indefinite postponement of it; and all the evidence in our possession points to the fact that Hastings had pledged for an immediate conquest of Ruhelkhand, and had not Shuja of his own accord postponed it to the early months of 1774, the political and economic destruction of the Ruhelas would have taken place during the winter of 1773. This is absolutely clear from Champion's entry of 30th August, 1773, in his diary in which he writes: "He (Hastings) gave me to understand that the Brigade (which was then encamped near Benares) would soon be ordered down the country, upon which I observed to the governor that I was determined to go home, but he strongly advised me to contrary"...¹⁶. The fact is that Hastings was so much anxious for availing himself of the opportunity of getting money for the Company that he encouraged Shuja to undertake the expedition and promised him assistance without thinking out the details of the scheme and of its consequences. He seems to have been doubtful of the expediency of the project and that was why he kept it concealed from his colleagues of the Council till it had become impossible to withhold the information. He thus became guilty of imprudence and rashness.

MUSLIM RULERS OF MYSORE AND THEIR CHRISTIAN SUBJECTS

BY

PROF. GEORGE M. MORAES

At the time of its conquest by Hyder Ali, Kanara possessed a well established and flourishing community of Christians made up for the most part of emigrants from Goa. These were

15. Davies, W. Hastings and Oudh, 24.

16. Soldiering in India, P. 144.

For the views of the modern British historians about Hastings's foreign policy, see Strachey, Hastings and the Rohilla War, 92-116; Forrests Selection etc. II 20-40; Roberts, Cambridge History of India, V. 215-24; A. M. Davies, W. Hastings, 122-127; Davies, Warren Hastings and Oudh 22-40.

reinforced by a sprinkling of Portuguese traders, and accessions made from among non-Christians by missionary labours. Under the encouraging protection of the Portuguese arms the Christians grew in numbers and power until at length they could count twenty-seven settlements, each with a church served by a vicar and the whole under a Vicar General himself subject to the Archbishop of Goa.¹ The exact nature of their privileges may be gathered from the terms of a treaty which after a successful campaign the Portuguese imposed on the feeble Nayak of Ikeri. The contracting parties agreed on that occasion that disputes arising among Christians or between Christians and Hindus shall be settled by the Portuguese Factor and the Vicar, and where recourse to the Factor was not possible by the priests who may be found at the ports or in the districts of the Raja of Kanara. Any appeal from their decisions was to lie to the Government of Goa, and under no circumstances were the local governors and thanadars to take cognizance of these matters in case of alleged injustice. Further, any Christian woman known to lead an immoral life was to be surrendered to the Factor for deportation to Goa, there to undergo due punishment. No trafficking in Christians was to be permitted either on the part of the Raja or on that of his subjects. Christians were to be exempt from imprisonment for debts. The Raja of Kanara was not to suffer any Christians either from Goa or from other Portuguese dominion to cohabit with Hindu women, and should permit the parish priests, whenever such a case occurred, to seize the culprit and deport him to Goa without themselves being liable to molestation from the local authorities. In the Factory and the town of Mangalore and wherever there might be the Christians, the Portuguese were to be allowed to erect Churches. Priests were empowered to punish laxity in or hostility to religion among Christians, according to their own law, for which the Raja was expected to render every assistance; and whenever any of them happened to pass through Kanara to take their abode there or in another country, they were to be free from all molestation by the local thanadars and governors, as also exempt from tax in respect of any luggage they carried, save on goods for sale.² The Christians had thus come to acquire an honoured and autonomous position very nearly forming a "state within a state."

When Hyder Ali wrested this province from the Nayak of Ikeri, he confirmed them in the enjoyment of all the time honoured privileges.³ By a *parwana* issued in 1776, he granted 2440 fanams

1. Buchanan, *A Journey from Madras through the countries of Mysore Canara and Malabar*, III, p. 24.

2. Braganca Pereira, *Arquivo Portugues Oriental*, III, Pt. II, pp. 98-99.

3. Pissurlencar, *loc. cit.* A decree of Father Joaquim Machado, Vicar General of Kanara, issued some time before 1766 regulates the procedure for appeals against the decisions of parish priests: "From to

yearly to the Catholic Church at Calicut together with the property belonging to it and to the Church at Parappanangadi, and recognized the jurisdiction of the clergy over Christian delinquents. "Every one of the Christians," says the *parvana*, "that may commit any guilt or crime, the justice thereof belongs to the Padre and the Factor." The fact was that Hyder, being beset by formidable enemies was loth to antagonise the Portuguese.

In 1768 an incident occurred which had an adverse effect on the fortunes of the Christians in Hyder's dominions. The latter who had declared war on the English was sweeping the board in the Carnatic, and the English General Staff decided upon a diversion on the west coast to relieve the alarming situation in Madras. Accordingly, the Government of Bombay sent an expedition under admiral Watson to seize Mangalore. One Ramys Havaladar, who had formerly been in the employ of the Cananore Government and a "Moorsman" commanding Hyder's fleet at Onor were to be approached to secure a betrayal of their powerful master.⁴ The appearance of the English squadron at Mangalore created a delicate situation for the Portuguese factor. On the one hand, the two nations were bound by age-long alliance albeit commercial rivalry, on the other, in consequence of the extraordinary rights which they exercised in Kanara the Portuguese were morally bound to defend its interests against any aggressor. In this dilemma, the Portuguese factor declared his intention to remain strictly neutral and warned the invaders to take care to respect the Portuguese jurisdiction which included the Churches, the Portuguese concession and the Christian community in general.⁵ The officers of Hyder, naturally expected the Portuguese factor to stand by them in this critical hour, for their best efforts would avail them little if the Portuguese factory and fortifications commanding as they did the entrance

day onwards in order to maintain the peace and tranquillity of this Christian realm and avoid hatreds and litigation in cases already decided before the said Parish priests and Vicar Varas, whenever they may have to appeal on the same matter in case the decision has been unjust they shall do it within the time limit of 30 days before the Superior of the Mission and in his absence before the said Vicar Varas, and after the lapse of this period no case shall be admitted a second time to judgement, so that in this way justice may be observed and perpetual litigation prevented, and the said Parish priests who may accept for decision suits already settled before their predecessors in office and their referees I hereby declare suspended and the respective parties condemned, whether the suit be one for money or for anything valuable to pay one third of the value of the subject matter which will be devoted to the use of the *fabrica* (revenue destined for the repairs and maintenance of a church), being at the same time deprived of any further right of appeal". *Mitras Lusitanas*, p. 29.

4. Public Department Diary, 1768, No. 52, p. 32.

5. Pissurlencar, *op. cit.*, Fasciculo I, No. 12 p. 167.

to the river were not to go into action against the invaders. When, however, despite their repeated entreaties the Portuguese factor persisted in his strange and unreasonable attitude they formed a plot to entice him away from the fort and themselves take possession of it. This plot was betrayed by the captain of the artillery which was manned by Christians. The factor summoned all Christians to take shelter in the factory, including those in the service of the government. And when he heard on the next day that Hyder's troops were intending to storm the fortress he invited the English to assist him in the defence of the fort. The Christians constituted the mainstay of the defence of Mangalore, and with their defection, the resistance collapsed, and the English easily gained their objective.⁶

Hyder Ali was incensed at the treacherous behaviour of the Christians. He summoned the Portuguese priests and questioned them as to what punishment such treachery merited. And when answered that death was the penalty for betraying one's sovereign, he preferred to be lenient and had them clapped behind prison bars⁷. The Portuguese records however also speak of priests who suffered incarceration on this occasion. Father Sebastian de Faria, Vicar Vara of Honavar, was taken with two more priests, to Hydernagar, and there were at least five others who were then arrested⁸.

Hyder had hardly settled his score with the English, when he was threatened by the Marathas. Naturally enough, while he dealt with this new peril, he wanted his dominions in Kanara to be secure from the depredations of his immediate neighbours the Portuguese. Accordingly he forced the English to accept a humiliating treaty and opened negotiations with the Portuguese for an alliance. With famine staring them in the face in consequence of the stoppage of supplies of rice from Kanara the Portuguese jumped at this opportunity of reconciling themselves with the master of the granary of the west coast, as Kanara was then known. A treaty was forthwith concluded. The Factory was restored with all its rights, the vicars and the Christians who had been taken prisoner were released and the church was allowed its old untrammelled jurisdiction over Christians in matters of justice⁹.

The amicable relations between the two powers thus resumed

6. *Ibid.*, Nos. 12 and 13, pp. 167-170.

7. *Op. cit.*, pp. 384-385.

8. Pissurlencar, *op. cit.*, Fasciculo, No. 30, p. 196 (A letter of the Archbishop of Goa to the Governor of Goa dated 17th November 1771 commending the efforts of "Lingoa do Estado" Sadasiva Camotim on behalf of the priests).

9. *Ibid.*, Fasciculo I, No. 23, pp. 185-186 ; No. 36, p. 200. The treaty was actually signed on the 25th of January, 1771.

continued undisturbed till 1776 when Hyder imprisoned the Portuguese factor of Mangalore, and almost dismantled the Portuguese fortifications. The reason seems to have been that Hyder had now waxed sufficiently powerful and was unwilling to allow the Portuguese to levy their accustomed tribute and custom. He could moreover no longer be content with mere negative help on their part, but wished that they should help him with six hundred European tooopers yearly to serve in his campaigns¹⁰. The Portuguese government showed itself reluctant to comply with these demands and after protracted negotiations lasting four years, a second treaty was signed. It was agreed that the Portuguese should be permitted to levy tribute and collect custom as heretofore, and continue in possession of their factory in Mangalore, on condition that they should defend the town against any enemy, and the further concession that concerns our subject, *viz.* that the clergy should be allowed the exercise of their religion unembarrassed¹¹.

But Hyder's peace with the English could not endure long. Either party distrusted the other, and if the English made no attempt to retrieve their honour earlier, it was not from want of a desire to try conclusions with the Muslim adventurer. Though all along "casus belli" multiplied fast, it was not till 1782 that the parties decided on an appeal to arms. But Hyder, whose health had been declining for some time, died on the 7th of December¹², and the English taking advantage of the situation made a landing in Kanara a week later. Under General Mathews the entire litoral from Karwar to Kundappor was secured, and thanks to the good offices of Shaikh Hayat, who was acting as governor in the absence of Tippu, they obtained possession of Nagar, the capital of the kingdom, and of Mangalore the royal port¹³. This success of the English was short lived, for, as Father Joaquim Miranda an eye-witness observes, while they were engaged in rapine and plunder, Tippu hurried from Arcot with a third of his powerful army and recovered the entire country including Nagar (Bednur) and Mangalore¹⁴.

Wiser from experience, the Portuguese on this occasion chose for themselves the role of passive though not uninterested spectators. The Viceroy reports that Tippu was pleased with the action of the Portuguese in refusing asylum to Shaikh Hayat at Goa at the suggestion of the English after their discomfiture in Kanara.¹⁵

10. *Ibid.*, Fasciculo II, No. 50, pp. 220-223.

11. *Ibid.*, No. 63, pp. 258-259.

12. Wilks, *Historical Sketches of the South of India*, II, p. 413.

13. Pissurlencar, *op. cit.*, No. 74, p. 301, No. 79 p. 305-306; also authorities mentioned in Moraes, *op. cit.*, p. 48. note 1.

14. Pissurlencar, No. 79, as above.

15. *Ibid.*, No. 77, p. 303.

Some of the Christians however, in their enthusiasm for the English cause, imperilled the fortunes of the entire community. Writing in May, 1783 from Mangalore, Major John Campbell informs the President in Bombay, "There are a number of native Christians here who had been formerly attached to the Artillery; 34 of them are taken in the same service here, and Francis Pinto, late an ensign in the "Bombay Natives", whom General Mathews had promised to employ and give Ensign's pay and batta, I have appointed to take charge of them with the same rank, pay and allowance as he had formerly"¹⁶. This is supported by a statement of Scurry, who was a prisoner for a long time at Seringapatam, to the effect that General Mathews had borrowed Rs. 33,000 from the Kanara Christians¹⁷.

This was sufficient to provoke the wrath of Tippu who had long been burning with fanatical hatred against the Christians. As a Prince, he had advocated a thorough-going persecution when the Christians of Kanara had gone over to the English leaving the defence to collapse¹⁸. Now he openly accused them of being principally responsible for the ease with which the English conquered his kingdom—"acting as guides and facilitating their communications"¹⁹. He charged the priest with having brought all this trouble on himself and his people, fined them 3 lakhs of rupees and had them expelled from his dominions²⁰. He then conceived the project of stamping out Christianity from the land altogether and unleashed a sanguinary persecution. A laconic description of what followed is given in a letter to the Secretary of State by the Portuguese Viceroy, who observes, "No sooner did he find (Tippu) himself free from the English with whom he had concluded peace, than he gave open demonstration of his tyranny and hatred towards the Christians. He exterminated the Christians of all those places, who should total forty thousand souls. Compelling them to cross the Ghats, he took them to Seringapatam, where he circumcised many and obliged them to follow the sect of the Moors. He sent me thirteen vicars, expelled from his dominions, writing to me to say that out of consideration for me he had refrained from inflicting on them greater punishments and greater monetary fines.... These priests reached Goa in great misery and I replied to his letter protesting the justice of their cause and that of the Christians'²¹.

16. Saldanha, *op. cit.*, p. 18 note b.

17. Scurry, *Captivity*, p. 103.

18. Pissulencar, No. 79, p. 306.

19. *Ibid.*, No. 77, p. 304.

20. *Ibid.*, No. 75, p. 302 and No. 81, p. 314.

21. *Ibid.*, No. 81, p. 144. See also No. 80—Muhammad Shafi's letter in which captivity is referred to. For other accounts of the captivity and sufferings of the Christians see Moraes, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-68; Moore, *The History of the Diocese of Mangalore*, pp. 36-63, and Saldanha, *The Captivity of the Canara Christians under Tippu Sultan*.

The Viceroy had reason to protest. He was convinced that the whole body of Christians could not be charged with connivance at the success of the English invading force, for in those days the Christians followed the lead of the Portuguese in such matters, and the latter as we have seen had remained strictly neutral. Consequently while condemning outright the action of such of the Christians as made common cause with the English against their own sovereign, we must admit that Tippu in making the entire community pay for the crimes of a few of their number was guilty of a high handedness for which no justification can be pleaded.

THE ANGLO-FRENCH DISPUTES IN BENGAL DURING THE ADMINISTRATION OF CARTIER (December, 1769—April, 1772.)

BY

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After the Battle of Plassey (1757) the Nawab was shorn of all powers, and bereft of his former prerogatives he could not afford equal protection to the other nationalities *e. g.* the French against the English aggression. With the acquisition of Diwani in 1765 the English Company obtained a legal status in the country; and though now fully possessed of the substance of power, it was keen to retain the Nawab as 'shadow of authority' to serve as a smoke-screen. Because thereby the English could effectively crush the French attempt to regain their former power. Though deprived of Nawab's protection, the French could resist the English aggression as long as they possessed their military strength. But by the Treaty of Paris (1763) the French were not allowed to keep troops in any part of Bengal and hence any hope of armed resistance to the English was out of question from 1763 onward.

The French had a factory at Judgea¹ which was threatened to be engulfed by the Sea. They bought a plot of land at Chandella² from a petty local Zamindar and agreed to pay him an

1. Judgea was situated a few miles to the south-east of Luckipur (Lakkhipur, Lakshmipur) in the modern Noakhali district. Judgea has been engulfed by the sea (vide: Rennell's 'Bengal Atlas' Map No. 1).

2. Chandella or Chandia is a corrupt form of Chandroy (Pub. Prog.—O. C. 17th April, 1771 E(2)). The place was in the Chowdagong parganah of which Luckipur was the headquarter.

For Chandalla episode :

- (i) Sc. Progs—9th May, 1771; 23rd May, 1771; 14th Dec., 1771;
- (ii) O. C. (Pub)—17th April, 1771E(2).
- (iii) B. D. R. (Chittagong)—Vol. I—part II—pp. 104-105.
- (iv) C. P. C.—Vol. III—letter Nos. 757, 758, 782.

annual rent. There they built a house and planted a bamboo which served as a flagstaff. As the plot of land at Chandalla was bought from the local Zaminder without the previous consent of the Nawab, the latter became very angry. The house was destroyed, and the flagstaff was cut down on the 3rd April, 1771 by the sepoys sent by the Nawab. The council at Chandannagar wrote in vain several times to the Nawab. The French suspected that the outrage was committed by the Nawab at the instigation of the English.³ The suspicion was not altogether baseless.

The Anglo-French disputes were not confined only to the Diwani Provinces but were also carried to the territories owned by the Maratha Chiefs. At Balasore which was then a Maratha town, the English and the French had their respective factories. Mr. Marriott, the English Resident at Balasore, levied a duty of six rupees and nine annas upon the cloths which the weavers of the country supplied to the French factory at Balasore. On receipt of a complaint from the French Council, Mr. Cartier asked Mr. Russell, a member of the Council at Fort William, who was then at Balasore, to enquire into the matter. It transpired from the enquiry that the complaint lodged by the French Council was true. Mr. Marriott was ordered to put a stop to such a practice of realising duty from the weavers. And an amicable settlement was made by the English and the French authorities and the weavers were relieved of a burden.⁴

Another cause of complaint by the French was the difficulty which their agents experienced in recovering their balances from brokers and weavers who happened to be the farmers or ryots of the English. Mr. Higginson, the English supervisor of Birbhum, prevented Le Seigneur, the French agent, from seizing several persons at Sapur for the balances they owed to the French Company. This was done under the Parwanah issued by the Zamindar of the place and approved by Mr. Higginson.⁶ Similar cases occurred in the Midnapur district.⁷

3. (i) Sc. Prog.—9th May, 1771—Letter from Chandannagar, 22nd April, 1771.

(ii) *Ibid*—23rd May 1771—letter from Chandannagar, 20th May, 1771.

4. For Balasore episode :—

(a) Sc. Prog—23rd May, 1771.

(b) Sc. Prog—18th June, 1771.

(c) Sc. Prog—10th July, 1771,

(d) Sc. Prog—26th Aug., 1771.

5. Sc. Prog.—18th June, 1771—Letter from Chandannagar—17th June, 1771.

6. *Ibid*—10th July, 1771—letter from Mr. Higginson to M. Le Seigneur—21st June, 1771.

7. Sc. Prog.—10th Sept. 1771—Letter from Edward Barber,—14th March, 1771.

The wrangle between the agents of the two rival nations over the realisation of the balances from the weavers rose to its climax in the Khirpay⁸ episode (August, 1771). One representative of each nation was appointed to hold an enquiry into the dispute. Mr. Marriott was the representative of the English, while the French were represented by M. Seigneur. It transpired from their enquiry that Mr. Cole, the English agent at Khirpay, promised M. Chambon, the French agent of the same place, to 'use his endeavours' in collecting the French Company's outstanding balances from the weavers. But 'he did not engage either on his own or the English Company's accounts to be responsible for them,' Mr. Marriott received from the French agent a list of the names of weavers who owed balances to the French Company. A few days after, M. Chambon arrested one Phakirdas who owed six hundred rupees to one of the French Dalals. The French Dalal had already made over to M. Chambon all his items of demand on every person including the one on Phakirdas, to liquidate the balances he owed to the French Company. The demand on Phakirdas was of nineteen years standing. M. Chambon having arrested Phakirdas confined him in his factory and went away to a distant place. In his absence Mr. Cole called upon the French Sarkar to deliver up Phakirdas and on his refusal to do so sent a body of peons to carry off the French Dalal. This they did. The reason for doing so was that several employees in the English factory had also demands on the French Dalal. On M. Chambon's return to Khirpay, Mr. Cole went to the French factory at the head of a body of armed retainers, forced open the gates of the French factory and carried away Phakirdas. M. Chambon allowed Mr. Cole to do so in order to prevent bloodshed. The French Dalal signed 'of his own free will and accord' a deed agreeing to submit his accounts to a Board of Arbitration consisting of four persons.⁹

The English Council at Fort William censured Mr. Cole for his conduct in carrying away Phakirdas by force from the French factory.¹⁰ The Khirpay episode clearly demonstrated that the realisation of balances by the French Company from weavers could not be settled by mutual agreement between the French and the English agents. Mr. Charles Stuart, Resident at Burdwan, 'ordered an officer from the Head Adhalet to be stationed at Kheerpay to take particular cognizance of all the complaints of

8. Khirpay is now a small town in the Midnapur district. At that time it was within the Burdwan district (vide Rennell's 'Bengal Atlas'—Map No. 7).

9. Sc. Prog.—21st Oct., 1771.—Letter from Mr. Marriott—14th Oct., 1771 with the enclosures bearing the result of his enquiry into the dispute,

10. *Ibid*—(a) Letter to the Council at Chandannagar 21st Oct., 1771.

(b) Council's Resolution on the conduct of Mr. Cole.

the weavers.' He also framed some regulations for the guidance of the said officer in the proper discharge of his duties.¹¹ Those regulations were approved by the Council at Fort William, but it advised the Resident at Burdwan to issue those orders in the name of the Rajah.¹²

The Council at Fort William did not countenance the action of Mr. Higginson 'in stepping forth as principle (sic)' in the Sapur episode. He was advised to avoid studiously 'all occasions of dispute or altercation with the agents of other European Nations.' In short, the English Council wanted that in the Diwani districts of which Birbhum was one, the Supervisors were not to interpose their authority when dealing with other European Nations. In cases of farmers and ryots being seized by the agents of other European Companies, the Zaminders or the officers of the Nizamat should protect them.¹³

In the ceded Lands the Council at Fort William adopted a quite different policy. There they would not allow the farmers or ryots 'being seized and confined by the agents of any other European nation without being allowed to appeal to the country Courts under the inspection of (English) Residents or Collectors.'¹⁴

The French Company based their right of arresting and confining persons who owed them balances on the Farmans and Parwanahs they had obtained from time to time from different Emperors and the provincial Governors. They also hinted it that the English Council could not be ignorant of the privilege as it should have been expressed in their Framans and parwanahs also. According to them the authenticity of the privilege was proved by the fact that the different European nations had not up to that time ceased to exercise the right of arresting and confining persons for recovering the outstanding balances.¹⁵

The English Council denied having obtained any such privilege from the different Emperors and Nawabs. They pointed out that the country Government alone was the proper authority which could compel the debtor 'to pay his just and legal debts'¹⁶. It remains to be said that the Gomasthas of the English Fractories

11. Sc. Prog—17th Dec. 1771—Letter from Charles—11th Nov. 1771.

12. *Ibid*—Letter to Charles Stuart—17th Dec. 1771.

13. (a) Sc. Prog—19th Aug, 1771—letter to Higginson—10 Aug, 1771.

(b) Sc. Prog—15th July, 1771—letter from Higginson—11th July, 1771.

14. Sc. Prog—10th Aug, 1771—letter to Edward Barbar—the 10th Aug. 1771.

15. Sc. Prog—10th Aug, 1771—letter from the French Council at Chandannagar—4th July, 1771.

16. Sc. Prog—10th Aug, 1771—letter to the Council at Chandannagar, 10th Aug, 1771.

used to oppress their debtors for balances in the same way as the French agents did both before and after their obtaining the Diwani¹⁷.

* The English Company wanted to avoid any dispute with other European Companies which might come under the purview of the Laws of Nations and which might induce the British Parliament interfere in the administration of the Country. However, much the English Company might have tried to avoid such disputes, they were inadvertently drawn into them by the injudicious actions of their officers.

One such dispute occurred (January, 1770) at Chandannagar, a French town on the bank of the Hughli. An advance guard of a body of English troops and sepoys arrived before the gate of Chandannagar. The guide led the detachment into the town by an open street¹⁸. The French Council stated that the troops forced their way into the town molesting the guards who were stationed at the state¹⁹. After a while the English Commanding Officer arrived at the gate with the main body of troops. He being apprised of what had happened, recalled the advance guard²⁰. While coming back from Chandannagar, the stragglers and followers of the camp according to the English version, 'committed some irregularities' in the town and in some villages near the town²¹. But according to the French version, it was not the Camp followers and the stragglers, as stated by the English, but the English troops themselves who while coming back disbanded themselves and 'then entered by force all the houses of the poor people' and 'robbed and plundered everything that fell in their hands beating the men and women'. The French Council further stated that one of the English Sergeants had given a stroke of the sword to the Havildar who was stationed at the gate and fled away. The English troops even carried away one of the French Sepoys thinking him to be a deserter from the English regiment²². The English Council at Fort William admitted that the Commanding Officer of the detachment seized the man with no other purpose than to engage him as a guide thinking him to be a

17. (a) Letter from Riza Khan, to the Secret Committee, Feb. 19 1765.

(b) Letter from Riza Khan received on Oct. 4. 1765, quoted by M. E. Monckton Jones in her 'Warren Hastings in Bengal' pp. 75-77.

18. General letter to Court, (Home), the 25th Aug, 1770—para 49.

19. Pub. Prog—9th January 1770. letter from Chandannagar—3rd January 1770—para 1.

20. *Ibid*—Para I (b) General Letter to Court (Home), the 25th Aug. 1770—para 49.

21. General Letter to Court (Home)—the 25th Aug. 1770—para—3rd 50.

22. Pub. Prog—9th January. 1770—Letter from Chandannagar—3rd January, 1770. paras 1, 3 & 5.

mere peon²³. However, the French Council took this incident as a flagrant violation of 'the sacred right of Nations' and an offence against the French flag. They demanded punishment of the authors of this outrage 'in the public manner proportionable to the greatness of the offence'²⁴.

The Council at Fort William ordered a Court Martial to be held to enquire into the case. The French Council sent 'attestations' Declarations and judicial depositions' to the English Council, but they were not admitted as sufficient proofs. Witnesses on the part of the French were required to appear in person. The witnesses turned up but it was too late. The Court Martial dissolved after it had sat for seven days and the accused were acquitted for want of evidence. This acquittal was termed by the French Council as 'disculpating the guilty rather than render (them) justice'²⁵.

In reality, the French Council did not consider the Court Martial as the proper tribunal of such a case in international of character. To them the English Council at Fort William was the proper authority to render them justice in such a case²⁶. Another cogent argument advanced by the French Council for rejecting the Court Martial was that Captain Catlyn, the Commanding Officer of the detachment, who ought to have appeared as a witnesses or an accused was one of the judges²⁷.

It remains to be said that there was some exaggeration in the French Council's statement of atrocities committed by the English troops. This was borne out by the small amount (Rs. 1395-14-6) demanded by the French Council as compensation for damage sustained by the inhabitants of their settlement²⁸.

Two cases which had an important bearing on the Treaty of Paris, (1763) arose out of the anchoring of the French vessels near the English fort at Budge Budge. The French ship Raphael was left by the tide near the fort which was then under construction (1770). The Captain of the ship sent his men to the market to procure for him some provisions. They were arrested by an English Colonel who suspected that they had gone on shore to have a view of the fortifications. They were, however, released on a representation being made by the Captain of the ship²⁹.

23. Pub. Prog—9th Jan. 1770—Letter to the Council of Chandannagar—para 6.

24. Pub. Prog—9th Jan. 1770—letter from the Council of Chandannagar—3rd Jan. 1770 para 5.

25. Pub. Prog—13th Feb. 1770—letter from the Council of Chandannagar, 3rd February, 1770.

26. *Ibid*.

27. *Ibid*—3rd April, 1760—Letter from the Council at Chandannagar—the 19th March, 1770—para 2.

28. *Ibid*—Para 8.

29. Pub. Prog—3rd April, 1770—Extract of a letter from M. Hanier, Master of the ship St. Raphael to M. Chevalier.

More than a year after this incident a French pilot sloop also anchored before the fort the construction of which had by that time been completed. The master of the sloop was requested to take another station, but the master instead of complying with request attempted to seize the person who was sent on board the sloop with message³⁰. The French Council at Chandannagar informed the English Council at Calcutta that the English Sepoys fired bullets at the sloop but they did not fortunately hit her³¹.

The Anglo-French disputes in Bengal at last led the Court of France to request His Majesty the King of Great Britain to appoint a person with full powers 'to examine into the supposed infractions of the late treaty of peace (*i. e.*, the Treaty of Paris of 1763) * * * by interruptions alleged to have been given to the Freedom of the French Commerce in Bengal.' The British Government appointed Sir John Lindsay as their 'plenipotentiary' for the purpose. M. Law (Lawriston) was to represent the French Government³². The Council at Fort William sent the papers relative to the Anglo-French disputes to Sir John Lindsay at Fort St. George. Before any decision was arrived at on the dispute, Sir John Lindsay left India and was succeeded by Sir Robert Harland who was invested with full powers by His Majesty 'to treat with M. Law Lawriston upon the hardships complained of to be laid upon the French trade in Bengal'³³.

The Council at Fort William availed itself of the opportunity of the presence of Sir Robert Harland in India to get an expert interpretation of the legal aspect of the dispute between the English and the French arising out of the latter's claim of anchoring ships in front of the English fort at Budge-Budge. The Treaty of Paris (1763) prohibited the French King from keeping troops in any part of Bengal. The Council at Fort William contended that it had a right to see that this clause of the treaty was not violated by the French Council at Chandannagar by surreptitiously bringing troops in their boats. This compelled the English to demand from the French a right to search their ships³⁴.

Sir Robert Harland's interpretation of the Treaty of Paris (1763) went against the English Company. His opinion was that

30. Sc. Prog—14th Dec., 1771—Letter to Chevalier etc, the 14th Dec., 1771.

31. Sc Prog—23rd Dec., 1771—Letter from the French Council at Chandannagar, the 19th Dec., 1771.

32. Sc. Prog—9th May, 1771 (a) letter from Sir John Lindsay—the 6th April, 1771. (b) Letter from Court (Home) the 20th June, 1770—para I.

33. Sc. Prog—23rd Sept. 1771—letter from Sir Robert Harland—the 19th Sept. 1771.

34. Sc. Prog—26th Oct., 1771—Letter to Sir R. Harland, the 26th Oct., 1771.

though the Treaty of Paris prohibited the French from keeping troops in any part of Bengal, the navigation of the Ganges was as open and free to the trading subjects of French as to the subjects of England. The French could not be accused of the infraction of the treaty till troops were actually landed and kept in any part of Bengal³⁵.

GANGADHAR SHASTRI MEETS PESHWA BAJIRAO II

BY

BY PROF C. V. JOSHI, RAJ DAFTARDAR, BARODA

The long pending claims of the Peshwa on the Gaikwad of Baroda were to be settled in 1813 in the light of new treaties. Anandrao Gaikwad, the Maharaja, deputed Gangadharshastri Patwardhan, who was formerly "a trusted servant of the Company" and now a *Mutalik* of the regent to the Gaikwad, to Poona by the end of 1813. Peshwa Bajirao II who had been smarting under his position as a subordinate ally of the Company disliked the Shastri who had been at the Poona Court before he joined the Company's service. Fourteen months were passed in shilly-shallying by the Peshwa, keeping Gangadharshastri idle at his Capital. At last, through efforts and influences, an interview with Bajirao Peshwa was arranged to take place on 1st April 1815. This was probably the only occasion when these two personages met after the Shastri left Baroda as the representative of the Gaikwad. I shall reproduce in English the Shastri's vivid report of his visit written next day, to be submitted to his master :—

Yesterday I had been to see Sadashivbhai Mankeshwar (Elphinstone's informant) who visited the Gangadhar Shastri's Peshwa and sent for us. In the evening I Account. went to the Shukrawar Palace with three friends and waited on the ground floor. The Peshwa with Trimbakji and two other friends was sitting in a room on the first floor. On receiving the intimation of our arrival a clerk of Trimbakji summoned us. We went upstairs and bowed to Highness. Sadashivbhai received us standing on behalf of the Peshwa. Then

35. *Ibid*—23rd Dec., 1771—Letter from Harland, the 21st Nov. 1771.

Abbreviations :—Sc Prog—Bengal Secret Proceedings.

Pub. Prog—Bengal Public proceedings.

C. P. C.—Calendar of Persian Correspondence.

B. D. R.—Bengal District Records.

we presented articles of cloth taken to Poona for the purpose to the Peshwa.

His Highness put on the turban but said, This is very heavy. Can I take it off with your permission ?

(We expressed our consent when he substituted a light turban for it and covered himself with the Dupeta presented by us. He looked pleased. Then we put a pearl necklace round his neck.

As the conversation was to begin Sadāshivbhāu requested all the persons except the Peshwa Trimbakji Bāpu, Mairāl and myself to leave the room. Sadāshivbhāu said to the Peshwa, 'Gangā-dharshāstri came here to settle the Government's claims over his master and to enter into the good grace of Your Highness. But he had to wait fourteen months without being able to pay his respects to you. Consequently he lost his prestige and his master summoned him back, to Baroda. He requests Your Highness to attend to all State matters and continue Your benevolent attitude to the Baroda State as before.'

The Peshwa replied, "there are two points in this request. One is about our favour or disfavour, the other is about State matters. I cannot give any reply about the second point in the presence of the Shāstri. About the first point I must say that there is no reason for disfavour. The delay in accepting the presents of cloth was due to the provision that they must be given in the presence of a representative of the Company. As that provision is removed we have accepted your present."

I said, "This golden day has dawned on us because Your Highness was kind towards us. The delay is our misfortune. It was Mody (a parsi clerk under Elphinstone) who had caused all the delay. The English are the Sovereign power over us whose protection is our only retreat."

At this the Peshwa spoke about the conduct of Nāna Fadins, Parsharāmbhāu, Patwardhan, Shinde, Holkar, Bhosle etc. and told how Poona became safe only after the arrival of the English. Sarjerāo Ghātage was administering Government matters when my mind was cramped by anxiety day and night. "Those times and the wars being insufferable to my constitution I went to Bassein and entered into treaty with the English. The English protected my father and brought happiness to me by supporting my cause. But their help has cost a number of forts, lands and tributes to the Government. However, they are our allies."

I said, "Anyhow the English have brought us happiness and profit. We must be faithful to them."

The Peshwa said, "Shāstribuva! We are friends of a long standing. I have not found any cause for showing displeasure to you. We have known each other over 18 years."

After this conversation Bayaji Naik suggested to me that I should seek invitation to dinner at night. I requested His Highness to give me the honour of an invitation. The Peshwa invited me inquiring whether I had got any fast or religious regulation about food to be observed. His Highness then asked us to retire for the evening prayer and to return after he sent a mesage. Being given leave to depart we came back to our residence.

About 9 P. M. at night we went to Shukrawar Palace for dinner. No words can describe the eclat in the dinner hall. Seats were arranged in two rows each against a pillar. Waiters stood at the back of the seats. Each cover was decorated with designs in coloured powdres on the ground. Two plantain leaves were placed under trays, each of which was furnished with 9 bowls containing condiments. Two lamp stands were placed near each cover. The Peshwa sat in a row with two gentlemen. We were seated in the opposite row. The Peshwa himself looked after our wants. He asked the names of rivers in Gujarat.

I told him the names of the principal three rivers—Tapti, Narbada and Mahi.

Then His Highness asked me the name of the river flowing past Ahmedabad.

Sabarmati, I replied.

After speaking about the source and the valley of the river His Highness asked me my wants. I said, "I have received every dish I want. I shall intimate what else I want at the opportune moment."

We retired to the drawing room up-stairs after the dinner. Pansupari was followed by the presentation of dress of honour. With his own hands he first gave dress to Sadashivpantbhau (Elphinstone's informant) and then to me, Trimbakji and Bapu Mairal in order. Garlands, flowers, attar and a handful of spices to each of us were bestowed. We took our leave with a salutation and returned to our residence at about 11-30 P. M.

THE JHANSI STATE AND ITS ANNEXATION.

BY

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Sahitya Ratna, Tundla, (Agra).

Broadly speaking, Bundelkhand may be said to begin having its definite share in Indian History after 1605, when Bir Singh,

Deo, the youngest son of Madhukar Sah became the Maharaja of Bundelkhand with Orchha as its Capital. His sons and successors proved to be rebels to the Moghal Empire. The death of Aurangzeb encouraged the Marathas under Peshwa Baji Rao to expand their infant empire towards north. In 1742, Jhansi fort built by Bir Singh Deo in 1613, fell into the hands of the Marathas, and Naru Shanker became the first Subedar of Jhansi. He enlarged the fort, founded the city of Jhansi and annexed the Pargana Dubot from the Datia State. In 1757 A. D. he was succeeded by Madhoji Govind, who ruled for a short period and gave over charge to Babu Rao Kanhai Rai. In 1761 A. D. Naru Shanker again returned. Vishwas Rao Lachhman succeeded him, and he in 1770 A. D. was succeeded by Raghunath Rao Hari, who ruled over the Jhansi principality for 24 years and made himself practically independent of Poona. He died in 1794 A. D. His successor was Sheo Rao Hari, better known as Sheo Rao Bhao.

The celebrated treaty of Bassein (1802) introduced the company into Bundelkhand. The country from Allahabad to Dhasan came under its influence and it could now establish close contacts with the various Maratha and Bundela states. Jhansi could not long remain outside the new influence. On 6th February, 1804, Sheo Rao Bhao entered into a treaty by virtue of which the Chief's possessions were secured to him under the suzerainty of the Poona court, and under the British protection.

Shiva Rao Bhao died in 1815 A. D. and was succeeded by his minor grandson, Ram Chand Rao. On 18th November, 1817 a significant treaty was signed between the Company and State, by which Raja Ram Chand Rao, his heirs and successors were constituted hereditary rulers of the territory then in the possession of Rao Ram Chand, with the exception of Pargan Moth; the latter¹ was at that time held in farm by the Jhansi Government from Rang Rao Raja Bahadur, grandson of Naru Shanker. Even, before this treaty, the Peshwa had ceased to exercise his rights over the principality and transferred them to the British Government by virtue of the treaty of 13th June, 1817. In the following November in accordance with the terms of another treaty Jhansi became a regular state of the E. I. C.

The foregoing considerations raise the moot question. Should Jhansi be treated as a state erected into a new principality² by the company; or as an old independent state of India? On a correct answer to this question depends to some extent the justification or otherwise of Lord Dalhousie's policy towards it in 1853.

1. Jhansi Gazetteer pp. 202.

2. India under Dalhousie and Canning p. 31.

The Duke of Argyll, one of the Chief apologists of Lord Dalhousie maintains that Jhansi was erected into a principality 'by ourselves' and was not one of the old independent states of India and that the chief of Jhansi was not recognised as having a hereditary right before 1817.³

Major Evans Bell regards this view as wholly misrepresented. The treaty of 1804 secured to the Raja his possessions under the Peshwa suzerainty and the British protection. Thirteen years later, in 1817, Marquess of Hastings renewed and confirmed the former treaty of defensive alliance when the subedar was still under the nominal supremacy of the Peshwa.⁴

The Marquess clearly asserts that Jhansi 'had not' been erected into a principality 'by ourselves' but was an old state under the suzerainty of the Peshwa. It became a feudatory state under the Company with all those rights and privileges which it had enjoyed formerly under the Peshwa regime. And therefore, much of Lord Dalhousie's case for the annexation of Jhansi under the Doctrine of Lapse in 1853 has been lost.

Reverting to Ram Chand Rao we find his reign to be of supreme importance. Firstly, because it was he who concluded the second treaty of 18th November, 1817 and became a feudatory chief of the East India Company. Secondly, because the change of masters was followed by a constitutional change in 1832. Ram Chand Rao was permitted to change the title of Subedar for that of Raja.⁵

Raja Ram Chand Rao maintained cordial relations with the Company. In 1826 A. D. when Lord Cumbermere was storming the Fortress of Bharatpur and to cause distraction Nana Pandit a Central Indian Sardar besieged Kalpi, the Raja sent a relieving force to the former and thus helped him in saving Kalpi.⁶ But his administration of the state, was not wholly satisfactory. His revenue decreased till it reached a considerably low figure of twelve lacs⁷ per annum. Between 1832 and 1833 the Panwar Rajputs of Udgaon, Noner and Jigna, overran and plundered the Parganas of Jhansi, Pachor and Karahra. Raja Ram Chander died in 1835 A. D.

The succession was disputed by four claimants; (1) Krishna Rao, an adopted son of Ram Chand Rao (2) Narain Rao, a distant

3. Retrospect and Prospects of Indian Policy by Major Evans Bell
Late of the Madras Staff corps pp. 22.

4. Lord Hastings private Journal, Vol. II pp. 235.

5. Jhansi Gazatteer pp. 202 and A Short Precis of the History of Jhansi by Grazerook.

6. Empire in India pp. 217.

7. State papers preserved in the Commissioner's office, Jhansi.

relation of the Raja ; (3) Raghunath Rao and (4) Gangadhar Rao both of them being the surviving sons of Sheo Rao Bhau. In strict accordance with the interpretation of, the treaty of 1817 in which it was laid down that the principality was secured to Sheo Rao Bhau's successors, the Governor General acknowledged the succession of Raghunath Rao, the eldest of the surviving sons of Sheo Rao Bhau. His short reign of three years (1835 to 1838) constitutes a dismal chapter in the history of the Jhansi state. Being a leper the new ruler could not inspire love and devotion in the hearts of the subjects. Opposition from one quarter or another always stared him in the face. His character also was not above reproach. The subordinate Zamindars defied his authority with impunity. They refused to pay the revenue. The state income now fell to 3 lacs of rupees. The Raja began to borrow freely from Gwalior and Orchha. Being unable to pay off the debts, he was obliged to mortgage some of his villages to his creditors. He died without leaving any male issue.

Four claimants contested the succession : Krishna Rao, Ali Bahadur, Janki Bai his widow, and his brother Gangadhar Rao. Lord Auckland, having a regard to the continued mismanagement of the state appointed a council and empowered it to give an award. The council decided in favour of Gangadhar Rao, though the Governor General wanted to assume administration himself, for the time being, in order to restore law and order and financial stability of the state. But the council's decision was approved by the authorities in England. The new ruler, however, proved as much of a failure as his predecessors. Therefore, it was decided to carry on the administration by British agent Mr. Ross. The Raja was given a fixed allowance, and the pargana Moth belonging to the British Government was assigned to him. Within four years, the British administration rehabilitated the state finances;⁸ purged the administration, and introduced a member of healthy revenue reforms. The state was restored to the Raja in 1842, on his ceding territory yielding a revenue of Rs. 2,27,458 in commutation of the annual payment towards support of half the cost of the Bundelkhand Legion.

In 1853 A. D. Maharaja Gangadhar Rao had a fatal attack of dysentery. While on his death bed he adopted Anand Rao.¹⁰ He wrote to the Resident¹¹ "I am now very ill and it is a source of great grief to me, notwithstanding all my fidelity, and the favour by such a powerful Government, the name of my father will end with me.

8. State papers preserved in the Commissioner's office.

9. History of Indian Mutiny, A. D. Forrest, Vol. III.

10. Empire in India pp. 202.

11. Dalhousie's Administration by Arnold pp. 148 and 149.

I have, therefore, with reference to the following second article of the treaty concluded with the British Government, adopted Damodar Gangadhar Rao (commonly called Anand Rao, a boy 5 years old; my grandson, through my grand-father. I still hope that by the mercy of God and the favour of your Government, I may recover my health, and as my age is not great, I may still have children and should this be the case I will adopt such steps as may appear to be necessary. Should I not survive, I trust that, in consideration of the fidelity, I have evinced towards Government, favour will be shown to this child, and that my widow during her life time may be considered the regent of the state and mother of this child and that she may not be molested in any way. "Gangadhar Rao died in 1853. His wishes were disrespected, the adoption being disallowed. Jhansi lapsed to the British Government.

Lord Dalhousie and his apologists, Sir Charles Jackson and the Duke of Argyll defend the annexation on the following grounds:—

First, that the Jhansi State was erected into a principality by ourselves¹² (*i. e.* the Company)

Secondly, that the Jhansi state was not one of the old independent states of India.

Thirdly, that on the failure of a direct male heir, Jhansi came within the maxim of lawful escheats—a regular, normal feature of the Moghul system of Government.

Fourthly, the precedents and prerogatives were not wanting in the annals of the state itself when the British Government interfered in successions, setting aside adoptions, namely the succession of 1835 A. D. and that of 1838 A. D.

Fifthly, the Court of Directors, too approved of such annexations, laying down their policy so far back as 1834, in regard to certain adoption in these terms¹³:—"Wherever it is optional with you to give or to withhold your consent to adoptions, the indulgence should be the exception and not the rule and should never be granted but as a special mark of approbation.

Sixthly, that the gross mismanagement of the state tending to the injury of the subjects¹⁴ justified the annexation on grounds of public policy¹⁵.

Seventhly, and finally that the annexation of Jhansi would round off the British possessions in Bundelkhand and would give

12. India under Dalhousie and Canning pp 31

13. The life of the Marquis of Dalousie by Sir William (See carner)
Vol II

14. Lord Dulhousie's Minute in relation to the Hydnrabad on the question of Berar (dated the 27th May, 1851)

15. The life of Marquiss of Hastings by Lee Warner Vol II pp 153.

the company strategic position to control the country around. Hence, again, on grounds of public policy, the annexation was justified.

But Jhansi was not a principality created by the British. It was an old hereditary state of India, first under the Poona court and then under the Company. Hence the Doctrine of Lapse, could not, with justification be applied to it. It was not a Jagir, grant or gift given to its ruler in 1817. It was a hereditary Subedarship, practically independent of the Poona Durbar.

Again, the entire history of the escheat system seems to have been misunderstood or deliberately misconstrued to serve the purpose. In the first place, the system applied under the Moghals, and that too not always, to the estate of the Government servants alone. Hereditary chieftainships or states of other than Government servants never came under this law. In the second place no paramount power in India even possessed the right to exclude from a private heritable state, any heir entitled under Hindustan; *a fortiori* that lawful heir cannot be excluded from succession to a dependent principality. If the imperial power cannot limit or mutilate for its own benefits the Hindu Law of inheritance in the case of a subject, still less, can it do so in the case of an ally? The conclusion is obvious and irresistible Jhansi could not be a lawful escheat.

No doubt, there is a custom—always insisted on—requiring the sanction of the paramount power in all cases of succession. But amusingly enough, Sir Charles Jackson and the Duke of Argyll have made a capital out of it, maintaining that 'the fact that the permission must be obtained' implies that it may be refused; otherwise the permission is unnecessary and false but they altogether forget that the observance of this sanction was necessary as Sir George Clerk observes, for the purposes of averting the dissensions and bloodshed that would, otherwise, ensue from the vindication of rival pretensions. The paramount power could not exercise that right of sanction to the extent of prohibiting adoptions¹⁶

The succession disputes of 1835 A. D. and 1838 A. D. have grossly been misrepresented by the apologists of Lord Dalhousie. In 1835 A. D. the title of Krishna Rao who is alleged to have been adopted by Raja Ram Chandra Rao, a day before his death, was disputed by other three claimants, namely, (1) Narain Rao (2) Gangdhar Rao (3), Raghunath Rao. Justified by custom and by right, the paramount power intervened and decided on the succession of Raghunath Rao, the eldest of the surviving sons of Sheo Rao Bhau, setting aside the claims of Krishna Rao as invalid. But this does not justify the Duke of Argyll's and Sir Charles Jackson's

observations that the company did set aside the adoption in 1835, and that it was therefore fortified by this precedent in 1836, A. D., when circumstance were absolutely different. In the first case the adoption was objected to by other claimants and it was doubtful, but in 1853 A. D. the adoption was not doubtful.

Again in 1838 A. D. the company rightly interfered when the succession, on the death of Raghunath Rao, was a matter of dispute among four claimants—Krishna Rao, Alibahadur, Janki Bai and Gangadhar Rao. After a judicious inquiry by a commission appointed for the purpose, the throne was given to the younger uncle, Gangadhar Rao setting aside the doubtful adoption. Hence both the cases of 1835 and of 1838 do not warrant us to infer that the company had evolved and established precedents, in the light of which the annexation of Jhansi under the Doctrine of Lapse in 1835 A. D. took place. All that we may safely conclude is that the company, as the Paramount power did exercise its privilege and prerogative of interference: and it was both natural and necessary.

Lord Dalhousie should have been guided by the saner advice of Lord Metcalfe, who maintained that the ancient tradition of the Hindu adoption should be recognised; and that the Government should annex the territory only when there was not even a near relation to succeed to the throne.

But the Governor General misconstruing the last sentence of Lord Metcalfe's minute ordered the annexation of Jhansi. He disregarded the privilege of discretion permitted to him in the dispatch of the court of Directors.

As to the last two justifications—gross misrule and public policy they are more political than legal or even moral. 'Give a dog a name and hang him' that is hardly justifiable on moral grounds. Besides, Maharani Laxmi Bai whom her late husband appointed as Regent was a capable lady.¹⁷ When the company could suffer the family from 1817 to 1853, even though the period was marked by misrule and misgovernment, what justification was there to annex the state when the Regent promised to be capable and efficient?

The Maharani Laxmi Bai pleaded against the annexation of the Jhansi State on the following grounds¹⁸:—(1) that the treaty provisions of 1804 and 1817 A. D. did not warrant such an annexation (2) that the treaty of 1832 A. D. entered between the company and the state recognised the rulers of the state as Maharajas, and honoured the dynasty further with the title of 'Chhatra Chamar' (3) that the friendly considerations uniformly maintained towards the company formed another ground (4) that the state helped the Government in 1826 A. D. when Kalpi was besieged (5) that the adoption was made according to the strict Hindu

17. Jhansi Blue Book pp. 7 and 28

18. Empire in Asia p. 28 cont. 219,

system of adoption. There was no irregularity, (6) that the two English witnesses were present at the time of adoption.

Prima facie, Laxmi Bai's arguments do not call for a critical analysis. The hereditary character of the Jhansi state was reaffirmed and emphasised no more than one occasion. Lord William Bentinck went a step further and fully consolidated the unrecognised position of the Jhansi state by publicly acknowledging Ram Chandra Rao's services at Kalpi, by accepting his title of Maharaja and by bestowing on him the privilege of Chitra Chamar in the Durbar at Jhansi Dec. 19, 1832.

The late Maharaja Gangadhar Rao had informed the government in time, of his decision of adoption, which was not doubtful or in the slightest degree irregular or suspicious, but was effected in strict accordance with Hindu law and in the presence of British officers, and it was officially reported to government in writing by the dying Raja.

Thus the annexation cannot be justified either on moral or on legal ground. Morally, the company was honour-bound to respect the treaty obligations and the wishes of the dying Raja, who had never given any cause for offence. Legally, too, the Jhansi state, in view of the treaty obligations, could not constitute a lawful escheat.

Lord Dalhousie, here as elsewhere, allowed himself to be overruled by mercenary interests alone. His own words, though expressed in a different context, are available on the subject;—"I take this fitting occasion of recording my strong and deliberate opinion that in the exercise of a wise and sound policy the British Government is bound not to put aside or neglect such rightful opportunities of acquiring territory or revenue as may from time to time present themselves whether they arise from the lapse of subordinate states, by the failure of all heirs of every description, what-so-ever, or from the failure of heirs natural where the succession can be sustained only by the sanction of the Government being given to the ceremony of adoption according to Hindu law. The Government is bound in duty as well as in policy to act on every such occasion with the purest integrity in the most scrupulous observance of good faith, where even shadow of doubt can be shown the claim should at once be abandoned such is the general principle that, in my humble opinion, ought to guide the conduct of British Government in its disposal of independent states where there has been a total failure of all heirs what-so-ever or where permission is asked to continue by adoptions, a succession which fails in the natural line." (Lord Dalhousie's Minute dated 30th August, 1884).

Finding, perhaps, his Minute a bit offensive and provocative, he altered his letter, though in spirit it remained, as it has originally been intended to be.—"The opinion which I gave was restricted to subordinate states, to those dependent principalities which either

as the virtual creation of the British Government or from their former position stood in such relations to the Government as gave to it the recognized right of a paramount power in all questions of the adoption of an heir to the sovereignty of that state. The opinion I gave referred exclusively to subordinate states, to dependent principalities like Satara and others that have been named."¹⁹

On the annexation of Jhansi too, Lord Dathousi frankly observes :—"The British Government will not derive any material advantage from the possession of this territory, for it is of no great extent and the revenue is inconsiderable, but as it lies in the midst of other British districts, the possession of it as our own will tend to the improvement of the General internal administration of our possessions in Bundelkhand."²⁰

Let us call a spade a spade : the annexation was made on mainly two considerations. (1) Jhansi occupying as it does a strategic and central position in Bundelkhand, would place the company in a commanding position. (2) The annexation would round off the compays' possessions in Bundelkhand.

To sum up, let us turn to the refreshing words of Sir Charles Wood, the Secretary of State for India whose seasoned counsel guided the Government of India in their relations with the country powers after the Mutiny :

"It is not by the extension of our Empire that its permanence is to be secured, but by the character of the British rule in the territories, already committed to our care ; and practically demonstrating that we are as willing to respect the rights of others as we are capable of maintaining our own"²¹.

THE COURT OF DIRECTORS' INSTRUCTIONS TO THE COUNCIL IN CALCUTTA IN VIEW OF THE STRAINED ANGLO-FRENCH RELATIONS IN 1755-56.

BY

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On the 23rd December¹ 1754, Godehu signed a 'provisional treaty'² with Saunders the validity of which depended on its

19. Lord Dalhousie's Minute dated the 28th Jan. 1854.

20. Dalhousie's Administration by Arnold p. 150.

21. Sir Charles Wood's Despatch of 26th July, 1860.

1. Auber, *Rise and Progress of the British Power in India*, Vol. I, p. 51.

2. *Ibid*; Orme, *A History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan*, Vol. I, p. 376 : Malleçon, *History of the French in India*, p. 433.

final ratification by the home authorities of the English and French East India Companies. But the interests of the English and the French in different quarters were then too conflicting to admit of a cordial settlement. As a matter of fact, a war between the two was imminent and its formal declaration was only a question of time.

So, as we read in some correspondence³ of the Court of Directors with the Council in Calcutta, the former communicated new notes of warning and advice in this matter to the latter and asked them to be well on their guard against the risks of the apprehended conflict. They observed in paragraph 71 of their letter to the Council in Calcutta, dated the 31st January, 1755. "We advised you by the ships of last season that we had for a considerable time been in Treaty with the French East India Company for an accommodation of the Differences between the two Companies on the Coast of Choromandel but notwithstanding our Readiness to agree, to all reasonable and Honourable Terms the Difficulties thrown in the way by the French Ministry and Company together with their usual chicanry (chicanery) have hitherto prevented those Differences from being terminated by a happy Treaty, however, as one of the Commissaries still continues in England we are not absolutely without hopes it will at last be attended with success for which no Endeavours on our Part shall be wanting".

They wrote in another letter dated the 14th February, 1755: "It is highly necessary you should be informed that Great Naval Preparations are making both here and in France, what the event of them may be cannot be foreseen, you will therefore do well to be upon your Guard".

Some positive instructions to the following effect were communicated by the Court of Directors to the Council in Calcutta in paras 7-11 of their Despatch to the latter dated the 26th March, 1755." Great Naval Preparations have been making in France for sometime past, which has given so just an Alarm to our Administration and the Nation in general. That a fleet is fitting out with the great zeal and alacrity, sufficient to protect the Honour of the British Nation, what may be the consequence of these armaments cannot be foreseen but in all Events, it will be absolutely necessary that you stand well upon your Guard, until we can with some certainty give you further Information."

Although we expect that Our Three Presidencies at all times act in concert and with mutual harmony and give their Aid, assistances and Advice wherever and whenever it may be necessary

3. I read these unpublished letters recently in some collections of the Imperial Record Department, New Delhi, which I am now engaged in editing.

for the common Interest of the Company, without confining their views to their respective Presidencies only, yet it is at this Critical time more immediately necessary, and therefore We most strongly enjoin you observance of it, and that you will give all due attention, to the advices you may receive for those purposes from the Governors and Councils of our other Presidencies, or the Governors or any Select Committee constituted by us, or Our Secret Committee.

Additional information and advice regarding Anglo-French hostilities were sent to Bengal by the Court of Directors in paragraph 17 of their letter dated the 10th October, 1755. "Our principal view," they noted therein, "in dispatching the Dalawar so early was to give Information to you as well as to Our other Presidencies, That Hostilities are commenced between the British and French Nations in America. That a great number of French ships have been already and are continued to be taken in Europe by our Men of War, but none of them have been yet condemned nor have Commissions been issued for Privateers or any Letters of Mart granted here, there is no Account that the French have issued Letters of Mart or Reprisals, nor have they taken any British Ships that we know of, except the Blanford Man of War of Twenty Guns, which has been since restored by order of the Court of France, as yet there has no Declaration of War made by either Nation; as likewise to inform you, that We have heard nothing from the French East Indian Company relative to the Provisional Treaty and Truce made in December last by Mr. Saunders on Our Part and Mr. Godehu on the part of the French for restoring Tranquility on the coast of Chromandel although We delivered the said Treaty, to the French Company's Commission then in England long ago as the beginning of last July upon Mr. Saunder's arrival on the Norfolk. This being the situation of Affairs, it is highly necessary and We accordingly order you to be strongly on your guard, and in constant readiness in every respect to defend our Estates, Right and Privileges in all Events, you are to watch all the motions of the French and stand upon defence only, unless they shall commit hostilities against us, in which case you are to Act as shall appear, to be most for the Company's Interest.

Events were marching fast to precipitate the crisis in no time. ".....hostilities are carried on," the Court of Directors narrated in their letter dated the 3rd December, 1755, "with vigour, in America, that our Men of War in Europe take all the French ships they meet with, of which great numbers now lay in the several ports of His Majesty's Dominions but none are yet condemned. No Declaration of War is made by either Nation. No Commissions for Privateers or Letters of Marque have been issued or Granted here, and far from any being issued by the French Court, all British Merchant ships are suffered to go in and out of

their ports without Molestation. However the French continue to exert themselves in increasing, with the utmost diligence, both their Land and Sea armaments, and have drawn down a great number of their Forces to their Coasts, and, it is generally believed are meditating some Grand Effort. On the other hand, the most vigorous measures are taken in England, to be prepared against all attempts, and it is with great pleasure the whole Nation sees the Parliament most heartily concurs therein with His Majesty."

We read in paragraph 128 of the Court of Directors' letter to Bengal, dated the 11th February, 1756, that the British Nation "were never better prepared to baffle their (of the French) Attempts, as well as protect its Honor and Trade than at this time both by Land and Sea. Notwithstanding all this, no declaration of War is made by either Nation.

When War was formally declared the Court of Directors despatched timely information about it to the Bengal and Madras Councils. In paragraphs 3 and 4 of their letter to the Bengal Council, dated the 29th December, 1756, they wrote: "From the Accounts We give you in our Letters last season, of the situation of Publick Affairs, an open War between the British and French nations might easily be foreseen, it has proved so in the Event, his Majesty having proclaimed War against France on the 18th May, last, which was returned in a very short time after on the part of the French King; some of His Majesty's Declarations are now sent for your Information; not but We have great reason to believe you will know it long before this reaches you by the Dispatches sent immediately overland by His Majesty's Ministers and Ourselves, or, by the Triton Man of War and Our own ships Prince Henry Packet, the first of which left England on the 17th of July, and the other on the 5th of August, both charged with the news of this important Event.

We make no doubt you have in consequences of the Information you have most probably received, concerted every necessary measure for the Defence of our Settlements and Property, and Security of Our Commerce; to the utmost of your power and Circumstances. We shall only add, that We shall greatly depend upon your care and Prudence for the future safety of Our valuable Settlements in Bengal." They continued in paragraphs 25 and 26 of the same letter: "The French are making great Preparations at Port L' Orient for an expedition to the East Indies, according to the best Information We can at present get, it consists of Six Men of War of the Line, two Frigates and Eight Company ships fitted in a warlike manner, on which are to embark about Two thousand and five hundred land Forces; to what particular part of India this Force is destined We cannot learn. We must therefore recommend it to you in the strongest manner, to be as well on your Guard as the nature and circumstances of your Presidency will permit, to defend our Estate in Bengal against any attempts that may be made

upon it by this Force, and in particular, that you will do all in your power to engage the Nabob to give you his protection as the only and most effectual measure for the security of settlement and Property. We have the satisfaction of being further able to inform you that a Squadron of His Majesty's Ship will be soon Ready to Proceed to the East Indies, to continue there for a time, in the room of that under Vice Admiral Watson, and although We are not at present full apprized of its Force, We have good reason to believe it will be sufficient to cope with the French Squadron.

What further occurs to us on this interesting Subject will be communicated to Our Select Committee of Fort St. George, who will have directions to forward to you whatever shall be necessary, for your Information."

NEUTRALISATION OF AFGHANISTAN, 1869
(BASED ON UNPUBLISHED RECORDS PRESERVED IN
THE IMPERIAL RECORD DEPARTMENT)

BY

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It is well-known that the progress of the Russian army in Central Asia in the seventies of the last century excited serious alarm in British diplomatic circles, and it was felt in some quarters that the safety of India was at stake. In July, 1868, Sir Andrew Buchanan, British Ambassador in St. Petersburg, invited the attention of the Russian Chancellor, Prince Gorstchakoff, to this serious matter. The Prince replied "that he most certainly desired that no territory should be added to the Empire, but he could not foresee what the force of circumstances might render necessary, and what General Kaufmann might feel himself obliged to do, as the Government might find itself, like the British Government in India, obliged to sanction acquisitions of territory which they did not wish to make". This ambiguous reply could not, of course, prove entirely satisfactory to the British Government.

In those days considerable importance was attached to some articles on Russian policy in Asia published in the *Moscow*

1. Imperial Record Department—Foreign Department proceedings,
S. H. Branch, 1868, No. 4.

Gazette, ('an entirely independent journal with a very large circulation') which frequently received inspiration from Prince Gortschakoff, for it was believed that those articles were either written, or based on information supplied, by one of his confidential secretaries. On February 8/20, 1869, the *Gazette* observed, "To think that Russia would ever contemplate the conquest of India is a complete absurdity. But the fact remains that Russia and England have by the force of events now come into direct contact. Although their possessions are not conterminous, there is no barrier at present between them in Asia which could arrest the progress of either one power or the other. They are only separated by a tract of country without any means of defence. There is no powerful State to keep them asunder, and which might offer to both clearly defined 'limits'"². On February 14/26, 1869, the *Gazette* bluntly declared, "To demand from Russia that she should by some kind of treaty respect the independence of Afghanistan, and that she should declare the neutrality of Afghanistan, Eastern Turkistan or any other Central Asiatic territory would be such an incongruity that it is not worth serious consideration"³. A week later the *Gazette* made a surprising change in its tone and observed, "... in our judgment the settlement of the Central Asian Question depends on the virtual neutralization of this Asiatic Switzerland (i.e., Afghanistan)"⁴. The available documents do not provide any sufficient clue to the cause or causes lying behind this change, but it is probable that the reluctance of the Czar to extend his dominions in Asia and some articles in the *Times* (London) were not quite unconnected with it.

The suggestion for the neutralisation of Afghanistan, which found strong support in the British and the Russian Press, was at once taken up by the British Foreign Secretary, Lord Clarendon. In a conversation with Baron Brunnow, Russian Ambassador in London, in March, 1869, he pointed out that Russia might experience the same difficulty in controlling her agents in Asia as England had found in controlling her officers in India. He added: "Unless stringent precautions were adopted, we should find, before long, that some aspiring Russian General had entered into communication with some restless or malcontent Indian Prince, and that intrigues were rife ...". In order to prevent such happenings he suggested 'the recognition of some territory as neutral between the possessions of England and Russia which should be the limits of those possessions and be scrupulously respected by both powers'. Baron Brunnow remarked that 'this would be a desirable arrangement' and promised to report Lord Clarendon's suggestion to his Government. A few days later he gave Lord

2. *Ibid.* 1869, No. 24.

3. *Ibid.* No. 25.

4. *Ibid.* No. 27.

Clarendon the copy of a 'private and confidential letter' from Prince Gortschakoff, containing 'a positive assurance that Afghanistan would be considered as entirely beyond the sphere in which Russia might be called upon to exercise her influence'⁵. This assurance naturally made the neutralisation of Afghanistan less difficult. In a conversation with the British *Charge d' Affaires* on April 5, 1869, Prince Gortschakoff 'admitted the possibility of Russia being drawn into a course similar to that which had caused the extension of the British Indian Empire, but as regarded the danger of some aspiring Russian General entering into communication with any Indian malcontent', the Prince remarked that "Russian Generals were well disciplined". The chancellor, however, 'quite agreed' with Lord Clarendon 'as to the policy of placing some territory between the possessions of the two Empires', and he was prepared to accept Afghanistan 'as that territory'⁶.

A few days later Lord Clarendon told Baron Brunnow that "the Secretary of State for India, having consulted those members of his Council who were well acquainted with the countries in question, had arrived at a decided opinion that Afghanistan would not fulfil those conditions of a neutral territory that it was the object of the two Governments to establish, as the frontiers were ill defined, and if Russian forces advanced to those frontiers, disputes with the Chiefs on the border would, sooner or later, but infallibly ensue, and Russia might be compelled, however unwillingly, to disregard the arrangement she had entered into". So he proposed that "the Upper Oxus, which was south of Bokhara, should be the boundary line which neither Power should permit their forces to cross". Baron Brunnow promised to communicate this proposal to St. Petersburg, but he pointed out that "Khiva was south of the Oxus, and if the Khan came to understand that his country, being regarded as neutral, had nothing to fear from Russian invasion, he might become extremely troublesome, and the Russian Government could hardly be expected to enter into any engagement that would preclude them from chastising the Khan for the offences he might commit". Lord Clarendon assured him that "should the necessity arise for punishing the Khan on his own territory, we should rely upon the honour of Russia, as soon as she had obtained reparation, again to revert to the arrangement ... and consider the Upper Oxus as the boundary which was not to be passed"⁷.

While these discussions were going on the Russian Government complained that Sher Ali 'was said to be inclined to embark in hostile enterprises both towards Persia in the west and towards Bokhara in the north', and the British Government was requested

5. *Ibid*, No. 33.

6. *Ibid*, No. 33.

7. *Ibid*, No. 38.

to 'moderate his ardour'. Accordingly the following telegram was sent from London to the Government of India on June 9, 1869, "Amir of Cabul should be dissuaded from any attempt to extend his territory to north or west beyond limits of kingdom held by Dost Mahomed. All risk of collision with Persia or Bokhara is to be avoided"⁸.

The difficulties of neutralisation were thus pointed out by the *Moscow Gazette* in July, 1869. "If ... Russia formally engaged not to go farther than Samarkand or Bokhara, and England pledged herself not to send troops into Afghanistan, these guarantees would be the surest means of drawing both the States into interminable quarrels with the wild bordering tribes who take every licence unless they are curbed. Then, too, what is neutrality? To give a subsidy is not, it is true, the same as sending troops, but is it reconcilable with neutrality?"⁹ Russia was, indeed, very uneasy regarding the British subsidy to Sher Ali. In an interview with the Russian Chancellor at Heidelberg in Germany in September, 1869, Lord Clarendon assured him that "the policy (of granting subsidy to the Amir) was not of recent date and had originated with Lord Lawrence, that it had no reference to the advance of Russia in Central Asia and had solely for its object to enable Sher Ali to maintain that order in Afghanistan which was of importance to the neighbouring possessions of Great Britain"¹⁰.

The question now practically narrowed down to the difficulty of ascertaining the actual boundaries of Afghanistan, and in this respect much useful work was done by Douglas Forsyth, who was sent on a mission from Calcutta to St. Petersburg in 1869 to lay before the Russian Government the views of the Government of India. "The understanding with Russia as to the integrity of Afghanistan was a most important step forward in Central Asian politics ..." ¹¹; but it is significant that from the time of Forsyth's arrival at St. Petersburg we do not hear anything about the 'neutralisation' of Afghanistan. The Anglo-Russian negotiations of 1870-73 marked out the frontiers of Sher Ali's territories, but instead of occupying a position like that of Switzerland, Afghanistan steadily became what International Law calls a 'sphere of influence'.

8. *Ibid.*, No. 54.

9. *Ibid.*, No. 76. Lord Mayo gave Sher Ali 'a written promise of moral support to be followed by gifts of money, arms and ammunition whenever the British Government deemed it desirable'.

10. *Ibid.*, No. 96.

11. Roberts, *History of British India*, p. 415.

THE YEAR PRECEDING THE CONQUEST OF ORISSA BY THE BRITISH

BY

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The people of Orissa accepted the rule of the Moghuls with scant grace. Aurungzeb sent orders for the destruction of the temple and idol of Jagannath, which was done by Nawab Ikram Khan who forwarded the spoils of his religious orgy to the Emperor at Bijapur. Some of the chiefs were also forced to become Mahomedans, but Orissa continued to be nominally ruled by the Gajapati kings of Khurdah who by their connection with the temple of Jagannath secured an ascendancy over the other chiefs who, however, maintained a semi-independent existence.

Meanwhile an English boat cast anchor in March 1633 near Harishpur. Cartwright who led the English party obtained permission from the Naib Nazim to trade in Orissa and to buy land and establish factories for that purpose. One factory was built at Harishpur and another at Balasore. Gradually the Harishpur factory was abandoned and the Balasore factory was the only one that was left. When Aurungzeb was busy with his wars in the Deccan, the Court of Directors of the East India Company began to quarrel with the Subedar of Bengal and sent a fleet under Nicholson to compel the Subedar to agree to a favourable treaty. When the English soldiers and sailors arrived at Balasore they captured the fort and two Moghul ships which were there and plundered the town. Another expedition was sent about two years later on and Balasore was again captured and plundered and the Fouzdar had again to fly away from the place. But it was in 1690 that the British Company received permission to build again their factory at Balasore, and they erected new buildings to carry on their trade.

Orissa was ravaged and devastated by the wars which followed the extinction of the Moghul authority there. The English factories at Balasore naturally suffered a great deal, and very often the factories were attacked and burnt down. The weavers and other traders also fled away from place to place during these unsettled times and large sums of money or quantities of useful articles of trade could not be held in any factory for the purposes of trade. The anomalous position of the Naib Nazim continued to puzzle the English. Gradually Marhattas began to be appointed as Subedars of Orissa in place of the Naib Nazim, and separate treaties confirming the cession of Orissa were negotiated and concluded between the Nawab of Murshidabad and the Marhattas till by the grant of the Diwani, the English became the virtual lords of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.

But before this conquest and annexation, the British tried various methods to obtain Orissa from the Marhattas. It is possible that the question of obtaining Orissa first occurred to Clive who had found it extremely difficult to bring his army over from Madras to Bengal over the sea and who would naturally prefer a land route with the certainty of rations and convenience of travelling in easy stages to a tiresome journey by sea. It is possible that he opened the negotiation with the Marhattas for obtaining Orissa and it is possible that he sent one of his trusted friends La Motte to have a look into the interiors of Orissa as a preparation for an attack on a large scale. Very soon after the battle of Plassey the British soon found that they were the power which counted in Bengal. They were transformed overnight from traders importuning in the court of the Nawab for facilities of trade, into the politically Supreme party to whom the Nawab had to run for help and assistance, and naturally their greed grew with their power. Fortunately for them during this period there were quarrels among the Marhattas themselves, and the vigilant Englishmen found that the seeds of disruption had entered the Marhatta camp, and either because of the advice of the English resident at Cuttack or the growing insolvency of the Bengal Nawabs the payment of the Chauth was stopped. Instead of paying the Chauth, the Nawab of Bengal was advised in 1761 to invade Orissa and to wrest that province from the sway of the Marhattas. Mir Qasim was extremely nervous at the proposal, and although it was pointed out to him that because of quarrels among the Marhattas, Orissa would not be seriously defended, he did not agree to the proposal of the British and raised the question of cost and other excuses to put off the proposed invasion. It was pointed out to him that Orissa belonged to the Nawab, but Mir Qasim had by that time realised his true position as a puppet in the hands of the English Company and probably he was anxious to secure the help of the Marhattas in extricating himself from the clutches of the English fortune hunters and so he never countenanced the proposed invasion. Although the Nawab had finally agreed after a long delay to send troops to invade Orissa, early in 1762 he changed his mind and the matter fell through. The Nawab was alternately threatened with an attack by the Marahattas to exact the Chauth which had fallen in arrears and cajoled and tempted by the prospect of an easy victory with the help of the British and the enjoyment of the fruits of the victory. He hesitated long but finally he opposed the proposal; and his exasperation at British diplomacy and the cupidity of the Company's officers had a good deal to do with the refusal to take up the invasion.

In the meantime the English were seeking to pick up a quarrel with the Marhatta rulers of Orissa and various pretexts were found and many demands were made. But when Mir Qasim refused to move against Orissa and the relations between the English and the Nawab were becoming more and more embittered,

the Marhattas suddenly became more insistent on the payment of Chauth and threatened the invasion of Bengal. The Marhattas were on the one hand threatened by an attack by the Madras army from the south and were probably by large payments induced to refrain from helping Mir Qasim. The Nawab on the other, was left to his fate and was defeated in the battles of Giriya and Udayanala. The Marhattas had actually received requests from Mir Qasim for help against the English and had started from Balesore but strangely they never joined the army of the Nawab, but on the other hand their leader wrote a letter to the English that he would have helped the English Company if he had not been informed that his help was not required. When Mir Qasim had been defeated, the Marhattas demanded Chauth from the English, but fortunately quarrels among the Marhattas became more and more rampant and in the scramble for power between rival claimants the English Company found another opportunity of obtaining political supremacy over Orissa. They sided with one party against the other; they raised the question of the cession of Orissa, they promised the payment of money in words which were vague and uncertain and which yet dangled a hope before the eyes of the credulous Marhattas. The English Company had received the Dewani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa in 1765 and in 1766 Clive sent his friend La Motte presumably to open possibilities of trade in diamonds and really to ascertain the internal condition of Orissa. In 1767 the cession of Orissa was practically agreed upon for a consideration of an annual payment of 13 lakhs of rupees and the Marhattas were lulled by promise of "due payment of the stipulated sum", and while lavish promises were being made on the one hand to stay the hand of the Marhattas, there was procrastination presumably to obtain fuller information of the internal condition of Orissa so as to determine the feasibility of its conquest and annexation. That the English Company desired the possession of Orissa is beyond doubt, they only waited for a suitable opportunity and a plausible pretext. Clive had suggested to the Company to agree to pay 16 lakhs a year to the Marhattas out of the revenues of Orissa and to obtain the zamindarship of Orissa in return. Negotiations were carried on this basis. But apart from the eagerness of Clive to obtain Orissa as a military base, there is reason to believe that the negotiations were mostly camouflage. The treaty of 1751 was subjected to various ingenious interpretations, many offers were made and rejected, many bargains were on the point of being struck and were yet never concluded. For several years both parties were carrying on a war in diplomacy in which the English Company was assisted by the rivalries of the Marhatta court, and the fate of Orissa hung on the balance.

The Marhattas had alienated the sympathy of the people, they had sequestered the lands of the noblemen. The Raja of Dhenkanal complained that his country had been plundered by the Marhattas. The Raja of Kujang invited the British Company to set up a

factory within his territories. The Raja of Khurdah was deprived of four of his estates yielding nearly two thirds of his income. In March, 1773 Babuji Nayak, the Marhatta Governor was reduced to the painful necessity of seeking the help of the English soldiers in quelling the refractory chiefs. The chief of Mayurbhanj began to make depredations on the Chaklah of Balasore. Meanwhile acts of piracy were taking place on the coasts of Orissa, and even an English ship was wrecked, its effects were looted and the passengers were taken prisoner. Charges of this sort were brought against the Raja of Aul, the Raja of Kanika and the Raja of Kujang; and the British became more and more eager to get hold of Orissa to prevent such occasional mishaps.

The account sent by La Motte of his experiences in Orissa further confirmed the British in their desire to win the province. La Motte carried with him letters in which Clive described him as a person in his confidence and the shrewd Subadar at Cuttack readily guessed that there was some secret motive behind the ostensible trade in diamonds for which La Motte had been sent.

La Motte gives a detailed description of the route pursued by him. He describes the fort of Omerdnagur and says how bamboos are planted behind a deep ditch and how the thorns of the bamboos made it impassable. He also describes how the fort was the weakest in the hot months of May when the bamboos are dried up by the heat and are liable to be burnt. He does not merely give the width of the roads, the rivers to be crossed, the facilities for such crossing but also gives a list of forts where oppositions may be encountered. Thus he says "from Gurupadda you come to Ramchandrapur where there is a small mud fort two miles on the right of the road." La Motte gives an account of social practices and the habits of the people and his description of what he found at Bhadrak is specially interesting. The mountains of Sambalpur abounded in gold and diamonds but the natives were deterred from working the mines by their indolence and fear of the Marhattas to whom their riches would only point them out as a more desirable prey. The political state of a large part of Orissa had been summed up by him when he points out that the evils of the feudal system were all centred in the Government, and that the Raja was powerless against his ministers and was often a prisoner in his own palace. La Motte found that a little money did a great deal in a country so poor. When he returned to Cuttack he found that Bhawani Pandit had taken the field against Sheo Bhaut. He suggested to Bhawani Pandit that the best means of forming a closer connection with Lord Clive would be to cede to him the province of Orissa for a stipulated annual sum. After giving due consideration to the matter the Pandit told La Motte that he was convinced that it would be better to cede Orissa, provided the payment of the stipulated sum was assured to him. The severe illness of Lord Clive prevented him from pursuing the plan

for the cession of Orissa, though he had entered on it with great alacrity.

Meanwhile the province was being overrun by other persons. Lt. Col. Upton travelled from Poona to Balasore in 1777 and he is also very careful in mentioning the forts to be encountered on the way. The city of Cuttack appeared to him to be entirely open except at the west angle where there was an old walled palace in ruins called Lalbagh, where the Subadar resided. No guns appeared on the wall, but somewhere under a shed on field carriages. Cuttack had no buildings in it worth notice and the city altogether seemed in a ruinous state and the inhabitants oppressed with heavy taxes. The fort of Barabati appeared to him very strong, and he found the city defended by four thousand cavalry mostly Afghans and the number of these soldiers could be increased to 10,000 men. Col. Pearce who also came to Orissa with an army in 1781 reported to Hastings that the country seemed to be extremely beautiful and that he seemed to have been travelling in the gardens of paradise where nature seemed to have bestowed her beauties in wanton profusion.

Step by step, slowly and steadily the conquest of Orissa was planned. It was too important a part of the country to be neglected, but the conquest of Orissa meant a war with the Marhattas and for this it was important that the English should have some amount of security on the south and western flanks of the Marhatta territory. In 1799 Tipu Sultan had been finally quelled and the districts gained by the Nizam in his wars with Mysore had been taken away from him. Subsidiary alliances had been concluded with the Nizam of Hyderabad and the Gaekwar of Baroda. The Zamindari of Nayabasan was ceded to Rani Sumitra Dei presumably with a desire to obtain her help during the march against the Marhattas, when the Raja of Mayurbhanj would not merely be helpful to the British cause directly, but indirectly foment up trouble for the Marhattas in the states. Hastings had obtained permission for the passage of two armies through Orissa. One British army passed in 1798 and another in 1799 and presumably these acted as patrols whose information would be important for an invading army. The British dominions had become contiguous to that of Daulatram Shinde so that pretext for an invasion would not be lacking. It was in this state that the opportune moment for the premeditated conquest of Orissa which had been mooted in 1761 and for which all sorts of information had been collected was found, and in 1803 the actual invasion took place from two directions.

THE CASE OF SWARUP CHAND—AN INCIDENT IN THE QUARREL BETWEEN THE SUPREME COURT AND THE SUPREME COUNCIL

BY

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The case of Swarup Chand occupies a very important place in the history of the quarrel between the Court and the Council because it was one of the most important of those cases where the Governor-General and Council complained that the Supreme Court was directly interfering with the administration of the revenue, which the Regulating Act vested absolutely in them.

Swarup Chand was *Mal zamin* or security of the *pargana* of Dakhin Shabbazpur; and a sum of Rs. 10,000 was due from him. When he objected to pay the amount, the Provincial Council of Dacca ordered him into prison. Later on he was released; but was to be kept under surveillance, provided he executed a bond expressing his willingness to satisfy any demands established against him after the cases against him had been heard and decided. On his refusing to abide by this condition, he was sent back to the prison, because his resistance adversely affected the prestige of the Provincial Council. But Swarup Chand besides being *Mal zamin*, was also the *Khazanchi* or Treasurer of the Provincial Council at Dacca, and as such had a sum of Rs. 66,749 in his hand, which he had not deposited into the treasury.

Swarup Chand was personally called before the Provincial Council and questioned with regard to these claims. As to the first, he quoted in his defence McPurling's order of remission, on the ground of the Mugh depredations. But as there appeared nothing in the Dacca Consultations to show that a remission had been made, Swarup Chand was again asked to pay the amount forthwith but his reply was, "It is not due from me and I will not pay it". When the second demand was pressed on him, he expressed his readiness to meet it partly in cash and partly in bonds of Rs. 20,000 on some gentlemen dependent on the Company. Questioned further Swarup Chand stated that Mr. Shakespear, a member of the Dacca Council, owed him Rs. 11,000, Mr. Day Rs. 6,000 and Mr. Lodge Rs. 3,000. Mr. Shakespear, however, repudiated the claim of Swarup Chand and warned the Council against accepting any bond as a counter-security. Later Swarup Chand admitted that these were all private transactions and that to none of these gentlemen, Mr. Shakespear, Mr. Day or Mr. Lodge, money had been advanced from the Company's cash. The Council

thereupon urged for immediate payment, but Swarup Chand was adamant and returned the same answer each time: "I will give those bonds for Rs. 20,000 or I will pay this amount when I recover these bonds and other debts". Thereupon the Dacca Council resolved to remand Swarup Chand back into prison till such time as he shall here paid the amount demanded and due from him.

Meanwhile Swarup Chand had applied to the Supreme Court for a Writ of Habeas Corpus, and Mr. Justice Hyde issued a rule to show cause as to why a Writ should not be granted. The rule was issued on the 20th August 1777 and the members of the Dacca Council were directed to show cause on or before the 30th August. On the latter day Robert Jarrett, Attorney for the Company, appeared before Mr. Justice Hyde and placed before him "such part of the proceedings as I thought were proper for him to see", omitting to show him "that part of the proceeding where the Board resolve to confine him for the balance remaining due to the Company, as Cossanchy or banker, it not being clear to me that they are authorised to do that". But this subterfuge proved of no avail as Mr. Justice Hyde granted the Writ, opining that the proceedings of the Dacca Council were, by no means, satisfactory to him as "he well knew that the gentlemen of Dacca knew better than to put any thing on their proceedings, which would tell against them".

The case came up for final hearing on the 20th September. Mr. Newman, the Company's counsel, again pleaded for enlargement of the time for making the return, but the Court refused to grant the motion. The Counsel next proposed that the prisoner might be given his freedom on bail in Calcutta but that he should not be permitted to leave the settlement. But the two Judges refused to accede to any terms unless a total release was given to the prisoner and the security given was to be in the following words:—"That he should appear and pay any sum of money which any competent Court of Judicature should adjudge to be due from him to the United Company of Merchants in England trading in the East Indies". As the Company's Attorney apprehended that a Bail Piece worded in such a manner might prove "either entirely nugatory or liable to many litigations with regard to the opinion of the Judges present, as to the competency of the Court which might decide hereafter on this matter", he directed Mr. Newman to move for time, only until Monday next, so that he might receive directions from the Honourable Board. But the Judges refused to accede to this request as well, and the case ended in the release of Swarup Chand.

The main issue in this case was as to whether the Governor-General and Council or their authorised agents in the provinces possessed the ministerial right of imprisoning a person for revenue default without any judicial proceeding whatsoever. As Justice Le Maistre says, the return presented by the Company's attorney "has set up a title of the Governor-General and Council, by

themselves and their servants, in all matters concerning the territorial acquisitions and revenues, to do whatever the late President and Council, or Select Committee, at the time the late Act of Parliament passed, then did, or at any time therefore might have done; without setting forth, in what right the late President and Council, and Select Committee, did the same". In Justice Le Maistre's view such a contention would be preposterous.

That the inferior officers of the East India Company stationed in the districts should exercise a ministerial power of imprisoning, without bail or mainprize, all such persons as they would deem indebted to the Company for rents and revenues, struck Justice Le Maistre as the most arbitrary abuse of power and it was revolting to think that in the late Act of Parliament one could find confirmation or the intent to confirm such a gross abuse. Furthermore, according to this opinion there was evidence to show that this power of arbitrary imprisonment had never been conceded by the Court of Directors. In 1772 they sent to India a Commission of Supervisors, to whom they delegated the powers, "to manage, order, direct, and conduct all affairs, matters and things, which in any way relate to or concern the said United Comany's Dewannee, or revenues, in India; to collect all debts and demands due and owing in India, upon any account whatsoever; to give receipts, with full power to compromise, confirm, and settle all accounts and differences touching and concerning the same." Then follow these material words: "And to that end end purpose, in the name and on behalf of the said United Comany, by due course of law, to sue for and recover the same." Justice Le Maistre observes: More power (than delegated to Supervisors) therefore, cannot be presumed to have been delegated to the late President and Council; and therefore no more power could rest in the present Governor-General and Council by the transfer of the late President and Council in the late Act of Parliament, to them. In short, the Court's view of the matter was that without some legal proceeding somewhere the Governor-General and Council or their agents in the districts had no power of imprisoning a man without bail and manprize. The Court had always been careful to interfere as little as possible with the ordering, management, and governing of the territorial acquisitions and revenues, which the late Act of Parliament vested expressly in the Governor-General and Council, who in the provinces possessed at least a concurrent jurisdiction with the Supreme Court, and consequently "every Judge of the Court has been extremely careful in directing Writs of Habeas Corpus to issue there, unless there appeared strong grounds of oppression and injustice, which seemed to require it." The affidavits, and other attendant circumstances left no doubt in Justice Le Maistre's mind that Swarup Chand's was a fit case for interference and therefore he ordered him to be released, though, at the same time, he was careful to demand two sureties from Swarup Chand to secure his debt to the Company,

It does not appear to us that any reasonable exception can be taken to the view adopted by the Court. The preamble of the Regulating Act as well as the Charter establishing the Supreme Court state that as Charter '26, George II, "does not sufficiently provide for the due administration of justice, in such manner as the state and condition of the company's presidency of Fort William in Bengal, so long as the said Company shall remain in the possession of the territorial acquisitions, do and must require," it was thought necessary to establish a Court with wider powers. Thus the main reason for the establishment of the Supreme Court was the change effected in the character of the Company because of its acquisition of territorial revenues. This had opened to the Company's servants a wide field for jobbery and corruption and the Regulating Act, in some of its sections, definitely prohibited some of these malpractices. But the greatest instrument on which the authors of the Regulating Act seemed to rely was the Supreme Court itself, which was to be a King's Court and completely independent of the Company. Therefore, to say that because the Regulating Act vested in the Governor-General and Council the supreme authority regarding the ordering and management of the territorial revenues, the Supreme Court had nothing whatever to do in any matter connected with the ordering and management of the revenues, would be to defeat one of the main purposes of the Act and the Charter. It would be absurd to say that the Court had no right to interfere even in cases of manifest injustice and oppression.

Nevertheless, it should be recognised that the interference of the Supreme Court put the revenue administration under difficulties of all sorts and undoubtedly hampered the business of collection. The Company's law officers also found it extremely difficult to put up satisfactory defence in these cases mainly because the requirements of English law were so entirely alien to the customs and usages of this country. The result was that many of the Company's officers were seized with a nervous fear and even a level-headed man like John Shore begged to be excused from accepting the post of a Judge of the Adalat because he apprehended vexatious prosecutions in the Supreme Court. The difficulties that he would be put to in that situation are thus characteristically described: "The more effectually he performs his duty, the more he maintains the dignity of his office and enforces his decisions, the more he is liable to prosecution. If, in procuring the attendance of witnesses, he should exercise any compulsory powers, if, to restrain trivial and ground complaints and to detect chicane and intrigue he should put in practice the discretionary powers with which he is invested by the public regulations of imposing a moderate fine, or inflicting a mild corporal punishment, he may become subject to a suit which may terminate in his ruin... The mode of transacting business in this country is so fundamentally different from that which prevails in England, and so contrary to the letter and form

of English laws, that scarce any transaction tried by their standards will admit of a justification." It cannot be said that these complaints were groundless, and whatever the legal position might be, it is clear that the activities of the Supreme Court had brought about a situation in which the servants of the Company found it increasingly difficult to discharge the responsibilities of their office.

THE DIWANI AND THE BENGAL FAMINE OF 1770.

BY

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The fact is not properly emphasised that British rule in Bengal had its beginnings in the zamindari system and Permanent Settlement which already formed integral parts of the Mughal Revenue system. It was the company's acquisition of zamindari rights in the three villages of Calcutta in 1698 followed by the acquisition of the same rights in 24 Parganas in 1757, and in Burdwan, Midnapore and Chittagong in 1760, that really gave to the English a secure footing in the country from which they could not be dislodged. By working as Revenue Officials under the Moghul Emperors the English obtained an insight into the political situation of the country and really entered into its actual occupation through such civil administration. At this time they did not set much store by military conquests. Even when after the Battle of Plassey, the English conquered Calcutta, they were not anxious to hold the town as a military conquest but obtained a *sanad* from the Nawab for the free tenure of the city. Thus the Company was really creating an Empire by calling itself a Zamindar. It must not, however, be forgotten that the maintenance of zamindari rights against the inroads of neighbours called for a reserve of military force. Thus, although the English occupation of Bengal was effected by the processes of Mughal Law, yet behind this legal settlement there was going on, as a parallel to this process, a process of gradual conquest of the country, with the native military force being increasingly superseded by British military power. The civil and military processes worked hand in hand, and between them finally established British dominion in India. The English, on the one hand, were destroying step by step the military supremacy on which the Moslem power in Bengal depended and, on the other hand, were monopolising the Revenue of the country for the maintenance of their own troops and garrisons. The then Moslem rulers of Bengal themselves aided in this process of the British military force supplanting the native.

This process of gradually depriving the Nawab of military power was an essential factor in the consolidation of British rule in Bengal. Thus up to 1765, while all land was being held by the British on the basis of Mughal Revenue Law, the English were also in the background building up their military power as the ultimate support for their civil position and the ruler of Bengal was himself aiding in this process.

The growth of the British civil position in Bengal culminated in the grant of the *Diwani* to the English. It may be recalled that in 1764 Lord Clive, on his way to Allahabad to see the Mughal Emperor, Shah Alam, halted on his way to Murshidabad, specially to seek advice of Daulat Ram father of Maharaja Raj Ballabha as to what representation he should make to the Emperor. The Raja advised that 'he should ask for a *sanad* of the *Diwani* in favour of the Company, which being obtained, the entire management of the country would devolve into the hands of the Company. Although the *Diwani* was thus held by a corporation of foreigners, they could count upon the help of a complete cadre of hereditary native officials to assist them in the collection and administration of revenue. The more important of these hereditary revenue officials were: (a) the Zamindars and (b) the Kanungos.

Unfortunately, as Becher pointed out, "when the English first received the grant of *Diwani*, their first consideration seems to have been the raising of as large a sum from the country as could be collected to answer the pressing demands from home and to defray the large expenses from here. The Zamindars not being willing or able to pay the sums required, the Company thought of the ruinous device of appointing their own agents to replace the Zamindars for the purpose of rack-renting the Ryots. These agents were known as *Aumils*.

This system of replacing the device of Permanent Settlement with the Zamindars by that of appointing officials, like *Aumils*, to deal directly with the *Ryots* and to squeeze the utmost out of them by subjecting them to a process of ruthless rack-renting was one of the main causes that led up to the unprecedented famine of 1770

According to the authoritative statement of Warren Hastings the Bengal Famine of 1769-70 carried away "at least one-third of the inhabitants of the province," while the Court of Directors expressed their deliberate opinion that "the Ryots were compelled to sell their rice to monopolising Europeans who could be no other than persons of rank in our service." The horrors of this Bengal famine were graphically described even by a *hard-headed* administrator like Sir John Shore.

THOSE EXPRESSIONS *THE SULTANS OF MYSORE* AND THE SULTAN OF MYSORE

BY

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Haider Ali was never a King or the Sultan of Mysore. No proof is necessary.

There are a few historians who still use the expression 'the Sultan of Mysore' for Tipu Sultan. It is proposed to show to them that it is incorrect and to suggest that it should no longer find a place in any book.

The most important authority on this subject is the Earl of Mornington. He did not use the words 'the Sultan' for Tipu Sultan in any of his writings. Next in importance as an authority is the group of historians like Wilks, Krikpatrick, Stewart, M. M. D. L. T., who were Tipu's contemporaries. All of them were unanimous in holding that Tipu Sultan was a full name and the word Sultan had no independent significance. C. P. Brown confirmed this view several years later. The third source are the seals, coins and letters of Tipu Sultan. The seals contain the words 'Tipoo Sultan' instead of 'The Sultan Tipoo.' His coins do not help to solve the riddle. They contain no inscription like that of any Sultan of Delhi. Then there are a number of books and documents which throw light upon this subject. Broadly, all those which were written either in Haider Ali's time or on 'Haider Ali's' ministry speak of Tipu Sultan as 'Tipu' or 'Tipu Sultan.' The latter was but natural, because a man in authority and in high and exalted position is not usually mentioned but in awe. Several Kannade inscriptions preserved in the Archaeological Department of Mysore, almost all letters of the Sringeri Mutt to Tipu Sultan and a few of the monumental tablets showing the historical spots relating to him suggest that he was a 'Padshah' or king. The Persian inscriptions of Tipu Sultan's time are many but confusing, so far as the subject of 'the Sultan' is concerned. Haider Ali was 'Haider Shah' and Tipu Sultan himself was 'Hazrat Tipoo Sultan' who 'is the shadow of God' and 'the Khalif of the Earth and the Age,' 'the Sultan-e-Din,' 'Adil Sultan,' and 'Shah-in-Shan Tippoo.'

According to Mallet's general extracted by Krikpatrick in his *select letters*, the Peshwa addressed 'Tipu Sultan' as 'Futtah Ali Khan (Tippoo).' The French Revolution Government addressed him as 'Citizen Tipu.'

It is clear that the expression the Sultan of Mysore is obviously due to the habit of the technically careless writer of Tipu's history or of men who stood in need of his favour. In the history of the

world, it is common for the subjects to exaggerate the virtues of their sovereigns whether the form of government be monarchical, republican or democratic. Authority is worshipped everywhere for fear or favour

The point to remember by all historians is that Tipu Sultan is a full personal name. He was also called in his young age as Tipu or Tipu Sahib like his brother Karim Sahib, but when he rose to the position of the chief minister of Mysore there was ambition enough to make Tipu Sultan forget himself, and flattery and adulation also were enough to help him to affect royalty up to a certain degree, by dropping out Tipu from his name in all talks and writings. There was no sanction for this pretension in theory or in old practice.

CLIVE AND THE COMPANY'S *GUMASHTAHS*

BY

DR. N. L. CHATTERJI M. A., PH. D., D. LITT.

The conduct of the Company's *gumashtahs* formed one of the thorniest problems of internal administration during Clive's second government in Bengal. The tyranny of the *gumashtahs* was repeatedly pointed out by the officers of the Nizamat, yet the authorities at Fort William with all their good intentions failed to stop the high handedness of their commercial agents.

From a letter received from Muhammad Riza Khan and embodied in the proceedings of the Select Committee (19th February, 1766) it appears that the oppressions of the *gumashtahs* were bringing ruin to the country and injuring the public revenue.

Muhammad Riza Khan's letter throws a flood of light on the tyrannous activities of the *gumashtahs*, and is thus of considerable interest. Muhammad Riza Khan ended his account with this emphetic complaint. "It is these iniquitous practices that the people the country have been ruined and driven to flight, and that the revenues of the sircar have been injured. There is nothing of worth left in the country. If Justice is not done in this case, how will it be possible, in future, to collect the duties of the government or its revenues?"

In view of this representation, the Select Committee passed a resolution, recommending to the Board that all Company's servants should be prohibited, under the severest penalties, from lending countenance to any of their oppressive *gumashtahs*. The Company's servants were further required to send in to the

president full details regarding their *gumashtahs*, the place of their residence and the service they were employed on.

The oppressions of the *gumashtahs*, however, could not be eradicated by such regulations, for they were an inevitable result of the private inland trade of their privileged masters.

THE AKHBAR-I-MUKHBIR-I-SADIQ.

BY

K. Sajan Lal, M. A., Secundrabad.

This interesting news paper was published every Friday. Each issue contained sixteen pages (7'2" + 11'4") of two columns each, except the issue No. 1, dated 5th April, 1872 and the issue No. 2 dated 12th April, which contained 12 pages each. The title of the first two issues read Mukhbir-i-Sadiq (True Informer), which the other issues possessed the title as Akhbar-i-Mukhbir-i-Sadiq, in English as well as in Urdu.

The subscription of this weekly was As. 8, Re. 1/8/-, Rs. 3/- and Rs. 6/- for a month, 3 months, 6 months and a year respectively excluding the postal charges. A single issue was priced at annas two only. It was published by Mir Muhammad Asghar Ali the owner and Editor, under the supervision of Munshi Mirza Asar, and Munshi Salamat Ali, in Mohalla Gollagunj, Lucknow.

The title page gives the schedule of charges and subscriptions etc., while the aims and objects run in 9 paras and always cover entirely the second page. No charge is levied for publishing letters, articles of interest covering a wide range of study, history, geography, science, literature, poetry, religion, philosophy, education, etc. News from states, British Indian Provinces and foreign lands, topics of the day, Darbars, wrestling bouts, felicitations on birth, obituary notes, census figures, irrigational works and selections from or at times, the Oudh Government Gazette, appeared in toto.

Always a champion for the liberties of the Press, its columns remained open to all irrespective of colour or creed. It evinced a great interest in the uplift of the Muslims and gave a wide publicity to the appeals, proposals, of Maulvi Saiyyad Ahmad Khan for the establishment of Madrasat-ul-Ulm.